

Monvmenta Hvmanistica Lovaniensia

Texts and Studies about
LOUVAIN HUMANISTS
in the first half of the XVIth century

ERASMUS - VIVES - DORPIUS
CLENARDUS - GOES - MORINGUS

BY

Henry DE VOCHT

Dr. Ph. & Litt., Dr. Phil. Tartuensis *ad. hon.*
Professor in the University of Louvain



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IN MEMORIAM



These *Monumenta* were to be dedicated, in homage and admiration, to the great editor of the *Opus Epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi* : unfortunately on account of the slow pace at which the work advanced, and of the untimely death of the famous scholar, this tribute can only be offered to his memory ¹⁾.

Great is the *desiderium sui* ²⁾ he has left : his friends miss his hearty welcome and radiant affection ; his colleagues and acquaintances are deprived of his keen interest and his bene-

¹⁾ A most substantial and interesting *Compendium Vitae* of PERCY STAFFORD ALLEN (July 7, 1869 - June 16, 1933) by H. W. Garrod, is prefixed to the eighth volume of the *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami* : Oxford, 1934, pp. v-xx.

²⁾ Cp. *The Oxford Magazine*, October 12, 1933, pp. 19-21 ; and the most appreciative notices in *The Times*, June 17 and 27, 1933 ; *The Guardian*, June 30, 1933 ; &c.

ficent sympathy with all kinds of effort ; sufferers lose his kindly cheer ready to share all sorrows ; his *Corpus Christi College* is bereft of his self-sacrificing devotion and provident care ¹⁾, and, most of all, will scholars all the world over be wanting his invaluable help, his powerful example and the continuation of the work to which his whole life was devoted.

It was most fortunate for studies and erudition that as a youth he got into touch with Erasmus' letters ²⁾. He gauged their immense interest for the history of literature, of politics and of civilization at one of the most momentous epochs ; but he also felt that the inaccuracy and the lack of order in which that vast amount of material had come to us, made more a hindrance of it than a help. Anybody who has tried to get reliable information from the collected editions of Basle, or London, or Leiden ³⁾, has experienced a feeling of utter bewilderment amongst those undated or wrongly dated documents : for the letters, often ascribed to periods years and years distant from those at which they were written, had created a chaos which, to a great extent, was the origin of the errors swarming in biographies and studies about Erasmus or his contemporaries : they either focus all events into one and the same spot, excluding change and development ; or throw all

¹⁾ Cp. *The Pelican Record*, xxi : Oxford, December 1933 : 73, 83-86.

²⁾ In 1892, when Allen had taken his B. A. degree, and was looking round for a subject of research, a friend suggested to him that *Corpus Christi College*, to which he belonged, had won the Chancellor's Prize for English essay for several years in succession, and that he ought to win it for *Corpus* again. They went in to look at the notice posted in Oriel Lodge announcing the subject for the essay. It was Erasmus. Allen then began to read up the subject, and soon found that the letters were so ill-arranged as to be difficult to use. He then reflected that here was his subject of research, and began on it. Not long after J. A. Froude, Professor of Modern History, lectured in Oxford on Erasmus. Allen went to hear him, and afterwards called on him, and asked him his opinion on the plan of re-editing Erasmus' letters. Froude was full of encouragement, and Allen felt the great historian had blessed the undertaking : — that, in Mrs. Allen's own words, is the correct history of what turned her husband's attention to Erasmus.

³⁾ The collected *Epistolae* form vol. iii of Erasmus' *Opera* : Basle, Froben, 1540 ; they came out again as *Epistolarum Opes*, at the same printer's in 1541. In 1642 they were edited in London by M. Flesher and R. Young, as *Epistolarum Libri XXXI*, and finally, as volume iii of Clericus' edition of the *Opera Omnia* : Leiden, 1703.

data into such disorder, that facts and thoughts of 1510 are mixed up with those of 1530, and thus the great Humanist is often found fault with for ignoring as a youth what happened in his old age. Definite allusions to historic events pointing out reliable dates, are comparatively scarce : they are often mentioned very slightly, or in rather veiled terms, for fear of misconstruction and of danger for writer or addressee, and it requires a profound acquaintance with their ways of wording and thinking to reach any conclusion. Generally reference is made only to preceding letters, or to books read or heard of, to ordinary facts of private life, or to reports of public occurrences ; and then the only way to get clear of the entanglement is a comparison with other letters, which, in their turn, offer the same difficulties and require the same precaution ; until at last a definite event is reached, standing out as well in the correspondence as in proved history, which thus becomes the corner stone upon which, with prudence and circumspection, may be built one of the numberless columns that are to sustain the vast edifice.

Help might be derived from the biographies of correspondents or of other contemporaries. Such notices, however, generally copied uncritically from one encyclopedia into another, are chiefly based on the inaccurate or orderless material which they are called upon to rectify — as if the conclusion could be expected to prove either premiss.

Efforts were made to free Erasmus' correspondence from that syllogistic circle, and to improve it by the documents found and published since Clericus' edition ; as also by the various studies of scholars like Horawitz and Hartfelder ¹⁾. Most successful was Max Reich ²⁾ ; still, when after many

¹⁾ Adalbert Horawitz wrote on newly discovered letters in his *Erasmania*, Vienna, 1878-1885 ; he edited the correspondence of *Erasmus von Rotterdam und Martinus Lipsius*, Vienna, 1882, and in 1886 (Leipzig) the *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus* : the latter with the collaboration of Karl Hartfelder, who himself published in the same year a series of letters of Agricola : *Festschrift der Badischen Gymnasien* : Karlsruhe, 1886.

²⁾ Max Reich brought out : *Erasmus von Rotterdam. Untersuchungen zu seinem Briefwechsel und Leben in den Jahren 1509-1518* : Treves 1896. The Berlin Academy entrusted him with the editing of Erasmus' Correspondence ; unfortunately he died in 1904 : Allen, I, v, viii, viii.

years of strenuous labour, his attempt was cut short by premature death, only a small part of Erasmus' life was covered : the period namely, during which he studied in some University, and had only a comparatively limited number of correspondents. The bulk of the letters in the crowded years of his literary Primacy over Western Europe, in the excitement of the growing Reformation, was left as hopelessly entangled as ever.

Fortunately Allen put his hand to the task with a decision which an absence from Europe and from working facilities only made the stronger ¹⁾. He did not seek the help of a learned society ; nor did he announce pompously his programme so as to awaken general or international interest ; encouraged by only two friends ²⁾ he undertook the Herculean task, and worked away for years until he could offer the first instalment of letters ready for the press ³⁾. In the wake of Reich he submitted to a thorough investigation the correspondence successively edited at Basle, London and Leiden, with all the subsequent additions ; he connected each letter to a well-established date, and thus built up a chronology which, far from being restricted to a few years, embraced the whole extent of Erasmus' life. That way he gathered from the very beginning the necessary elements towards a complete history of the intercourse with each of Erasmus' correspondents ⁴⁾ ; it yielded a perfect insight into characters and circumstances, and, explaining all mysteries and apparent contradictions, it saved him from the numerous errors by which so many editors had been trapped : a circumscribed ken prevents following up the various roads running out from a place,

¹⁾ He had accepted in 1897 a professorship in Lahore which he held until 1901 : Allen, viii, vi-vii.

²⁾ Thomas Fowler and Bishop William Stubbs : Allen, viii, vii.

³⁾ In February 1903 he handed fifty letters to the printers : Allen, viii, ix.

⁴⁾ Preceding the proper letters in the *Opus*, are edited Erasmus' letter to Botzheim, Jan. 30, 1523, which gives the *Catalogus* of his *Lucubrationum* ; and the *Compendium Vitae* of about April 1524 ; two letters of *Beatus Rhenanus*, 1536 and 1540, complete the most authoritative biography of the great Man, which is given by way of introduction to the vast work : Allen, i, pp. 1-71.

where their vague beginnings can hardly be descried. Still inestimable though the advantage was, it brought innumerable hardships, and it required an eagle eye to dominate an expanse that extended over thousands of letters distributed over a long and well-filled life.

In that work of discrimination a great help was derived from the comparison of the traditional text with the original; the latter, evidently, had been reproduced and changed according to the lights of the first editors, who had an eye only for literary form and for adequate expression, insomuch that they considered historical truth and accuracy as far less important than the paper they wrote on, or the nib they used. Without doubt that collation must have been so very disappointing in many cases ¹⁾, that it became a primary necessity to compare *all* the documents with their originals, so as to establish, once for all, not so much a literary as a rigorously exact text, fully reliable and fully equipped with variants and exact statements of the cases in which any doubt might arise. Instead of providing a bare catalogue of letters, with their dates and first words, placed in an exact chronological order, as Reich had done, — or a representative synopsis, as that of the *Letters and State Papers*, — Allen decided on an edition which was to reproduce to the slightest details the original compositions, as well as all the variants in case the letters had been printed during Erasmus' lifetime, or had come to us in two or more transcriptions. As it was not intended for the larger public, it was to contain neither translations nor commentaries ²⁾, but the necessary illustrations and notes were to be added to make of this correspondence a lasting and reliable work of reference of the very first value.

To an attentive and sympathetic student, that seems to have

¹⁾ As an example might be quoted the reproduction of the letter from Dorp to Lethmaat, Dec. 29, 1522 (cp. pp. 385-390 of this volume) by Th. J. ab Almelooven, *Amoenitates Theologico-philologicæ* (Amsterdam, 1694) from the original in Gouda *Librye*.

²⁾ Francis Morgan Nichols, of Oxford published two volumes of his work *The Epistles of Erasmus, from his earliest letters to his fifty-first year, arranged in order of time. English translations ... with a commentary*: London, 1901-4; a third (posthumous) volume came out in 1917: Allen's was completely different.

been the genesis of the *Opus*, of which the first volume, published in 1906, was as a revelation. Its excellence was such that the plans of editing Erasmus' correspondence conceived by learned and powerful bodies vanished like a morning mist in the sun ¹). Unbounded admiration went out to the man who had been so audacious as to take upon his shoulders a burden next to which the editing of, *e. g.*, Melanchthon's correspondence, seemed like child's play, and who had executed that immense labour with a minuteness and an accuracy never witnessed before. Indeed, not one single of the numerous and most valuable editions of letters and smaller compositions, which ripened and experienced erudition had brought out, especially in Germany, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, shows that judicious choice of notes, and that compact fullness and reliableness of illustrations and texts. The latter had been collated with the original documents, of which the discovery in many cases is already a title of glory.

It required endless researches in libraries and records in all the countries of Western Europe; yet the tracing of the necessary documents was done so methodically that only for a comparatively negligible number the originals or the authentic sources are wanting ²). Most interesting proved the various letterbooks written by Erasmus' *amanuenses*, and the comparison with the various editions: indeed, for every letter Allen indicates the various sources, and supplies a list of variants after a thorough critical examination, so as to present the precise aspect and form of each document as when it left Erasmus on its errand to his fortunate correspondent. So full

¹) Since 1896 the Berlin Academy of Sciences had contemplated having Erasmus' correspondence edited by Reich; he died in 1904; the editor of Luther's letters, J. K. F. Knaake, also had formed the plan of editing those of Erasmus: he, too, died, in 1905; a similar design announced by the Dutch Historical Commission in 1904, was kept in suspense at the announcement of Allen's work, and dropped for good when the first volume appeared: Allen, I, c-vi, viii, viii-ix.

²) List of manuscripts about which information is desired are prefixed to all the volumes of the *Opus*: it is remarkable that in the eighth volume only fourteen letters are indicated as wanting their originals, which, on a total of about 2366 documents, is a trifling percentage.

was the confidence in his abilities as editor that many librarians and archivists entrusted to his care the publishing of important material, which a minute and systematic search suggested by him had brought to light ¹⁾. In fact his method of reproducing is such that his books give a perfect idea of the wording, the particularities and even of the orthography of all the letters as they were actually written. Those who ever saw Allen at work correcting his copy or his proofsheets with the original, can account for the wonderful accuracy, which has become proverbial amongst scholars.

That applies not only to the text, but also to the biographical and explanatory notes. More than one scholar has declared that, even in the special field that had been his own for years, he felt that Allen was far ahead of him as to soundness and extent of information ; that he often had fancied he had caught him in some mistake or inexactitude, and that every time, he found on examination that he himself was wrong, and that Allen was right, even in what only seemed a mere slip of language. It illustrates both his love of truth and his humble simplicity. Far from exulting over the errors of others ; far from thinking that the deeper one sinks one's fellow-workers, the higher one rises in erudition and glory, he merely states what he has found to be the truth, indicating its source, and hardly ever mentioning any contrary opinion. And yet in numberless cases he is the first and the only one to assert truth, in opposition to what is generally believed ; and it is on such occasions that the real value of his erudition comes out in all its splendour : behind a seemingly trivial statement lie hours and days of careful research and judicious discernment ; lie the sifting of dozens of notices or reports, and the patient, steadfast investigation of sources or side-light documents, of which hardly anybody availed himself ; lie the collating, weighing and comparing of various evidence, which went on and on, until at last the inference of that meditating, ripened by experience, and checked continuously, appears as simple and as clear as the sun in the sky.

Erasmus was not the only object of these beneficent

¹⁾ Cp. the prefaces and the appendices to the various volumes.

researches: Allen's *Opus* provides perfect biographical sketches of all the correspondents and all the people who are referred to; indeed, every detail, every allusion is illustrated, and as almost all persons worth knowing, and everything worth remarking of those times, are connected with, or mentioned in, the letters, they become the richest mine for the knowledge of that period. For not only did the editor resort to the originals for the text, he also discarded commonplace information, and applied to the best authorities for every branch of erudition and for every country. He thus proves to be versed as deeply in the intimate history of Poland as in that of his own nation; he shows as deep a knowledge of geography and archaeology as of the history of civilisation and of arts; and as to the remarkable personages of Erasmus' time, he taught, to their very countrymen, who and what they were, and how their biographies were to be written.

In fact he showed how to get at truth, without being conscious of imparting such a precious teaching. His first way to reach it, is a deep and thorough comprehension of a well-established text. If he broke down many an erroneous conclusion based on the wrong interpretation of a passage, he also greatly enriched knowledge by the judicious explanation of allusions and remarks, which had been passed by unnoticed. Without condemning or suspecting anybody, he shrank from admitting without any proof what everybody proclaimed. The number and the vehemence of those who made a statement, left him cold and incredulous; he would then try to get one man by himself, and also a second, and even a third, and he would ask them, appealing to their righteousness: what did *you* see, *for yourself*? Such a question was put to get at the truth of contemporary events which everybody admitted as readily as the following of the night on the day. Yet in his books he never would have been satisfied even with such a testimony: he had to see and judge for himself. Therefore he discarded as dubious all traditional evidence, and resorted to the study of the authentic documents and records of the very first order; and even then, although marvellously well equipped as palaeographer and humanist and linguist, he checked repeatedly his own read-

ing and his interpretation by that of his friends or colleagues. In consequence, his biographical notes miss the humdrum praise of encyclopedias, but are couched in clear, concise, matter-of-fact style, the characteristic style of truth.

Besides palaeographic documents Allen highly valued books as well-informed and reliable witnesses; he was admirably versed in bibliography ¹⁾; — not the barren bibliography, that merely adds together names, and titles of books and papers, like multiple echoes, each reverberating less distinctly what its predecessor brought out; — but bibliography of the highest standard. To him it meant the minute study of sixteenth century editions in actual copies or in photographs; and from titles and prefaces, from commendatory verse and by-the-way remarks in text or commentary, from colophons and seemingly insignificant details in printing or dating, he gathered a wealth of first-class evidence about the author and his friends.

The information thus obtained from the most authentic documents, was enlarged and enriched as years went on: with every new volume came the announcement that the thorough investigation, to which he had submitted the Oxford book-collections, had been extended to all the great libraries and archives of one country of Europe after another, on the occasion of a protracted and laborious visit. His notices and biographies may, on that account, be said to be fairly exhaustive, so that they can hardly be improved upon, except by lighting on unknown documents. Barring such fortuitous discoveries, the *Opus* gives us about personages, like, *e. g.*, Viglius, so comprehensive a sketch of their lives and review of all the unpublished material ²⁾, and about famous books, like the *Augustinus*, so minute an account ³⁾, that they can be considered as the most exact *status quæstionis*, as the latest attainment of erudition in those respects.

That wonderful completeness in the manifold matters treated, which for that period in history nearly reaches omni-

¹⁾ Cp. M. E. Kronenberg in *Het Boek*, xxii: The Hague, 1933.

²⁾ Allen, viii, 2101, *pr.*

³⁾ Allen, v, 1309, *pr.*

science, is the result of years and years' patient and systematic preparation. Embracing from the very beginning of his work the whole extent of Erasmus' life with all his connections, he often found whilst searching for information about personages to be treated in the first volumes, details about correspondents appearing only very late ; as he knew them to be part of his plan, he noted down whatever he learned about them, so that, increasing his hoard throughout a long series of laborious years, his work is not actually broken off, as, without doubt, the texts and the notes are by now ready in substance as far as the last days of Erasmus. The information gathered throughout a life of continual research in all countries of Europe, written down methodically with the conscious aim of warding off the danger of loss in any possible accident, will allow the completion of the admirable *Opus* that is *his* ¹⁾. In bulk it may fall short of other great collections in the erudite world, which mostly are the result of the joint labour of a large community or a set of scholars working under a direction. Here, we have the work of one man, who gives what he found, or at least, what he checked himself : from the title down to the most insignificant footnote, there is not one iota, not one figure that he did not ponder over and decide upon ; that he did not discuss and examine ; that he did not invest with the golden seal of his assent.

Such a statement can be made of very few works, and certainly of hardly any of that vastness and of that depth. For in its marvellous compactness, the *Opus* is as wide in its extension as it is deep in its accuracy. It will be for centuries if not the only, at least one of the chief sources for any work that touches any of the multifarious human activities displayed from 1490 to 1536 : not only for learning and literature, but for politics and culture, for art and science, for religion and philosophy and for the knowledge of all the efforts and yearnings of mankind during that most important period of history when modern times were dawning. Allen knew that period, and the wonderful glimpses he gave us of

¹⁾ Allen, VIII, xxiii.

his profound acquaintance in *The Age of Erasmus* ¹⁾, or in his various papers, like *Erasmus' Services to Learning* ²⁾, make it a real loss for erudition that he did not write the definite and final history of the Great Son of Rotterdam. That loss for erudition is irretrievable; the only consolation lies in the most valuable directions and judgments which he judiciously communicated whilst exposing and illustrating the immense material which he gathered and ordered, and which forms so considerable a contribution to knowledge, that Allen's name will be linked for ever to that of Erasmus, and, as was written four centuries ago, *Nomen Erasmi nunquam peribit* ³⁾.

*
* *

If that can be said of Allen's name, it can be said with more reason about his spirit. His powerful example has been at work all the time, and in the first place on her whom he chose as his companion in life. She watched over the scholar, too prone to forget himself in his studies, and filled his days with the most responsive sympathy. She was far more: for during long years she was a most devoted collaborator in his work and research. She helped him in checking his references, in correcting or collating his texts, thus completing the magnificent work of which she soon became as necessary an element as the crescent-like line is indispensable to change the ψ , Percy Allen's sign, into the Φ , by which they marked

¹⁾ Lectures delivered in the Universities of Oxford and London: Oxford, 1914.

²⁾ Lecture on a Master-mind in the British Academy: *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xi: London, 1925. Equally interesting papers are *Erasmus*, a lecture at Liverpool, 1922; *Some Sixteenth Century Manuscript Letter-books*, and *Erasmus' Relations with his Printers* (*Bibliographical Society Transactions*: London, 1914 & 1916); *The Correspondence of an Early Printing House*: Glasgow, 1932; and his contributions to *The English Historical Review* about Jerome Balbus, 1902; Agricola's Letters, 1906; Bishop Shirwood's Library, 1910; Hugo of Assendelff's Memoranda, 1918; &c.

³⁾ John Colet, in his letter to Erasmus, of June 20, 1516: Allen, II, 423, 47-48.

together their copies after collating them with the originals ¹). Formed by such a master, she soon brought to bear her own keen intelligence and sound critical sense; on many occasions she detected clues to forlorn documents or to intricate passages with a success that would have secured fame to any scholar ²); yet entering completely into her husband's spirit, she humbly contributed it to his great enterprise. In the course of time it also became hers, and scholars throughout the world rejoice in the wise desire of her late husband, that she should continue the *Opus* ³); they consequently formulate their most hearty wishes for the happy crowning of the days and years of patient joint labour at that priceless work, by the glory of the finish.



The lofty spirit of abnegation and devotion to his subject, by which Allen seemed to efface himself before the interest in his work, was most contagious, even to those who did not live continually under his influence : all librarians and archivists whom he approached, volunteered their help and service. Documents came to light, which, but for him, would have continued their secular sleep. Scholars to whom he once applied with his winning smile and unassuming manner for some information, became his correspondents, his literary agents, who searched for unpublished documents, each in his own sphere.

Even those who never came across him knew him, and were subjugated by his books. Indeed, it is not possible to know the growing set of stately volumes, and not be deeply impressed by their wonderful accuracy and unfathomable

¹) Mrs. Allen's help is appreciatively mentioned in the preface to vol. I and on the title-page of vol. III; from the fourth volume on her name is joined to her husband's as editor. With him she also published *Sir Thomas More. Selections from his English Works and from the Lives by Erasmus & Roper* : Oxford, 1924, and *Letters of Richard Fox, 1486-1527* : Oxford, 1929. She edited, by herself, *The Praise of Folly. Written by Erasmus 1509 and translated by John Wilson 1668. Edited with an Introduction* : Oxford, 1913.

²) Cp. e. g., Allen, v, 1436, *pr.*

³) Allen, VIII, xxii.

information. One cannot study any kindred subject without taking them in hand, and poring over them, and investigating them, day by day for years and years. One cannot but turn to them in every doubt, ask them for a clue in every difficulty, apply to them for light, certain of finding there *all* the information that is to be found, and finding it as genuine and as true and as clear, as water from the source. Such a masterpiece cannot be handled continuously without rousing waves of gratitude for the unspeakable, never-ceasing delight, which a splendid piece of work provides to the intellectual faculties. The enjoyment of truth in studying any part of the *Opus* — experienced as necessarily as the charm of beauty is felt before Dante's Dream or under the effusion of a Nocturne by Chopin — inspires, without doubt, the generous wish of widening that influence by imitation. In fact, it has called into being a great range of research work, and of numerous studies animated by Allen's spirit carried out according to his methods ¹⁾, merely by the convincing call of admiration, which is even more powerful than the eloquent proposal of a particular subject, such as that which has created the rejoicing hope that an *Opus Amerbachianum* will be brought out in a near future ²⁾.

That wonderful communicative power of Allen's work and word, is rendered even more efficient by the happy faculty of making actual and modern the long bygone past. He did not only aim at truth and accuracy and completeness, but also tried to bring the sixteenth century nearer to us, or us nearer to the sixteenth century. To him the letters of the olden days were not merely a stuffy mass of dry papers, which are only interesting as effective items in the catalogue of a Record Office, or as curios in a glass-topped museum desk, or as heartless ammunition for some hateful quibble. They were rather depositories of the thoughts and longings, of the troubles and energies of great souls; they were the records of their visions and hopes and yearnings. They were like confidences of great thinkers and sufferers; like revelations of

¹⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, pp. x & xi.

²⁾ Cp. *The Correspondence of an Early Printing-House* : Glasgow, 1932 : 35-36; and Allen, viii, xxii.

the intimacy of those humble and patient workers who shaped the modern times ; like the whispers of human hearts, still aching for sympathy after four centuries, still hungering for affection and for recognition. He felt in them the ever-living, ever-powerful spirit, which from the dead silence of forgotten sepulchres, is still longing to make us wiser through their wisdom, warier through their faults, richer through their experience, and more humane through their failures or sufferings. That concern for Erasmus and his contemporaries made Allen more man ; it widened his comprehension, deepened his understanding. He lived their lives, tried to see what they saw, and feel what they felt. It made his books far more interesting, as he understood far better, and judged more rightly and communicated his notes far more vividly. It helped him splendidly in his research work by developing an ever hungry curiosity about all that, in some way or other, touched his great men of the past.

That curiosity was not morbid : the profanation of the mortal remains of the Great Humanist, — supposed to have been laid *at rest* in the Old Münster in Basle, — caused a horror to his delicate feeling. On the contrary his interest lay in towns alive with memories rather than in tombs ; in immortal thought, in heart and soul, rather than in bones and dead matter. That living link with the great past, far more than the comfortable rooms and the dreamy gardens, made him delight in residing in the College founded by Fox, and working in the library where, no doubt, a Vives had been poring over Bishop Shirwood's treasures, still standing on their secular shelves ¹⁾. That led him on his travels to Basle and Freiburg and Cologne, and made him walk the paths Erasmus had trodden on his journeys to and from Breisgau and Raurachia.

That also drew him to Louvain, where he fully entered into the spirit of bygone days, referring to a printer as Thierry of Alost, and treating a friend, most undeservedly, as '*Tutor*

¹⁾ Cp. P. S. Allen's papers : *Bishop Shirwood of Durham and his Library*, in *EngHistRev.*, xxv : London, 1910 : 445-56 ; and *Ludovicus Vives at Corpus*, in *The Pelican Record* : Oxford, 1902 : 156, sq.

noster'. In the old Brabant town he enjoyed staying for a few days in the College built from the mansion, and with the savings, of Adrian VI.; walking in the aisles of the Halls where Erasmus had walked; listening for the echoes of his discussions with the theologians in St. Peter's; viewing with loving veneration the remains of the Lily, where he boarded for years with de Neve, or the house of Thierry Martens, where he was tended like a child in his illness; following the great Scholar to the banquet in Coppin's Falcon to celebrate the peace just concluded, or to the *Domus Athenensis*, or to Holy-Ghost College, for a cosy talk over a glass of Beaune with Briart and Dorp; visiting with him some faithful friend, like de Winckele, or Paludanus, or Martin Lips. Amidst the old buildings in the sinuous Louvain streets, Allen rejoiced: it was as if he lived in the past: as if Baechem and Dierckx and Titelmans were still staying at their convents; as if Goclenius and Rescius were still teaching in Busleyden's *Trilingue*, and as if Vives was still walking in his old garden with the Latin well purling and babbling as it did four hundred years ago.

The pleasure he felt before those and other monuments of the great past, was increased because, instead of lying in barren ruins, or hiding as fossils, they are wide awake to present-day life, thrilling under every wave of the ceaselessly rolling tides of time; because these glorious witnesses of bygone ages are still genial cooperators in the task of to-day. And Allen himself, working on the lives and thoughts and actions of the great men of former centuries, wanted to supply from them help and material for this and all following generations. Although unfortunately he now belongs to that past, he is wonderfully alive and busy in the present, not only by his immortal work, but also by the deep humanity that pervades it as communicatively now as a few months ago, when it animated his whole being. That humanity makes him stand out in the affectionate memory of all those who had the fortune to know him. The moments spent with him, soar in the receding past like the tower of a town from which one is driving away; they fill the heart with longing, and evoke the kind, affectionate face of the tall, slightly stooping man,

with his eager, penetrating, and yet tender, eyes—like those in the picture at the head of this dedication, taken from a photo on a festive day ¹⁾, when, with his dear friend Cowley and with Dr. Guppy, he was marching in the solemn old-time procession celebrating the fifth centenary of the founding of the University that once welcomed Erasmus, and that rejoiced in bestowing the highest honour at her disposal on the illustrious historian of one of the brightest periods of her past.

¹⁾ Viz., the 500th anniversary of the foundation of Louvain University, celebrated on June 28, 1927, when to P. S. Allen was offered the *laurea* of the honorary degree of Doctor in Philosophy and Letters : cp. *UL-Ann.*, 1927-9, pp. 421, 429, 431. From a photograph of the delegates in the procession, my friend Mrs. KIRSTEN WIWEL was kind enough to make an enlarged drawing, for which hearty thanks are offered.

PREFACE

These *Monumenta*, — which have been delayed in the publishing both through the editor's burden-like avocations, and the long-drawn labours they involved, — are expected to throw some new light on the humanists who illustrated Louvain in the beginning of the xvith century. Investigations about Vives and his work as writer and as educator, suggested indicating with more preciseness his most important connections with England and with the friends he found there, as well as with the pupils who enjoyed his lectures. It led to the editing of two unpublished letters : one Helyar sent to him as a carefree student ¹⁾; the other, he wrote in after years, when the waves of adversity were closing up around him ²⁾. It also occasioned the bringing into public light of a most interesting epistle from one of Vives' old pupils, Rodrigo Manrique ³⁾, who relates with many unknown details the consequences of Nicolas Cop's sermon on All-hallows' day 1533 in the University of Paris, thus supplying new elements for the history of Calvin's 'Conversion' ⁴⁾. Those documents add three items to the correspondence of the great Valencian, whose most sympathetic personality is rousing an interest that gains in extent and penetration as years go on ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ Oxford, December 19, 1524 : cp. *infra*, pp. 14, sq.

²⁾ Louvain, March 18, 1537 : cp. *infra*, pp. 591, sq. This letter helped to unravel the mystery of Helyar's last years and death, about which the latest biographers (cp. *DNB*) have no information to give.

³⁾ Pp. 433, sq.

⁴⁾ Pp. 447, sq.

⁵⁾ Since 1930 were published studies about the philosophic ground-work of Vives' pedagogy (B. Michaelis : Helmstadt, 1931) ; his principle of active cooperation in education (P. Jlg : Langensalza, 1931) and his apologetic work (Paul Graf : Freiburg, i. B., 1932). A fine inaugural speech for 1933-34 by the Rector of the University of Saragossa, Carlos Riba y García, was dedicated to *Luis Vives y el Pacifismo* (Saragossa, 1933). Cp. Tomàs Carreras i Artau, *Historia del Pensament Filosòfic a Catalunya* : Barcelona, 1931 : 73-82.

The other texts and documents — published here for the first time — were found during the War when, University teaching being stopped, the editor was turned from a professor into an archivist. Disappointed in his search for information about Erasmus and Cranevelt, whose letters he was preparing for the printer, he put in order and catalogued the Records of the old Louvain *Studium Generale* that repose in the General Archives of the Realm in Brussels ¹⁾. If his search was unsuccessful as to his initial purpose, it was fortunate beyond expectation in other respects. It revealed hitherto unknown documents about the first years of the *Collegium Trilingue*; they were to have been used for a paper in these *Monumenta*: still the matter being so abundant and the texts to be edited so numerous, the part that had already been printed has been laid aside for the next-coming volume of this series, which will be completely taken up by that subject. It is not the only harvest gathered in those days of eager work amidst the endless galleries of the Archives with their innumerable rows of bundles and vellum-bound volumes — work carried on patiently throughout several blazing summers and piercing winters, notwithstanding smarting anxiety and the ever growing extenuation. A vast amount of details about the Humanists and their friends was secured from the old registers and records, of which the very existence was ignored.

They revealed — amongst other things — the real, or at least the second, name of Nicolas *Clenardus*, and thus allowed the riddle of his literary training to be solved ²⁾. Similarly they yielded up Damian a Goes' *Oratio*, which had been buried in oblivion for centuries ³⁾. The search for information led to other sections of the Records, into which the way was shown most obligingly by the various specialized archivists, amongst whom Mr. Hubert NÉLIS, stands out as well for his ever ready advice as for his wide range of valuable experience. Thus came to light a bulky register, which formerly belonged to

¹⁾ Cp. H. de Vocht, *Inventaire des Archives de l'Université de Louvain 1426-1797, aux Archives Générales du Royaume*: Louvain, 1927: pp. v, sq; and *Litterae Virorum Eruditorum ad Franciscum Craneveldium, 1522-1528*: Louvain, 1928: pp. x, sq.

²⁾ Pp. 411, sq.

³⁾ Pp. 643, sq.

the old Abbey of St. Trudo ¹⁾; besides records interesting for the historian of that Abbey, and besides Morinck's numerous theological or exegetical compositions, it contains several most important documents on Humanism : to begin with, the unedited Apology which Dorp offered to his protector, the Egmond Abbot Man, about his addictedness to the principles of the new movement ²⁾. Further a biography of the great Professor written a few months after his death by Morinck, which, although an authentic testimony of a student sharing his house and board, invited a sifting of what gratitude might have added, or circumstances repressed, by comparing with other contemporary evidence, the information which this volume had kept hidden so long ³⁾. Finally there are in that interesting collection several letters which Morinck wrote to some of his most distinguished friends : the great patristic erudite Martin Lips, the Bible-translator Nicolas van Winghe, the famous Boeschepe schoolmaster Livinus van den Cruyce, and Adrian VI.'s trusty secretary Thierry Hezius ⁴⁾. It is evident that those letters owe their conservation merely to the fact that they refer to the cynosure of those days, Erasmus, and his writings, his schemes of reform and his ways of reaching his aims. Penned down in the sincerity of Morinck's intimacy with his correspondents, who knew the Great Humanist quite as well as he did, and judged him, each according to his lights, these letters provide a most welcome variety of information about their celebrated contemporary. As they looked at him and his life-work from different stand-points, their views necessarily contribute to make him more actual and to bring him nearer to us, which will, no doubt, help to unriddle that most puzzling contradiction of past centuries, — the man who was both an idol and an object of abomination ; who wrote as well the *Novum Instrumentum* as the *Laus Stultitiæ* ; whom Luther accused of atheism, whom Œcolampadius drove out of Basle, whom Beda con-

¹⁾ Pp. 72, sq, 494, sq.

²⁾ Pp. 63, sq.

³⁾ Pp. 123, sq.

⁴⁾ Pp. 495, sq.

demned as a heretic, whom More continued calling ' my dere derling stil ' up to his last days ¹⁾, and to whom Paul III. offered the dignity of Cardinal.

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* * *

My hearty thanks go to the great Belgian Archivist D^r JOSEPH CUVELIER, who in his considerate generosity allowed me the free use of those and other documents belonging to the General Records of the Realm, Brussels, by a loan extending over several years. It is only thanks to his encouraging kindness that I have been able to bring to an end this work, elaborated during holidays, and in the intervals between the Sisyphean task of teaching and lecturing. The Librarians Prof. E. VAN CAUWENBERGH of Louvain University, Mr. V. TOURNEUR of the Royal Library Brussels, Prof. PAUL BERGMANS of Ghent University, and especially Dr. C. F. HILL, Director of the British Museum, with their staffs, as also those of the General Archives, Brussels, and of the Louvain Town Archives, continuously assisted me in my work throughout several years by placing numberless books and documents at my disposal, and providing at request photographs of unique and indispensable texts : I express my deep gratitude for the untiring readiness in bestowing upon me their valuable services. No less precious was the help granted to me for special subjects, and no less sincere is the thankfulness that I profess to the authorities of the London Record Office, for Vives' epistle and memoir ²⁾ ; to Dr. ROTH, keeper of the Manuscripts of Basle University Library, for the Amerbach documents ³⁾ ; to the authorities of Breslau Town Library, for the two letters from Vives' disciples, belonging to their *Rehdigerana* ⁴⁾ ; to Monsignor Eug. TISSERANT, Pro-Préfet, who provided Goes' epistles to Bembo ⁵⁾ and Helyar's *anulecta* from the treasures of the *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana* ⁶⁾ ; to Monsignor

¹⁾ *The Workes of Sir Thomas More* : London, 1557 : 422 B.

²⁾ Pp. 23-26 and 29-32.

³⁾ Pp. 376-381.

⁴⁾ Pp. 14-16 and 433-441.

⁵⁾ Pp. 692-698.

⁶⁾ Pp. 588-598.

SANDER, for Clenardus' missive to Dantiscus, from the archives of Ermeland Diocese, to which, as *Vicarius Capitularis*, he generously granted a most welcome access ¹⁾; to Dr. A. W. GRAPE of Uppsala Library, to Dr. G. WAHL of that of Hamburg, to Dr. M. KUKIEL of that in Muzeum Czartoryskich, Krakow, to the Librarians of the Kornickiey, in Poznan, and the Ossolinskich, in Lwów, who allowed me to draw freely from the wealth of material and information entrusted to their care. For the opportunity to inspect the literary treasures in those distant regions, and gather an ample harvest of information about our Humanists, I am indebted to the Belgian *Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique*, which in 1930 and 1931 granted me royal subsidies to make a thorough research in libraries and records of Germany, Denmark, Sweden and Poland preparatory to an edition of the correspondence of John Dantiscus and Cornelius de Schepper. Besides an unexpected amount of material on that subject, I was fortunate enough to light on unknown and most interesting documents, of which I have made ample use for this volume: I gladly acknowledge my great debt of gratitude to the Director and the managing Board of that lofty-minded Institution.

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In the immediate vicinity I have found as ready and generous help as in the more distant regions: the Rev. Jos. WALTER, librarian of Beatus Rhenanus' treasures at Sélestat, whose obligingness is as great as his erudition, communicated the exact reading of some passages in the manuscripts under his care, which seemed doubtful in the edited text; Dr. MEYLINCK, of the *Algemeen Rijksarchief* of The Hague, kindly enlightened me about the family records of the Dorps ²⁾; Mr. S. H. van der KRAATS, *custos* of the Gouda *Librye*, exerted himself to make the collating of the letter to Lethmaat as convenient as possible ³⁾: I iterate to them my hearty thanks. The great bibliographer Miss M. E. KRONENBERG, and the scien-

¹⁾ Pp. 420-423.

²⁾ Cp. pp. 292-295.

³⁾ Cp. pp. 385-390.

tific assistant of Amsterdam University Library, Miss B. E. J. TIMMER, have done what they could to trace the elusive copy of the *Compendium Rhetorices* ¹⁾ : to them, as also to the librarians of The Hague and of Rotterdam, and the town secretary of Naaldwijk, I feel as much obliged as if they had been able to provide positive information : the certainty of the non-existence of alleged documents is not always the least important part of evidence. Not less deep is my obligation to the secretaries Mr. A. KNAPEN, of Ordange ²⁾, and Mr. J. CORDIE of Heers ³⁾, for the information they imparted about noble families connected with the history of their villages, as also to the Right Reverend Rector of the parish of Lens-St. Remy, L. DUBOIS, for the details about the present state of Bethany Convent, which once was flourishing under the care of the great Martin Lips ⁴⁾. I am pleased also to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Emile A GOËS, Notary at Nivelles, who placed at my disposal his family records, although they brought no new light about the life and work of his illustrious Ancestor.

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I could not let this book go out of my hand without acknowledging my deep gratitude to my well-beloved Master, Professor W. BANG KAUP, of Berlin University, who for several years at every meeting, has evinced the liveliest interest in my work, and encouraged me with the wisdom of his wide-ranging erudition. To Professor MARCEL BATAILLON, of Algiers University, who in his generous kindness already gave these *Monumenta* a most inspiring welcome before they had well started ⁵⁾, I owe the knowledge of Helyar's connection with the history of Ignatius of Loyola's *Exercitia Spi-*

¹⁾ Cp. pp. 690, 693.

²⁾ Cp. pp. 487, 489.

³⁾ Cp. p. 489.

⁴⁾ Cp. pp. 534-537.

⁵⁾ *Du nouveau sur J. L. Vives*, in *Bulletin Hispanique*, xxxii : Bordeaux, 1930 : pp. 97, 113.

tualia : but for his article in the *Bulletin Hispanique* ¹⁾, and the reference in the preface to the *Manual del Caballero Cristiano* ²⁾, it would have wholly escaped me. For the information that made it possible for me to write the paper on that disciple of Vives', as well as for the advice he imparted to me from his wonderful store of experience in *Hispanica*, I feel most grateful. In the preceding pages I have tried to discharge as much as I could of my vast debt to the editors of the *Opvs Epistolarvm Erasmi* ³⁾ — which has been both my model and my staunchest help in my daily studies for over five lustres — although it seems that Allen's untimely death makes it vaster and heavier. I also feel under the greatest obligations towards my friend the late Professor FOSTER WATSON, of Aberystwyth University, not only for his suggestive work on Vives ⁴⁾, whose efficient apostle he was for many years, but also for the most hearty way in which he hailed the edition of Cranevelt's letters. Unfortunately these *Monumenta* will miss the protection of such an influential advocate : yet they will be the sincerer in betokening the deepest veneration for his great achievements, and the most affectionate homage to his memory for the true friendship he bestowed on me on account of a common interest in the famous son of Valencia.

The long list of those who helped me in the publishing of this book would certainly be incomplete if I did not mention my too-soon deceased friend Mr. ARTHUR UYSTPRUYST, who both as editor and printer, was always ready to allow me the largest freedom, and evinced the greatest patience in the protracted producing. I express my deepest gratitude and veneration to his memory, and offer them also to his son

¹⁾ *Autour de Luis Vives et d'Iñigo de Loyola*, in *Bulletin Hispanique*, xxx : Bordeaux, 1928 : pp. 184-186 (through confusion with the reference in *CaballCrist.*, the page has been wrongly indicated as 77 in note 3 of p. 588).

²⁾ *CaballCrist.*, 77-78.

³⁾ With the exception of the last ten pages and the lists, these *Monumenta* had been printed off when the eighth volume of the *Opus* reached me.

⁴⁾ Cp. the long — but by far not exhaustive — list of his works on the great Valencian, which are constantly referred to in this book (Watson, *VivAng.*, *VivSpan.*, *VivVal.*, *VivWom.*).

Mr. CHARLES UYSTPRUYST, who, walking in his father's steps, makes it possible for a scholar to execute his boldest plans. As to the work itself, it would not have been possible to bring it out, if, like for the preceding volumes, I had not experienced the most valuable and unselfish help of Mrs. FLORENCE A. PESSERS TASKER. Besides copying Goes' *Oratio* for the compositor, she has been continuously relieving me by reading over and touching up my English, so as to make it less foreign ; she has assiduously corrected proof and revise, and has prepared the slips for the list of personages. If these *Monumenta* are readable and helpful, it is in a large measure due to her patient care and her untiring assistance.

VIVES
AND HIS VISITS TO
ENGLAND

VIVES

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The Occasion of the First Visit.

England, which had such a large share in the formation and in the aspirations of Erasmus, was also for several years intimately connected with the life and work of his friend John Louis Vives : both found there generous patronage and lasting affection, and the days they spent there were amongst the sunniest of their careers.

Vives' first visit to England took place in the spring of 1523 ¹⁾. For he cannot be identified with the *Pollio* mentioned in Erasmus' letter of March 8, 1517 as having importuned Thomas More with his calls ²⁾; indeed, three years later, on May 26, 1520, he was still a downright stranger to More, who had never seen his face, and who, of all his works, only knew the *Declamationes Syllanæ*, published in the preceding month of April ³⁾. Most probably their mutual friend Francis

¹⁾ The only authority for a visit as early as 1517 (cp. Wood, I, 55; Paquot, II, 36; Underhill, 86; Allen, II, 545, 15, III, 927, *pref.*; &c.) is the reference wrongly supposed to be in Erasmus' letter of March 8, 1517: cp. Fowler, 33, 53; Bonilla, 165, 636; *VivAng.*, 267; and *Cran.*, xiii.

²⁾ Allen, II, 545, 15; probably the editor of the *Farrago*, 1519, inserted the name 'Viues' in a blank of the manuscript, as he was known as Spanish and as Erasmus' friend; the next edition, the *Epistolæ ad Diversos*, August 31, 1521, introduced the name *Pollio*, which is found in all subsequent issues.

³⁾ Cp. Allen, IV, 1106, 21, 25, 81, 100-102; *Cran.*, xiii. — Probably Vives was already in 1516 in William de Croy's service as tutor, and consequently may have stayed occasionally in Court, which explains how the «Jurados» of his native town addressed their letter of Nov. 13, 1516, to 'magistro Ludouico Viues, in curia regia residenti eiusque curiali' (Bonilla, 731-734).

de Cranevelt introduced them to each other in Bruges in the latter half of August 1520 ¹⁾, and thus welded the link that bound Vives to England.

The acquaintance soon proved most useful; for losing a generous patron a few months afterwards, at the untimely death of Cardinal William de Croy at Worms ²⁾, Vives was taken under Queen Catherine's protection; *Pecunia Reginea me huc vsque alui, et alo*, he wrote to Erasmus on July 10, 1521 ³⁾; nor did he fail to acknowledge his indebtedness to More for the advantages received, which were so great that they made his friendship appear as mercenary: <ejus> *benevolentiae tot fructus percepi*, he wrote in 1521, *ut metuum ne cui credar amicitiam colere mercenariam* ⁴⁾. From the meeting at Bruges in August 1521, where More was to attend on Wolsey ⁵⁾, he expected no less than a final settlement of his future, namely the realization of his dream, the *ocium ad vitam studiosam* ⁶⁾. Still the only result of the interview seems to have been the answer to Quintilian's *Paries Palmatus*, which he promised to write at his friend's request ⁷⁾; and he had to return disconsolate to Louvain and to the *scholarum taedium* ⁸⁾.

The days that passed by brought more trouble than relief. An appointment with Ferdinand of Austria, which had seemed within reach for a while, did not come off ⁹⁾, and the Duke of Alba's offer of a *conditio non contemnenda* was not even mentioned to him by the faithless messenger ¹⁰⁾; no wonder that he was now looking the more earnestly for help from England ¹¹⁾. For several months he had been toiling at the

¹⁾ *Cran.*, xiii; Brewer, III, 839; Allen, IV, 1107, 6, 1145; Höfler, 357.

²⁾ Jan. 6, 1521: *Cran.*, I, d; Allen, IV, 1184, 2-15; VOO, IV, 40; Höfler, 357.

³⁾ Allen, IV, 1222, 17; *VivSpan.*, 39; Höfler, 358.

⁴⁾ Cp. preface to *Declamatio pro Noverca* <Bruges, 1521>: VOO, II, 484; Mayans, 40.

⁵⁾ *Cran.*, 11; Allen, IV, 1233, 1-9.

⁶⁾ Allen, IV, 1222, 17-23, V, 1306, 43.

⁷⁾ VOO, II, 472-500; Mayans, 40.

⁸⁾ Allen, V, 1306, 44.

⁹⁾ Bonilla, 149; Allen, V, 1256, 65, 1271, 126.

¹⁰⁾ Allen, V, 1271, 129-156.

¹¹⁾ Allen, V, 1306, 37-45.

Civitas Dei; and dedicating it to Henry VIII. on July 7, 1522 ¹⁾, he contemplated going to England to offer it to the King, from whom he hoped an appointment as « Court Scholar » through the Queen's intercession, and through More's and Fisher's influence. Still as the book was not ready before September, the intended journey, which was to last two or three months ²⁾, had to be postponed, and was finally abandoned ³⁾. Indeed the letter which Erasmus wrote on September 1 to introduce him to Bishop Fisher, cannot have reached Belgium before the middle of that same month ⁴⁾; and on the 12th of October following, Vives finished in Louvain his letter to Adrian VI., *De Europae Statu ac Tumultibus* ⁵⁾; consequently hardly a fortnight's space was left for the eventful visit ⁶⁾. Nor can it have taken place immediately before, or after, that period: for on August 15, Vives was still suffering from the exhausting work, and considered it indispensable to devote some months to restore his health ⁷⁾; whilst on November 8, he was fully engaged in teaching Robert de Croy, and had gathered a numerous and most eager audience for his *publica professio: delector*, he wrote, *tanta frequentia auditorum & tanta alacritate* ⁸⁾. Amongst that audience were Giles Wallop, to whom Vives afterwards wrote from Oxford ⁹⁾, and Nicolas

¹⁾ The history of this book — which was issued by J. Froben in Basle on August 31, 1522 — was written by Foster Watson: *J. L. Vives and St. Augustine's 'Civitas Dei'*, in *The Church Quarterly Review*, LXXVI: London, 1913: 127-151. Cp. Allen, v, 1309, *pref.*; *ErServ.*, 5, 14, 16; Höfler, 357; *Cran.*, 5, 1, 6, 48, and (places in List of References) p. 774.

²⁾ Allen, v, 1306, 37-43; Höfler, 358.

³⁾ Some biographers have been led to believe that Vives did visit England in September 1522: Allen, III, 927, *pref.*, v, 1362, *pref.*; Sandys, II, 214; Woodward, 181; &c.; cp. *VivAng.*, 79.

⁴⁾ Allen, v, 1311, 40; Brewer, III, 2731.

⁵⁾ VOO, v, 164-174; Pastor, II, 25, 60; Höfler, 353-361.

⁶⁾ The fact that Henry VIII. acknowledged the dedication of the *Civitas* by letter and only on Jan. 24, 1523 (*CivDei*, 1539), is a further proof that Vives did not go to England in September to offer the book personally.

⁷⁾ *Cran.*, 13, 53-58; Allen, v, 1306, 8-12, 17-19.

⁸⁾ *Cran.*, 23, 1-5; Paquot, IX, 237.

⁹⁾ The undated letter belongs to January 1524 (VOO, VII, 208; *Farr.*, 18 r), since Vives met his brother, the soldier and diplomatist Sir John Wallop (cp. *DNB*), at the English Court at the time of his conversation with Queen Catherine about the dangers of a fortunate life; this Giles Wallop, a priest, enjoyed several ecclesiastical preferments.

Wotton, to whom he referred in his *Veritas Fucata* ¹⁾; they continued the series of the English students who had succeeded each other under his chair in the Brabant *Studium Generale*: such as the Oxford teacher of Grammar Maurice Birchinshaw ²⁾; Richard Pace's companion to Italy William Thale ³⁾; Richard Warham, a relative of the Archbishop of Canterbury ⁴⁾; and Nicolas Daryngton, who praised his lectures and his erudition when writing to Henry Golde, the Master of St. John's College, Cambridge ⁵⁾, not to mention England's great physician John Clement, who stayed for several months with him ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ VOO, II, 309, 530-1; *Cran.*, 41, b, 281, c; *CivDei*, 1800; Nicolas Wotton, one of Bishop Tunstall's officials, possessed several prebends; he afterwards studied in Italy and probably also in France, where he was in November 1529 (VOO, VII, 141-2); he became dean of Canterbury and York, and secretary of State: *DNB*. Being for a time ambassador at Mary of Hungary's Court, he made, or continued, the acquaintance of several humanists who mentioned him in their works: Peter Nannius dedicated to him his *Oratio de Obsidione Louaniensi* (Louvain, Sept. 1543: A 1 v), and James Jespersen inserted two poems to him in his *Encomium Angliæ* (Antwerp, 1546: D iij r).

²⁾ Most probably he is the *Mauritius* of Vives' letters to Erasmus of Jan. 19, 1522 and July 14, 1522: Allen, v, 1256, 90, 121, 1303, 48, 50; and the *Bequinsalo* of Vives' letter to Pate of <Nov. 1529>: VOO, VII, 141.

³⁾ 'Gulielmus Taleus' is mentioned as Vives' student in Jan.-July 1522: Allen, v, 1256, 90, 1303, 51; he was most probably identical with the recipient of the letter of Aug. 13, 1521, by which Erasmus invited him to Louvain on the inducement of its salubrity, its quietness and its teaching: 'Nusquam professorum maior aut paratior copia' (Allen, IV, 1224, *pr.*, 11); he also pleads the renewal of old comradeship begun in Italy and continued in England. Thale matriculated in Louvain on Dec. 3, 1522, as *Dominus*: 'Dnus. Wilhelmus taleus anglus eboracensis dioc.' (*Excerpts*, 103), which shows that he was not any longer a boy. He probably was very young when Erasmus first met him at Ferrara (Nolhac, 59); he evidently did not yet realize that he had injured both the humanist and his fame, and even erudition in general; indeed, unconscious of Erasmus' bitter disappointment (Allen, I, 30, 16, 244, 6-21, and p. 34, 10-11), he continued courting his friendship and requested even to be recommended by him to Vives (Allen, v, 1256, 91, 1303, 51).

⁴⁾ Erasmus had recommended to Vives 'Varamum' (Allen, v, 1256, 90-91), who most probably was a relative of his great friend and protector William Warham; he apparently is identical with the 'Richard Warham, Doctor of the Civil Law of ... Orleans', who was incorporated in Oxford University in February 1527; and may have enjoyed a dignity in Canterbury Cathedral, where his uncle was archbishop: Wood, I, 674.

⁵⁾ Brewer, III, 2052; P. S. Allen, *Some Letters of Masters and Scholars 1500-1530* (*EngHistRev.*, XXII), 740; *MB*, XII, 11; Ortro, 250-3; *Cran.*, 202, 30. ⁶⁾ Allen, v, 1256, 122, 1271, 115; *Cran.*, 154, c-f; *MoreCorr.*, 552.

Still the success of his teaching could not prevent dejection, for it had become an actual burden ; and he was exhausted from the protracted and ungrateful toiling at the *Civitas* ¹⁾; and the news which he received in December 1522 from Spain was depressing : his only brother had died ; his father was dangerously ill and unable to stave off the difficulties that threatened his family with utter ruin ²⁾ ; so that he himself was tortured by the doubt as to whether he should accept the vacancy left by his former professor Antonio de Lebrija ³⁾, which the Alcala University requested him to fill ⁴⁾. He utterly shrank from teaching, especially in his own country, where besides the disagreeableness of the profession he would have to contend with the inveterate traditions and the suspicious aversion to the innovations of Humanism ⁵⁾. Whereas before he had easily resisted the pressing request of Juan de Vergara ⁶⁾, on whose recommendation the offer had been made, he found it very hard indeed, after hearing of the sad plight, to convince himself that his family had no claim on him, and that it was not his duty to go and assist them by accepting so honorable an office, or any other position in his country. On the other hand he was too proud to avail himself of Henry VIII.'s promise of help and benevolence ⁷⁾, except as a reward of excellent work achieved. He therefore resolved to appeal once more to his countrywoman, Queen Catherine, and he composed for her his most remarkable treatise *de Institutione Fœminæ Christianæ*, in which she herself is sketched as in a painting ⁸⁾. In April, when he finished it, his health had all but given way under the stress of work ; and as his prospects had not become any more sanguine, he was unable to send any relief to his family, about whom the news became more and more

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 8, 6-15, 56, 12, 221, 40 ; *Allen*, v, 1309, *pr.*, 1531, 36, vi, 1613, 9, vii, 1889, 15, 2040, 26.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 32, 15-18, 25-29. ³⁾ Bonilla, 153, 630-1 ; Hermelink, 52.

⁴⁾ The letter of the Alcala University to Vives declares to commit it to Vergara to make the offer of the situation ; cp. his letter of Sept. 6, 1522 : *HispEp.*, 247-250 ; Bonilla, 153, 631.

⁵⁾ *BatDial.*, 40-43, 65-91 ; Bonilla, 153.

⁶⁾ Letter of Vergara to Vives, Sept. 6, 1522 : *HispEp.*, 247-250, 260.

⁷⁾ Greenwich, January 24, 1523 : *CivDei*, 1539.

⁸⁾ VOO, iv, 65, 69 ; *Cran.*, 53, 54 ; *Allen*, vi, 1624, 61, vii, 1847, 21.

alarming, so that he finally decided on the voyage ¹⁾ : *mari, videlicet*, he wrote to Cranevelt, *qui vix in terra viuo, & iniquissimo tempore* ²⁾. Indeed the war was waging between Charles V. and Francis I., and French buccaneers made seafaring most hazardous for Flemish and Spanish craft. As the protection of the English flag was the only chance of reaching safely an Iberian harbour, he resolved to resort first to London, where he should have the advantage of More's sympathy and encouragement ; also that of announcing his *Institutio* to the Queen ; besides that of finding a ship to convey him to his native country ³⁾. Such was his intention on May 10, on the eve of his first crossing to Britain ⁴⁾.

The First Visit.

May 1523-April 1524.

That first visit to England was a turning point in Vives' career : it landed a drifting man into a harbour of refuge. More proved a real friend in need ; he helped him as much by the comfort of his sympathy, as by his efficient influence at Court, and providing for the immediate wants of the scholar on the brink of despair, he secured the services of the most clear-sighted and most warm-hearted of all humanists for the benefit of the country. Although the outlook in the first days may still have been dark ⁵⁾, relief was soon to come : for in

¹⁾ Distuli hactenus, si qua spes affulsisset ex Hispania. Tenebræ omnia & nox non in rebus maior quam in animo & consilij meis, quæ omnia adempta sunt mihi violentia molestiarum : *Cran.*, 56, 17-20.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 56, 16.

³⁾ About May 10, 1523 he wrote to Cranevelt : 'Cras discedo Brugis in Britanniam...; inde in Hispaniam'; and to Erasmus (May 10, 1523) : 'Ego nulla ratione subtrahere me potui Hispanico itineri ... Per Britanniam proficiscar' : *Cran.*, 56, 14-16 ; cp. 32, 26, 47, 3 ; Allen, v, 1362, 102-4 ; cp. 1306, 37, 1312 (offering to take a letter to Spain via England) ; Höfler, 360.

⁴⁾ There is no authority for the opinion according to which Vives should have been invited by Wolsey or Henry VIII. : Bussche, 312 ; Watson, lxxiii ; Underhill, 56, 87 ; *VivVal.*, 76 ; cp. *VivAng.*, 80 ; Bonilla, 160.

⁵⁾ Most probably the gloomy letter to Christopher Miranda was written at that period, when Vives was in London 'occupatus nihil agendo', when he went every day to Court (cp. *Cran.*, 90, 10), although living rather far away in a *gurgustiolum angustissimum*, without table

the very beginning of July 1523 Livinus Algoet, returning from London, brought to Bruges the gratifying news that Vives was in good health ¹⁾. In August it was announced that he enjoyed a *conditio digna* ²⁾: indeed he had been appointed to one of Wolsey's Readerships, which then were held in Richard Fox's College, Oxford, — Corpus Christi — as the Cardinal's was only in formation ³⁾. To him had been entrusted the teaching of Latin, Greek and Rhetorics ⁴⁾, which Thomas Lupset had abandoned when he went to Italy ⁵⁾; whereas Kratzer lectured on science and mathematics ⁶⁾.

and hardly a chair, in the noise of inn and city, where he could not even walk about for his health, which gave him serious misgivings: 'serviendum est enim valetudini, he wrote, praesertim hic, ubi si aegrotem, in stercorarium aliquod abjiciar; ne erit, qui magis me respiciat, quam vilem aliquam et morbidam canem': VOO, VII, 201-202. Indeed, after his first stay in Oxford he had many good friends; his pupils corresponded with him; he occasionally shared lodgings with a countryman, like Alvaro de Castro (see further p. 13), — not to mention his acquaintance with More and his family, which had grown to cordial intimacy. ¹⁾ *Cran.*, 63, 23. ²⁾ *Cran.*, 71, 25-31.

³⁾ *VivCorp.*, 156-160; P. S. Allen, *The Early Corpus Readerships*: Oxford, 1905: 3-5; *Collectanea* of Miles Windsor and Brian Twyne (Mss. 280 in Corpus Christi College), 215; Wood, I, 55; A. Wood, *The City of Oxford* (edited by A. Clark): Oxford, 1889: I, 541; Fowler, 33, 53; Harpsfield, 644; Sandys, II, 214; Fox, xv.

⁴⁾ Amongst those incorporated in 1523 comes for 'Oct. 26, Johan. Ludovicus Vives ... being this year a Lecturer in Oxon.': Wood, I, 668; the title of 'LL. D. beyond the Seas', however, is wrongly attributed to him: cp. *VivAng.*, 80-82; he had not got it when he arrived at Oxford, and nowhere in his correspondence with Cranevelt is there the least allusion to his having received it; on the contrary he professes himself an apprentice in jurisprudence: *Cran.*, 13, 23-24, 193, 40. Nor is it possible that he should have started the studies of law and taken the degree of LL. D. in the nine — busy — months that all in all he spent in Oxford. By a similar mistake he is made to «expound the civil law before the whole university» (Underhill, 87). To be true he refers to Peter Garcias de Laloo's promotion in Oxford, as if he himself had been amongst those who conferred the degree: 'quem hic licentiatu ciuilibus iuris donauimus' (*Cran.*, 144, 23); still that statement can easily be explained as 'nos, viz., professores Universitatem Oxoniensem constituentes'; moreover, according to Wood, I, 668, de Laloo became bachelor of civil law in Oxford, on Oct. 27, 1523, when Vives had only quite recently arrived in the University. — Cp. *VivVal.*, 56 sqq.

⁵⁾ *VivCorp.*, 157; *VivAng.*, 69-75; *DNB*; *Cran.*, 50, 9, 169, 1. Lupset prob. saw Vives on his way in Bruges, March-April 1523: Allen, v, 1362, 44.

⁶⁾ Allen, II, 515, 1; *DNB*; *VivAng.*, 76; Wood, I, 64, 667. — Vives wrote verses for Kratzer's dial in the churchyard of St. Mary's.

Vives found in Oxford a most hearty welcome, not only in the College, which then was presided by John Claymond ¹⁾, but also in the University; his students, amongst whom were Nicolas Udall, Edward Wotton, Richard Pate, John Heliars and Reginald Pole ²⁾, showed real eagerness ³⁾, as if to make up for the unpleasantness of his situation: to begin with, he loathed teaching; the climate and living of Oxford did hardly agree with his delicate health ⁴⁾, and he was disappointed by the state of neglect of England's oldest seat of learning ⁵⁾. The University wrote to Wolsey on September 12 to express their satisfaction with Vives ⁶⁾, although he himself could hardly get reconciled to the *scholarum taedium*; still the displeasure which he vented in his letters to his friends ⁷⁾ was neither caused by his auditors nor his salary ⁸⁾, but by a longing for a position like that of Erasmus, providing a life of study, and yet independent of any lecturing, an *ocium literarium* such as he had expected from, and apparently had even been promised by, the King and Queen ⁹⁾. He did not even hide that disappointment from Wolsey, who had availed himself of the opportunity of a scholar in need to lay the burden of a readership on his shoulders ¹⁰⁾; and he used every means to obtain such a sinecure at Court. He therefore wrote *De Ratione Studii*, of which the first part was dedicated to

¹⁾ Allen, III, 990, v, 1455, 21; *Cran.*, 80, 5, 261, b; *Farr.*, 14 v; VOO, II, 307, VII, 142, 204, 214; *Fox*, 35-6, 86, 103-163, 171.

²⁾ Later on John Twyne: *VivAng.*, 40-3, 79, 267-9; Allen, v, 1388, 4.

³⁾ VOO, II, 309 (Udall), VII, 210; Brewer, IV, 1187.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 80, 11-23, 90, 40, &c.; VOO, VII, 207; *VivVal.*, 85, 98.

⁵⁾ *Cran.*, 71, 31, 90, 122-6; in Jan. 1523 he wrote to Giles Wallop residing *trans mare* (most probably in Louvain, where he had been his pupil): 'in iis locis estis unde majorem potestis haurire eruditionem quam in Britannia': VOO, VII, 211; Allen, v, 1388, 4.

⁶⁾ Allen, v, 1388, 4.

⁷⁾ E. g., *Cran.*, 71, 24; Allen, v, 1388, 4.

⁸⁾ *Cran.*, 80, 2; Sandys, II, 214.

⁹⁾ *Cran.*, 71, 26-30: 'de famulicio regio nihil <viz., nuntiat Vives>, cum in hoc aspiraret optari'; &c.

¹⁰⁾ Vives thanked him by a letter in Sept. 1523 (cp. Brewer, IV, 1187), but plainly expressed his dissatisfaction in his dedication of the translations from Isocrates: he regrets that he has so little time to devote to studies, being encumbered with care and occupation, *potissimum*, he adds, *publica Oxoniæ professione, quam tu mihi imposuisti*: Oxford, Dec. 15, 1523: *EurDiss.*, F v v; VOO, v, 1-3; Bonilla, 169.

Queen Catherine ¹⁾, and the second ²⁾ to Charles Blount, William Lord Mountjoy's son ³⁾; at the request of the imperial ambassador in England, Louis of Flandres, Lord of Praet ⁴⁾, he composed the book *De Consultatione* ⁵⁾, and in recognition of his appointment, he inscribed to Wolsey, on December 15, 1523, his translation of the *Areopagitica Oratio* and of the *Nicocles* by Isocrates ⁶⁾.

An undubitable proof of the royal favour was given to Vives about that time when the King and Queen, probably returning from Woodstock to Windsor, broke a long custom and entered Oxford ⁷⁾ to pay a visit to the newly-appointed lecturer and invite him to spend the Christmas holidays at Court ⁸⁾. This extraordinary mark of consideration was not only gratifying

¹⁾ Oxford, October, 7, 1523 : VOO, I, 256 ; Bonilla, 167 ; Höfler, 360.

²⁾ London, second half of December 1523 : VOO, I, 270.

³⁾ William Blount, Lord Baron Mountjoy, Henry VIII.'s friend and councillor, and Master of the Mint, was Erasmus' first pupil and oldest patron : he was a great favourer of learning, in which his son Charles imitated him : Allen, I, 79, VII, 2023 ; *Cran.*, 80, 5, &c. ; *LatCont.*, 386-8 ; *DNB*.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 150, *a-d* ; Allen, IV, 1191 ; *KalkAnfGeg.*, II, 90 ; &c.

⁵⁾ The dedicatory letter is dated Oxford 1523 : VOO, II, 238-262.

⁶⁾ *EurDiss.*, F iv v-l v v ; VOO, V, 7, 36.

⁷⁾ Polydorus Vergilius Urbinas, in his *Anglicæ Historiæ Libri Viginti-septem* (2nd ed., Basle, 1556 : 90, 16-28), and after him Joannes Peregrinus <Gast> Petrosulanus, in *Convivialium Sermonum Libri III* (Basle, 1542 : III, 89), explain why the Kings of England were afraid to enter Oxford town. One of the Saxon *reguli*, Algarus, having fallen in love with Fridesvida, daughter of Count Didanus, of Oxford, wanted to lay violent hands on her as she refused his advances. She fled towards the town, and managed to reach the gate, which was closed against Algarus ; yet as he was struck blind on that very moment, the young maiden took pity on him and restored his eyesight by her prayers to God. Vergil — who mentions a chapter of canons in Oxford dedicated to her, — says that in his lifetime (*memoria nostra*) Henry VIII. put an end to that superstition, when 'bona armatus conscientia, Oxonium sine ullo suo incommodo, ac totius populi magno cum gaudio ingressus est' : he evidently refers to this visit to Vives.

⁸⁾ *Cran.*, 90, 6-25. This visit probably gave rise to a legend recorded by Brian Twyne in *Antiquitatis Academiæ Oxoniensis Apologia* (Oxford, 1608) : III, 210, p. 328, in which he relates that not only the whole University, but a crowd of Courtiers with Henry and the Queen « ad eum in aula eiusdem Collegij legentem audiendum, avidissime conflueret » ; — that passage is quoted in the edition of *Johannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini, olim Rhetoricæ Professoris in Collegio Corporis Christi apud Oxonienses Libri XII. De Disciplinis* : 1612 : f° [A 1] v ; cp. Wood, I, 55.

to Vives, but also to the College, which gladly paid the honour by the customary present offered to ladies in those days, spending 28s. on gloves, besides other entertainment ¹⁾. It was during his stay at Windsor in the ensuing Christmas-tide that Vives had with the Queen that interesting conversation about the advantages of adversity ²⁾; probably he was also taken into confidence about the literary education of Princess Mary, for whose instruction he had drawn a plan in the *De Ratione Studii* ³⁾. The *Institutio Fœminæ Christianæ*, which meanwhile had been printed at Antwerp ⁴⁾, confirmed him in the Queen's favour; also in public opinion, for his fame had spread, and he had made friends with Thomas Linacre ⁵⁾, Cuthbert Tunstall ⁶⁾, John Fisher ⁶⁾, John Longlond ⁷⁾, William Latimer ⁶⁾, William Mountjoy ⁶⁾, Sir John Wallop ⁸⁾, and many others amongst the most conspicuous men in England. He returned to Oxford on January 9 or 10, 1524, and although suffering again from ill-health ⁹⁾, he worked zealously for more than three months; he was back in Bruges on April 24 ¹⁰⁾.

He rejoiced all his friends with the enthusiastic report of his visit, extolling the high and noble qualities of King and Queen, the lofty mind of the chief noblemen, and the

¹⁾ These expenses are shown in the *Libri Magni*, the earliest account-books, of Corpus Christi College, about which the erudite president Dr. P. S. Allen edited a most interesting note: *Early Life in Corpus* (1931). He mentions that Vives' arrival 'is recorded by the expenditure of 3 1/2 d. «pro vectibus pro cubiculo Domini Viues», and 4 d. for a key for his servant's room, and mending the lock': *Accounts*, I, f^o 5: Sept. 1523.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 90, 26-39: Vives also refers to that conversation in his letter to Giles Wallop, and in his *Symbolum* 56: VOO, IV, 40, VII, 208.

³⁾ Madden, cxxiii-v. Vives did not teach Princess Mary (who had as tutor Mr. John Fetherstone) before 1527: Madden, xxxix, lvi, cxx, cxxvii-ix; Stone, 25, 26, 75; cp., however, Woodward, 204.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 90, 91, 102, 17, *sqq.*; Madden, cxxi; Höfler, 360; Moeller, 89.

⁵⁾ *Cran.*, 80, 4, 122, 13; Vives loved him as a father, and wrote to him a most affectionate letter from Bruges in the summer of 1524: VOO, VII, 207; *Farr.*, 17 v.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 80, 4, 5; (Fisher:) VOO, II, 307.

⁷⁾ Vives was the teacher of his sister's son Pate or Patys: VOO, VII, 141, 212.

⁸⁾ Cp. above p. 3, note 9; VOO, VII, 208; *DNB*; Stow, 520.

⁹⁾ *Cran.*, 90, 40.

¹⁰⁾ *Cran.*, 100, 4: 'Viuem... scito nunc hora quarta Brugae adpulisse'.

unexampled favour of which he had been the constant object ¹). He even continued his work at Bruges, for two of his students had accompanied him, Richard Pate, or Patys ²), the son of Elinor Longlond, the sister of John, the Bishop of Lincoln, and his companion, Antony Barker ³), apparently one of the Bishop's 'familiares': on July 8, 1524 he sent a flattering report about their studies to their patron ⁴). In the mean time he married Margaret Valdaura ⁵), which elicited some most blithesome comments from his friends More and Cranevelt ⁶), and also implies that his family in Spain was in more

¹) *Cran.*, 100, 5-14; *Allen*, v, 1455, 1-6.

²) Richard Pate, or Pates, or Patys, of Oxfordshire, entered Corpus Christi College on June 1, 1522 (*VivAng.*, 269), and left as B. A. in 1523; from Bruges he travelled to France and studied in Paris (VOO, vii, 141; *Farr.*, 16 v), where he probably was still residing in the last days of October or in November 1529 (VOO, vii, 141-2). By that time he had obtained the archdeaconry of Lincoln (1528) amongst other preferments. Vives fully relied on him, and told him about his monetary and other difficulties when the Royal pension was not paid out. Pate afterwards became ambassador in Spain, Nov. 1533; he was attainted of high treason in 1542, being nominated bishop of Worcester by Paul III., July 8, 1541; he attended the Council of Trent, and stayed abroad under Edward VI. (*Strype*, iii, 239, iv, 266), and was consecrated bishop only in 1554 under Mary; at Elizabeth's accession he was deprived of his see, 1559; he went into exile and died soon afterwards. Cp. VOO, ii, 287, 303; *Madden*, lxxxv-vi; *Wood*, i, 593, 644, 667; *Brewer*, iv, 4514; *Gough*, 585; *L & P*; *Dormer*, 96; *SchismAngl.*, 310, 532; *VisMonEccl.*, 664; *Bridgewater*, 404; *AnEL*, 27; *Machyn*, 102; *DNB*.

³) Antony Barker, Barcher, of Berkshire, entered Corpus Christi College Oct. 21, 1517, and left in 1519 (*Fox*, 84; *VivAng.*, 268). He was held in esteem by Vives for his devotion to Pate (VOO, ii, 287, 303, vii, 141, 204; *Farr.*, 14 v, 42 r); he accompanied him to Paris where he still was in November 1529: about that time Vives was driven from Bruges by the plague, the *Sudor Britannicus*, and had reached *Insulam*, Lille; he contemplated accompanying his brother-in-law Nicolas Valdaura to Paris; but the news of all danger having past, made him return; he therefore recommended Nicolas by a letter, VOO, vii, 200, to Antony Barker, to whom he had already mentioned that young man in their confidential chats at Oxford (for the *Opentæ* in that letter is not the town 'Oppaunte' in Silesia, but merely a misreading for *Oxonix*: the x being mistaken for a p: cp. *McKerrow*, 343, 347). Cp. *Mayans*, 72; *Stone*, 203, mentioning a 'Barker', one of Mary's chaplains.

⁴) It was printed in Vives' *De Europæ dissidijs, & Republica*: Bruges, Dec. 1526: *EurDiss.*, [I 6] r-[I 8] v; VOO, v, 461-4; *VivCorp.*, 157; *Bonilla*, 750.

⁵) *Cran.*, 100, 19, 102, a-c, 7-16, 106, 3; *Allen*, v, 1455, 1-11.

⁶) *Cran.*, 106, 6-12, 112, 9-16, 115, 15-25.

comfortable circumstances, apparently owing to his help, possibly to the Queen's influence. At any rate, though the happy bridegroom had hardly the time to answer the congratulatory letters that reached him, he had leisure enough to compose at Catherine's request the *Satellitium siue Symbola*, which he dedicated to her daughter on July 1, 1524 ¹⁾. Seldom did a book influence any mind as deeply as this string of moral axioms did the dawning intelligence and the awakening soul of Princess Mary ; following out to the letter the advice given in the dedicatory address ²⁾, she made them the rule of her actions, the strength of her decisions, the consolation in all her trials ; Henry Clifford remarked ³⁾ that 'she seemed to have in perpetual memory, by the practice of her whole life', the first and the last of them : *Scopus vitæ Christus*, and *Mente Deo defixus* ; as to the symbolum *Veritas, temporis filia* ⁴⁾, she took it for her particular device as a young girl, and kept it as a queen ⁵⁾, with a strange forefeeling of what was to be the fate of all her efforts and even of her very renown ⁶⁾.

The Second Visit.

October 1524-April 1525.

In obedience to the *missio* ⁷⁾ given to him on his return to Flanders, Vives left Bruges in the beginning of October 1524 ; he was at Calais on the 4th ⁸⁾, and he arrived in London a few

¹⁾ VOO, iv, 30-32.

²⁾ 'Accipies igitur Satellites (Vives wrote) ... quos sic tibi facies familiares, ut nec noctu, nec interdiu, nec domi, nec in publico sinas a tutela Tui vel latum unguem discedere' : VOO, iv, 31 ; the finish of the letter sounds as a prophecy : 'Impartiat Tibi Dominus ... ut fortunis omnibus probitatem anteponas' : VOO, iv, 32.

³⁾ *Dormer*, 82.

⁴⁾ VOO, iv, 46 ; *Stone*, 26.

⁵⁾ One of her first decrees was to cause coin to be struck with that legend on the reverse side : *Stone*, 256 ; the device is also on her portrait, 1555 (*Madden*, clxi), and her two great seals represented in *Oliver Vredius, Genealogia Comitum Flandriæ* : Bruges, 1642 : i, 143 ; until December 1553 or January 1554 the Privy Council acts were still sealed with Edward VI.'s seal : *CalStPp, Foreign, Mary, 1553-58* : 133, 136. Cp. the figure at the end of this paper.

⁶⁾ *Madden*, clxx ; *Stone*, 476-491.

⁷⁾ *Cran.*, 100, 20 ; *Allen*, v, 1455, 2. ⁸⁾ *Cran.*, 119.

days before the decease of his friend Linacre ¹⁾. As an epidemic was afflicting Oxford, he remained in London ²⁾, where he was a daily visitor of King and Queen and their Court ³⁾; he himself stayed in the city, like on the preceding year, probably in the neighbourhood of Tower Wharf ⁴⁾ with his countryman the merchant Alvaro de Castro ⁵⁾.

Whilst waiting for the end of the plague he published in London his letter to Adrian VI. entitled *de Bello et Luthero* ⁶⁾, whereas his *Symbolum*, his *Introductio ad Sapientiam* and his *de Ratione Studii* had just been printed at Louvain ⁷⁾. If that life of forced rest was disagreeable to him, it was much more so to his students, who regretted his lectures, and to make up for it, sent messages to him, which he affectionately

¹⁾ † Oct. 20, 1524 : *Cran.*, 122, 13 ; Allen, v, 1513, 31, 1531, 23.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 128, 130, 10 ; Woodward, 182, wrongly asserts that Vives lectured in the Michaelmas Term of 1524.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 130, 11-12, 22-25 ; Allen, v, 1513, 4-16.

⁴⁾ *VivAng.*, 207-227. Although no proof is at hand, it seems as if the description of his *gurgustiolum* in the letter to Christopher Miranda, VOO, vii, 202, was that of Vives' lodgings in the first weeks of his first visit, judging from the despondent tone, the complaint of abandonment and the yearning for death, which is consistent with the time when he was anxiously looking out for a means to relieve his family and sail to Spain, and had neither got the appointment, nor felt the genuine affection, of which he writes enthusiastically a few months later : *Cran.*, 80, 1-10 (Nov. 11, 1523) ; Bonilla, 169, 639.

⁵⁾ In the dedicatory letter of his *De Officio Mariti* to John de Borgia, Duke of Gandia (published January 30, 1529), Vives relates that in London he shared lodgings with a friend and countryman, the *Burgensis* Alvaro de Castro : VOO, iv, 302 ; Bonilla, 203, 783 ; Watson, lxxxv ; Allen, vi, 1590, 11, &c., vii, 1847, 126, 136 ; BatECP, 8 ; it may also have happened in one of his subsequent stays before 1527. At any rate the reference to the narrow room in the letter to Miranda, VOO, vii, 202, can hardly apply to the time when Vives and Alvaro shared one room (*VivAng.*, 208, 214), for he would not have had to dread to get ill and be thrown away on a dust-heap like an ailing cur — with a man to look after him who loved him like a brother : ' qui ... amore, ac benevolentia mutua, fratris cujusdam vicem referebat ' : VOO, iv, 302, as Vives relates in the dedication to John de Borgia. He implies there that the plan of the book was conceived during that period of cohabitation, which evidently cannot have been in 1523 (Watson, lxxxv-vi), as the *Institutio Fœminæ Christianæ*, which suggested the request, was published only in the first weeks of 1524 : *Cran.*, 90, 91.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 128, 4-14, 130, 13, 136, 20 ; Höfler, 356, 358.

⁷⁾ *Cran.*, 122, 20-26, 136, 21 ; Iseghem, 334.

answered, as results from the letter, hitherto unpublished ¹⁾, which the Hampshire boy John Heliars wrote to him soon after returning to Oxford, about the middle of December 1524; it shows the grateful attachment of the pupil to his master, through whom he and his fellow-students had become ardent favourers of the new studies, and enthusiastic adepts of the humanistic ideals.

JOHN HELIARES TO VIVES

Oxford, December 19, 1524

JOANNES HELIARES DÑO LUDOUICO VIUI SAL. P. D.

Vix credas, doctissime Viues, quam mihi ingratus & tuorum erga me meritorum immemor esse uidear, quod per tantam temporis intercapedinem nullis te literis salutarim. At enim ut uidear, non sum certe. Nam quid

¹⁾ The original belongs to the Town Library of Breslau, and is part of the famous *Rehdigerana*; it ranks as document 2356 — 3/148; it takes up a folio leaf, of which the reverse has the address. The obverse side bears as pagination (32) and 148, evidently referring to parts or volumes of the collection.

JOANNES HELIARES] John Heliars or Helyar, from Hampshire, entered Corpus Christi College on June 1, 1522: *VicAng.*, 269; he probably owed to Vives the zeal for, and the proficiency in, classical studies which made him famous amongst his contemporaries. He became B. A., July 27, 1524, and M. A., February 12, 1525 (Wood, I, 669). He was one of Cardinal Wolsey's favourites, and may have taught in his College; in fact, the works he wrote about that time suggest lectures to which they served as notes. They comprise commentaries on Cicero's *Pro M. Marcello*, and Ovid's *Epistolæ*; scholia on *Sophocles*, and a translation of St. John Chrysostom's *De Providentia et Fato*. On Dec. 7, 1532 he supplicated for the degree

of bachelor of divinity (Wood, I, 683), and was still belonging to Corpus Christi College; afterwards he seems, however, to have left Oxford and England all together, for at Erasmus' death he contributed to the *Epitaphia, per eruditiss. aliquot viros Academiæ Lovaniensis edita*, which Rutger Rescius published in March 1537 (*Cran.*, 277, 2), a Latin poem, «*Ioannis Heliaris Angli carmen in Desiderium Erasmus Roterodamum*», extending over 40 lines, which is followed by three Greek epitaphs by him (Ἰωάννου Ἠλιαρίου Ἀγγέλου), respectively of 6, 2 and 8 verses: they were reproduced in the *Catalogi Dco* of Antwerp 1537 and in the *Opera Omnia* of 1702 (*CatDuo*, O. 2. r, v; EOO, I, *** ** 2 r.) Cp. Wood, I, 41; *DNB*.

5 facias, ubi eo locorum concesseris, quo nec veredarij, nec
tabellarij, nec mercatores commeent? Ego tribus hisce
mensibus nec Oxonienses meos literis compellare potui,
tantum abest, ut ad te scribere potuissem tanto terrarum
10 interuallo dissitum. Nec ego te Londini esse prius inau-
dieram, quam redijssem Oxoniam — redij autem postri-
die diuæ Luciae, ad decimum septimum calendas Januarij.
Fugeram pestis æstum, quem iampridem dicunt defer-
buisse. De ijs hactenus.

Opinor te quotidie uersari cum Dñō Fynchæo, qui &
15 ipse Cardinali operam dat. Eum non ignoras esse meum
patronum. Me amat impendio, nisi simulet impensius.
Laudat impense, sed ut pueri Junonis auem. Πάντα

5. eo locorum] probably at his parents' home in Hampshire.

7. Oxonienses] apparently his fellow-students, who had remained at or with their College.

9. interuallo] Vives spent the summer months of 1524 in Bruges.

9. Londini] Vives had returned to England in the first half of October and apparently had stayed in London on account of the plague (l. 12).

11. Luciae] Heliæres is mistaken either in dating St. Lucia's feast, (which is on the *Ides* of December and not on xviii *Kal. Jan.*), or in computing the figure (xvii instead of xix) for the Calends.

12. pestis æstum] Cp. P. S. Allen, *Early Life in Corpus*: Oxford, 1931.

14. Fynchæo] apparently Edward Fynche, or Finch, who became M. A. in Oxford in 1504; he succeeded Andrew Ammonius as a prebendary of Salisbury in 1517, and Christopher Urswick as archdeacon of Wiltshire, May 12, 1522; at the resignation of Thomas Linacre he obtained his prebend in the chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster Palace, Nov. 29, 1522, and at Robert Langton's death, June 30,

1524, he secured some of his preferments in Salisbury Cathedral. He died on or about January 15, 1538. Cp. Wood, I, 641, 673.

15. Cardinali] Vives knew several members of Wolsey's *familia*, especially those who had accompanied Thomas Winter to Louvain and matriculated as *divites* in the College of the Porc on August 30-31, 1518: Wood, I, 673; *Cran.*, 136, a; Allen, v, 1360, 11; *Excerpts*, 100; one of them was Thomas Barrett, who studied canon law; returning to Oxford he became doctor of civil law, Feb. 26, 1529, and, soon afterwards, principal of New Inn; in 1540 he entered King's College as a Canon (Wood, I, 677); Vives wrote to him an affectionate letter: VOO, vii, 211. — Another was Maurice Birchinshaw or Byrchensaw, who on Dec. 11, 1511, had been allowed to teach grammar at Oxford; on July 2, 1515 he became bachelor of civil law; and was prebendary of Wells (Wood, I, 650, 656), when he was sent to Louvain as Winter's tutor (Brewer, II, 4692, III, 525, 2648). He attended Vives' lectures in 1522 (Allen, v, 1256, 90, 121, 1303, 50); and is probably identical with

ὑποσχεῖται, δίδοσι δὲ οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν. Ἀποκαλύπτω τὸν
 ἐμοῦ νοῦν σοι, ὡς τῷ ἐμοὶ προσφιλεστάτῳ· ἀντιβόλῳ οὖν σε, ἵνα
 20 τὸν ἄνθρωπον παροξύνῃς, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐρᾷ ποιῇς, οὐ μόνον τῆς
 παιδείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν αὐτῆς σπουδαίως ὀρεγομένων. Τοῦτο δ' ἂν
 ποιήσῃς, εἰ τὰ τῆς παιδείας αὐτῷ ἐπαινέσεις, καὶ περὶ τῶν εἴτε
 παιδευτῶν, εἴ τῶν τῆς ἐπιστήμης καλῶς ἐπιθυμούντων εὖ λέξεις.
 Περὶ τούτων καιρὸν εὗρήσας μέμνησο πρὸς αὐτὸν διαλέγειν· ἐμὲ δὲ
 25 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπαινέσας, εὖ ποιήσεις. Hæc effundo in sinu tuo,
 nempe amici fidelissimi.

Oro ut æqui bonique consulas, quidquid est hoc epi-
 stolij; nam simul primum accepissem Londini te agere,
 mihi temperare non potui, quin arrepto calamo, vel
 30 qualeiscumque ad te literas exararem. Nam malui inscitiae
 quam ingratitude notari. Nunc viso parenteis, post
 ferias rediturus Oxoniam, vbi te (ut spero) a reditu inven-
 niam. Interim vale pancratice.

Oxoniae, decimo quarto calendas Januarij.

35

Tuus ex animo
 Joānes Heliæres.

Multi me tuo nomine saluere iusserunt: habeo tibi
 gratiam quod non sis discipuli tui immemor. Tu vicissim
 saluebis a nobis.

40 Eruditissimo viro Dño Ludouico Viui. Londinj.

Textual Notes : 18 ὑποσχεῖται] r. ὑπι- 18 δίδοσι] r. δίδωσι
 19 σοι] prob. r. σοι. 19 σε] written over a word crossed off
 20 ἐρᾷ] r. ἐρᾷν 21 ὀρεγομένων] r. ὀρε- 22 τὰ] corrected
 from τῇ 31 ingratitude] Hel. first wrote ingratitude and
 added titu over it L. 40 on the reverse side of the letter; a diffe-
 rent hand added on the left edge : + / Ab Heliære ab Oxonia;
 another, 1522, over Oxonia.

the *Bequinsalo* (misreading *qu* for *rsh*) in a letter of Vives to Pate <c. Nov. 1529>, along with Thomas Winter, whom he may have followed to Paris (VOO, vii, 141) : at least he fits better than John Bekinsau; that letter also refers to Nicolas Wotton (cp. above p. 4) and to a *Massono*; the latter apparently is John Mason, son of an Abingdon cowherd, who became fellow of All Souls, Oxford, in

1521, and M. A. in 1525; on More's suggestion he was sent in 1528 by Henry VIII. to Paris to continue his studies; evidently Vives knew that young man, who became one of the foremost statesmen in the reigns of Henry VIII. and his three children : *DNB*; Wood, i, 98, 663, 669, 675; *HeySen.*, xxiv.

37. Multi evidently Vives had answered his students' letters, inquiring after Heliæres.

It was only about the middle of January 1525 that Vives returned to Oxford : he was again visited by ailments caused by the damp air ¹⁾ ; sad news reached him from Spain about his father's ill fortune and the death of an uncle ²⁾ ; more afflicting than all that was the knowledge that war was causing misery and havoc to nations which should have been united as brothers. That longing for peace as behoves Christians is expressed in all the letters of the period ³⁾, and culminates in a memoir which, on March 12, 1525, he sent to Henry VIII., *De Francisco Galliae Rege a Caesare Capto* ⁴⁾, composed as he said *in litterato ocio, a regia, & negocijs procul*.

That *litteratum ocium* was in reality strenuous work ⁵⁾, in so much that he was likened to the bees, which according to tradition, had come to live in a swarm over the door of the cloister chambers which he occupied in Corpus Christi College ⁶⁾. To him is ascribed in a large measure the change in the studies at Oxford, where, as he reported to Wolsey on March 15, 1525, the useless abstractions of a degenerate scolasticism were abandoned for more beneficial knowledge and pursuits, grammar, rhetoric and poetry being put again in honour and the degrees in these sciences revived ⁷⁾.

Thus a most beneficent influence was exercised on the University and on the leading men of the nation, through whom that influence radiated on a wider sphere ⁸⁾. Thanks to the great esteem in which he was held, thanks also apparently to his sympathy and friendship and common principles with England's favourite, Erasmus, his writings were widely spread and read amongst the leading classes for many years to

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 136, 37-52 ; *VOO*, VII, 207 : letter to Hector Decamius.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 128, 15-20, 136, 7-9.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 128, 28, 130, 21, 134, 37, 136, 47, 137, 18, 142, 20, 144, 14-22.

⁴⁾ *EurDiss.*, Bii v ; *VOO*, VI, 449-452 ; *Brewer*, IV, 1177 ; *Bonilla*, 180.

⁵⁾ He had probably directed to Oxford one of his friends Peter Garcias de Laloo, who became bachelor of civil law on Oct. 27, 1523 : *Wood*, I, 668 ; *Cran.*, XX, 144, a, b, 23-27 ; cp. above p. 7 n. 4.

⁶⁾ *VivCorp.*, 160 ; *Fowler*, 41-2 ; *Bonilla*, 638.

⁷⁾ *Brewer*, IV, 1187 ; *VivCorp.*, 157 (here 1524 is suggested as date, although Vives' letter seems to imply a much longer space than that of six months to bring about the great changes referred to) ; *Wood*, I, 55.

⁸⁾ *Underhill*, 88-89, 224, 343 ; *VivVal.*, 91 ; *Höfler*, 355-61.

come ¹⁾. And his teaching reached even a much larger range of readers through the translations which were made of his works by Richard Hyrde, tutor of More's children and one of Queen Catherine's *clientes* ²⁾; also by Sir Richard Morison ³⁾ and by Thomas Paynell ⁴⁾, who came to Oxford University whilst he was lecturing.

That influence was not limited to the teaching of Latin ⁵⁾, or to his theories about education or philosophy ⁶⁾, but went to the very core of the nation by the translation of his prayers and meditations in Edward's and Elizabeth's Prayer-books ⁷⁾; it imparted through all classes of the people the high ideals of truth and uprightness, of broad-minded Christian charity and universal peace, which were those of humanism in general and his in particular ⁸⁾; and although seemingly ignoring his native country and her culture, he greatly contributed by his critical judgment on Spanish books, to the growing influence of the Iberian literature on that of England ⁹⁾. The foundation of that influence on the British nation, which long outlasted him, and in fact never totally ceased ¹⁰⁾, was laid during his two first visits, especially during his stays at Oxford; and if that influence was not fully gauged or foreseen at the time, still the services he had rendered in the few months of his readership were fully appreciated and acknowledged by the

¹⁾ Underhill, 38, 85-90, 100-103, 115, 127-128, 142, 181-184.

²⁾ *The Instruction of a Christian Woman* : London, Th. Berthelet <1540> : *HLEP*; cp. Stapleton, 222; *VivWom.*, 14, *sqq*; Underhill, 95-96; Bonilla, 766.

³⁾ *An Introduction to wysedome* : London, John Daye, <1540>; also Th. Berthelet, 1540 : *HLEP*; cp. Underhill, 93-95; *DNB*; Bonilla, 776.

⁴⁾ *The office and duetie of an husband* : London, J. Cawood, <1550> : *VivWom.*, 195; Underhill, 96-99; *DNB*; Wood, 1, 111-113; Bonilla, 784.

⁵⁾ *The Linguae Latinae Exercitatio* was licensed to Th. Gubbin in 1589 : *AmHerb.*, III, 1354; Underhill, 397.

⁶⁾ Bonilla, 785-6; his treatise about Aristoteles' *de Moribus* was translated in English about 1540 : Underhill, 376.

⁷⁾ Underhill, 66, 146, 148, 378, 379, 382.

⁸⁾ The history of Vives' influence on England in the xvth century is the object of a study which Dr. Phil. & Lit. Fernand Kunsch is preparing for the *Humanistica Lovaniensia*.

⁹⁾ Underhill, 82, 92-95, 99-100; *VivSpan.*, 38-47.

¹⁰⁾ Compare the <incomplete> bibliography of editions and translations of his works in England : Bonilla, 757, 766-7, 776, 784-5, 803-4.

University, and the nobility, and all the leading men — the Linacres and the Mores, the Longlonds and the Mountjoys ; — and, above all, were crowned by the exceptional favour bestowed on him by Henry and his Queen.

It was probably about that time that his wish was finally granted, and that by a pension from the royal treasury his future was provided for independently from the duty of teaching ¹). The King's favour was even extended to his family ; for the license granted to him on April 28, 1525 for three years to import 300 tuns of Gascon wine and Toulouse wood, and to export corn ²), was probably intended as a help to the business that provided a living to his wife and her mother, under the management of her uncle Francis Cervent or Syrvent ³). Nor is it at all extraordinary that Vives should have wished to increase his income in that way ; since no less a man than More secured a grant on June 13, 1526 to export woollen cloths ⁴).

Maybe it was on the latter's advice that, ideal philosopher as he was, Vives turned into profitable account his stays in England ; indeed, these two men spent the month of April together in London in the most intimate familiarity ⁵), and would perhaps have enjoyed even longer each other's company, had not Vives been hurried home, much sooner than his friends expected ⁶), by the intelligence that his wife was

¹) This results from the fact that although not teaching any more in Oxford, he had a sufficient living : ' Vixi, he wrote to Vergara, Aug. 14, 1527, in hunc diem liberalitate, seu verius munificentia meorum principum. Quod datur, libero dant, et soluto omni munere. Sed neque est in quo ipse possem illis esse usui homo innutritus sterilibus studiis ac litteris ' (*HispEp.*, 263). To Henry VIII. he wrote, Jan. 13, 1531 : ' Aluit annos aliquot benignitas Tua otium meorum studiorum ' (*Farr.*, 4 ; *VOO*, vii, 134). The King's pension amounted to £ 20 a year : *TrevPap.*, i, 149, 157.

²) Brewer, iv, 1293, 1298 ; Watson, lxxxiv.

³) *Cran.*, xviii, 80, 73, 102, b, &c.

⁴) Brewer, iv, 2248.

⁵) *Cran.*, 136, 38-39 ; *VOO*, ii, 307, 308. He met there Josse Lauwereyns, President of Mechlin Parliament, who had been sent on embassy : *Cran.*, 74, a, 142, 4, 153, 17, 156, c, 157, 49 ; evidently also More's domestic teacher Richard Hyrde, the translator of his *Fœmina* : Stapleton, 222 ; *VivWom.*, 14-15, &c.

⁶) *Cran.*, 151, 6, 157, 8.

suffering from a bad eyesore, and longing for his return ¹⁾. He reached Bruges on May 10 ²⁾.

The Third Visit.

February-May 1526.

From June to December 1525 Vives worked at his book *De Subventionem Pauperum* ³⁾, composed in execution of a wish expressed by Louis de Praet, the Imperial ambassador in England ⁴⁾. The illness of Clara Cervent, his mother-in-law ⁵⁾, whom he loved as a son ⁶⁾, prevented him from returning to Britain in October; by the middle of that month he heard at Bruges of More's promotion to the chancellorship of Lancashire ⁷⁾, and in the first days of November he met Thomas Lupset and Richard Pace who were on their way home from their embassy in Venice ⁸⁾. Meanwhile his yearning for peace had prompted him to write a letter to Henry VIII. on October 8, 1525, in which he besought his patron to do what he could to foster concord and understanding between the Christian princes ⁹⁾. That epistle was to spoil his third visit: indeed, having left for England on February 18, 1526 ¹⁰⁾, he soon felt that the minds of several of the men in power had been much estranged from him, as he announced to his Bruges friends ¹¹⁾. For there had come a complete change in Wolsey's policy: he had veered towards France ¹²⁾, and had decided on a line of conduct which was in direct opposition with that of Charles V. He tried to gain his King to his views and

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 153, 1-8.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 153, 2.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 157, 45, 160, 22, 163, 1-12, 171, 1-4, &c.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 150, b, d; VOO, IV, 420 (VII, 136-7, 140, 143, 170); Mayans, 77, 89, sqq; Bonilla, 183.

⁵⁾ *Cran.*, 166, 21, 171, 5, 185, 31.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 185, 33.

⁷⁾ *Cran.*, 167, 11.

⁸⁾ *Cran.*, 169, 1-3.

⁹⁾ *EurDiss.*, B v r-[C 6] v; VOO, v, 175; *Cran.*, 217, 9; Brewer, IV, 1689. Cp. Höfler, 355-59.

¹⁰⁾ *Cran.*, 175, 56, 178, 6; Allen, VI, 1665, 20.

¹¹⁾ *Cran.*, 182, 17-23.

¹²⁾ *Cran.*, 156, c, 158, 22, 163, 15, &c.

therefore did not hesitate to avert him from his pro-Spanish courtiers, and even to counteract the influence which the Queen might exercise on her husband's mind ¹⁾. The letter of his Oxford reader, thus taking position against him, and inducing the King to a course diametrically opposed to that which he advised, made of Vives an enemy, and of his credit with Henry, a constant danger to himself and his party ²⁾. Of course More proved a staunch friend to the scholar, and with his *filibus facundissimis & fecundissimis* ³⁾ he tried to make up for the estrangement experienced at Court, and even for his dismissal from the Oxford readership. For as the royal pension was not at all dependent on that office, Vives evidently did not seek for the teaching which he thoroughly disliked; and Wolsey, in whose collation the lectureship lay, will probably have availed himself of his long absence to have him replaced; at any rate in February 1526 ⁴⁾, he appears to have tried to secure no less a man than Erasmus to fill the vacancy ⁵⁾, and, in May 1526, he sent John Hackett, the English ambassador at Margaret of Austria's Court, to Louvain with a tempting offer to Conrad Goclenius ⁶⁾, who had gained a reputation as Latin lecturer of Busleyden's College ⁷⁾; maybe the Cardinal's faithlessness in keeping his promises and his fickleness, were amongst the motives of the negative reply of the devoted professor ⁸⁾. Without doubt Vives saw through Wolsey's game, for though in his letters

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 191, 7; Pollard, 164-8; Creighton, 108-122.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 185, a.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 185, 34; *Viv Wom.*, 16-18; VOO, II, 308.

⁴⁾ Charles Harst, who brought to Erasmus the offer of that vacancy, or at least Wolsey's invitation, was in England from the end of January to the first days of March 1526: *Cran.*, 172 (handed to Cranevelt on Jan. 19, 1526), a-b, 5, 177, 2, 182, 14; FG, 55, 39, 56, 19; Allen, VI, 1682, 2.

⁵⁾ Allen, VI, 1697, 94-98.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 95, c-j, 185, a.

⁷⁾ Brewer, IV, 2161, 2177: Hackett went to make the proposal in Louvain on May 7, 1526, the day after his arrival in Belgium; Goclenius expressed his gratitude and promised to come as soon as he could 'be rid of some charges', which was only a polite refusal; he also required that in case of acceptance, he should be indemnified for all the profits and the advantages he should abandon.

⁸⁾ The matter was evidently dropped, no mention being made of the proposal afterwards.

he merely mentions that he is sailing against the stream ¹⁾, he was more emphatic after his return to Bruges on May 21, 1526 ²⁾, when, in the chats with his intimate friends, he lay the blame of leading England to a war on the Chancellor, and the responsibility on Henry VIII., who had the right to dismiss him ³⁾. In that spirit of disillusionment he wrote in October 1526 his *De Europae Dissidiis et Bello Turcico Dialogvs* ⁴⁾.

The Fourth Visit.

April-June 1527.

As the third visit to England had been so unsatisfactory, Vives was in no hurry to return. About the end of February 1527 he contemplated setting off for a stay, which he intended lengthening or shortening according to the turn things would take ⁵⁾. On April 2 he was still waiting for a favourable wind to take the sea ⁶⁾, which he did eventually in the course of that month. Though his way was not smooth, circumstances were no worse than he had expected : Wolsey, to be true, was ill disposed ; but then opposition against him was growing fast ⁷⁾ ; the King and Queen, on the contrary, were as hearty in their welcome as they had ever been before, at least outwardly ⁸⁾. At any rate when Vives was called home abruptly in the first days of June 1527 ⁹⁾, on account of the severe illness of his mother-in-law and of his wife's dejection

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 185, 22.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 193, 35.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 191, 7-16, 221, 18.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 217, 9, 227, 3 : it was printed with his letters to Adrian and to Henry VIII., in Bruges by Hub. de Croock 'Mense Decemb.' 1526, under the title *De Europæ dissidijs, & Republica* ; that bundle also contained the two translations from Isocrates dedicated to Wolsey, and the letter to John Longlond, July 8, 1524 : *EurDiss.*, [C 7] r-[F 4] r. Cp. Bonilla, 781.

⁵⁾ *Cran.*, 227, 26 ; Allen, vi, 1792, 29.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 229, 21, 231, 14, 232, 14.

⁷⁾ Pollard, 203, 223 ; Pastor, II, 491 ; Creighton, 130 ; *Cran.*, 235, 20 ; Stow, 531 a, 535 b ; *CHEL.*, III, 26, 69, 76-78, 80 ; Warton, III, 163, 171, 213 ; *Mat.*, v, ix ; EE, 1347, E, F ; Ortrov, 182 ; Gairdner, 96 ; *CMH.*, II, 429-30 ; *RéfAngl.*, 35, 354, 371-3.

⁸⁾ *Cran.*, 235, 17-20, Creighton, 130, 150, *sqq.*

⁹⁾ *Cran.*, 241, 1.

tion ¹⁾, he was only dismissed on the condition that he should return before the first of October, and the Queen had made him promise to take in hand the teaching of Latin to Princess Mary during the coming winter ²⁾. As one friend does for another, Vives had tried in vain to find in London an Epitome of Erasmus' *Adagia* for the King, with whom he had even made an agreement about a reply to Luther's letter to be printed in Bruges along with annotations from Henry's hand ³⁾.

In accordance with that agreement Vives wrote on July 13, 1527 to announce to the King that his memoir was ready, and that he was sending an *Epitome*: the letter, of which the original reposes in the Record Office ⁴⁾, and of which the text is reproduced here ⁵⁾, is a most interesting document for the history of the scholar's relation to the tyrannical potentate whose bread he had been eating for several years.

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 237, 24-25, 241, 9-20; Clara Cervent died on Sept. 11, 1527: *Cran.*, 248, 54-69.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 237, 1-5; Stone, 39-40; Allen, vii, 1836, 75; Brewer, iv, 4990.

³⁾ Luther had replied to the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, 1521, by *Contra Henricum Regem Angliae*, 1522, which was mere abuse (Grisar, I, 452-53), and consequently remained unanswered. As, however, Christiern II. of Denmark roused the hope of a possibility of a change in Henry's religious opinions, Luther wrote a most submissive letter on Sept. 1, 1525, apologizing for having taken as the King's work that of the Cardinal of York, « pestis illa regni ». A rejoinder was made of great length, which reached Wittenberg in the last month of 1526, through Duke George of Saxony. As two antagonists Jerome Emser and John Cochläus repeatedly edited, and commented on, these two documents, which they represented as a « palinodia », Luther wrote *Auf des Königs in England Lästerschrift Titel M. Luthers Antwort*, 1527. Vives' reply was either to that, or to the letter of 1525, which Henry VIII. wanted probably to have refuted again and again, as it represented him as an incipient adept of the 'evangelium', against which he had, on the contrary, excited polemicists like Fisher and Erasmus: Brewer, iv, 1614; Enders, v, 173, 229-34, 412; Hermelink, 85, 95.

⁴⁾ The letter, summarized in Brewer, iv, 3261 (cp. *Cran.*, 241, a), is reproduced in phototype in *VivAng.* between pp. 272 and 273; still as the text — about one fourth of the size of the original — is unclear and even imperfect in several places (e. g., *litterarum* of l. 15, *magistrj* on l. 31, *omnes* on l. 33, *velit, detque* on l. 34), it has seemed advisable to provide an exact reproduction, in which only the punctuation and the use of capitals and paragraphs have been modernized.

⁵⁾ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* (42): iv, 3110-3327; the document takes up ff 200 and 201; f^o 201 r is blank, and f^o 201 v has the address; the letter is written in a clear and regular hand by amanuensis A: cp. *Cran.*, 6, 102, 241, &c.; only the date and signature are by Vives.

JOHN LOUIS VIVES TO KING HENRY VIII

Bruges, July 13, 1527

INCLYTE REX,

Si Maiestatem Tuam non nossem, nihil putarem hoc tempore magis alienum, quam de litteris ullum apud te uerbum facere, aut librum ad te aliquem mittere, principem plenissimum ingentis negociorum molis, quis statum ac rationem Europæ totius complecteris. Sed quia scio ea te altitudine animi esse, ut nunquam te quantacunque negocia obruant, nunquam sic distineant, quin tibi vacuum aliquod tempus relinquunt, quod studiis impartias, tum ut ijs recreatus ac refectus velut nouus redeas ad negocia, tum ut aliquid semper ex præceptis sapientiæ in usum depromas muneris atque administrationis a Deo tibi mandatæ ac creditæ. Itaque epitomen adagiorum Erasmi, quam dixi tibi me Londini uenalem non inuenisse, hic emptam Maiestati Tuæ mitto : propterea quod opus hoc refertum ex vniuerso litterarum uiridario collectis flosculis, magnopere oblectare animum tuum poterit fessum grauiorum scriptorum lectione. Ego uero sic tibi id libelli mitto, quemadmodum veteres illi rusticj,

Textual Notes. Inclyte &c. to l. 41 religionj] in the hand of the amanuensis 1. Maiestatem Tuam] ms. maiestatem tuam 12 Deo] ms. deo 12. creditæ. Itaque] the sentence begun on l. 5 : Sed quia &c. is not completed 14. Maiestati Tuæ] the ms. has no capital letters here (nor on ll. 22, 25) 15. litterarum] a hole in the paper has taken away the three first letters lit- except for their lower parts

5. quia scio &c.] to his bent for lively and passionate pastimes King Henry joined a disposition for serious studies : Pollard, 22-25, 95, 239 ; *RéfAngl.*, 20-21, 338. 12. epitomen adagiorum Erasmi] when this letter was written, at least three epitomes of Erasmus' *Adagia* existed; the first, by Adrian Barlandus, published by Th. Mar-

tens, Louvain, 1521, had been reprinted in Cologne, 1523 and 1524, Paris, 1526, and Antwerp (M. Hillen), 1526 ; the second, by John Brouchier, *Brucherius*, had appeared in Paris (S. de Colines), 1523, and the third, by John le More, *Maurus*, at Toulouse and Montauban, about 1526 : *BB*, E, 140-150 ; Iseghem, 318, s 25.

qui quum tus non haberent, mica salis peragebant sacri-
 20 ficiū.

Opusculum, quo respondeo Epistolæ Lutherj, habeo
 paratum, ut simul edatur cum annotatiunculis Maiestatis
 Tuæ, postquam huc eas mihi miseris : nisi forte mauis, ut
 omnia simul imprimantur Londini. Quicquid statueris hac
 25 de re, sequar, utj par est, consilia Maiestatis Tuæ, et
 iussis parebo.

Reuerendissimum Dominum Cardinalem audimus hic
 proficiscj in Galliam : utinam res orbis Christiani ita com-
 ponat, ut te ac illo est dignum : te, principe humanissimo,
 30 eruditissimo ac cum primis pio ; illo, episcopo, legato

19. quum] same abbreviation q as for quod l. 15 25. consilia]
 a corr. from o 27. Reuerendissimum Dominum] ms. Rmū. D.

21. Opusculum &c.] cp. p. 23. Luther's meek letter to Henry VIII., Sept. 1, 1525 (Enders, v, 231) and the latter's long and detailed answer (Enders, v, 412) transmitted on December 21, 1526 by Duke George of Saxony, were printed several times in 1527 — Dresden, Cologne, Febr. and April, Ingolstadt, Cracow — and translated — Dresden, January 1527. The editors Jerome Emser and John Cochläus turned to good use Luther's offer in his letter « ut alio libello publico palinodiam » < cantaret > ; to which he replied in his *Antwort* (Wittenberg, 1527) that the palinode he was ready to sing did not refer to his doctrine, but to the King's honour, which he had injured. That *Antwort* expresses also the opinion that the *Assertio* had been written by Henry's good friend Erasmus, as he announced to Spalatin, February 1, 1527 : ' Regi Anglorum (quem Erasmi larvam putant) brevi epistola respondeo, maxime ob titulum, quem *palinodiam* fecerunt' : Enders, vi, 17. Vives' *libellus* may have been another rejoinder to the letter of 1525, or a reply to the *Antwort* of

1527, which probably had reached England by that time : Enders, v, 229-34, 412-4 ; Allen, vi, 1773, 17, 1776, 40, vii, 1929, 6-8.

27. Cardinalem] Wolsey's embassy in France, ostensibly required for the settling of some questions raised by the Treaty of Westminster and the liberation of the Pope, was undertaken to sound Francis on the question of the divorce, and to obtain for himself the office of vicar to the captive Clement VII. throughout France and England, which would have given him the opportunity of settling that question to Henry VIII.'s wishes. Wolsey, it seems, hoped to bring about a marriage with a French princess, — and he may, after all, have been sent by an eager rival party on a ' sleeveless errand ' to leave their ways free. At any rate little success came from what had been prepared as a most imposing political demonstration : *Cran.*, 241, 22-28, 243, 39, 56-69, 248, 7 ; Pollard, 201-204 ; Creighton, 155-160 ; Pastor, II, 300-305, 489 ; Stow, 531-36, 540 b ; *SchismAngl.*, 21-31 ; Brewer, iv, 3186 to 3416 ; *CalStPp, Spain*, iv, 132.

vicarij Christj, magistrj concordiae, Cardinale, cujus purpureus ornatus perpetuo eum admonet charitatis illius euangelicae, ut et ipse Christianos omnes paterno quodam amore prosequatur, et velut filios suos velit, detque
 35 operam, ut inter se consentientes ac amicos reddat. Nam quid grauius potest patri accidere, quam videre dissidentes filios ? Utinam contingat illj beatitudo ea, quam pacificis paratam pronunciauit Dej natura Filius, ut ipse filius Eius fiat adoptione ! Det tibi Dominus IESUS ea
 40 semper cogitare atque agere, quae maxime congrua sint suae religionj.

Brugis, xiii Julij M D XXVII.

Maiestati tuae Inclytae addictiss.,

Joan. Lodo. Viues.

45 REGIAE MAIESTATI

This noble expression of the feelings of the straightforward Vives towards his patron, shows a sound appreciation of undeniable qualities and an affectionate gratitude for kindness received ; as also a broadminded charity towards wrongs and aberrations, which he was the first to deplore and the last to condemn : indeed it implies more than it expresses. For Vives as a Spaniard was the Queen's confidant, and evidently

35. operam &c.] on the reverse side of f^o 200 38-39. Dej ... Filius ... Eius] in ms. with minuscule initials 39. Dominus] ms. Dñs 42. Brugis &c. to l. 44 Viues] in Vives' hand. 45. REGIAE MAIESTATI] on the reverse of f^o 201 (the obverse being blank), in the writing of the amanuensis ; under it another hand wrote frō Viues (next to it is the mark of the Record Office, Treasury of the Exchequer). The trace of the seal in red wax with the slits is visible. Other hands noted in the left top corner : 2 lre (in the hand that marked Vives' evidence : cp. p. 32) and Lodowicus Vives Regie Ma^{ti}

44. Vives used his monogram in most of his letters from June 1526 on : *Cran.*, 193, 200, 202, 217, &c. ; exceptionally here, and in the statement of his evidence (see p. 32), he added his name in full.

also an intimate acquaintance of the imperial ambassador Inigo de Mendoza ¹⁾, so that he must have known of the threatening divorce question — that ominous move of Wolsey's in his anti-Imperial policy, — of which the first intimation had come on May 17 in the shape of a summons for the King before the Cardinal's *Curia Legatina* ²⁾. He may even have suspected Henry's kindly behaviour as an assuming of innocent ignorance and hypocritical equanimity; which seems to have been the case, as the projected book never came to an issue ³⁾. Possibly Vives may have even hastened his departure from England for fear of getting involved in a plot of Wolsey's planning; and if in his letter he insists on his wish for the success of the Cardinal's embassy in France, that insistence on what should make it a success worthy of a Churchman, betrays his misgivings about the mind and the intentions of one who should have had no other aim but peace and charity.

Those misgivings, which are respectfully but unmistakably imparted to the King, are spoken out more freely in his letters and in his talks to confidential friends ⁴⁾. For his insight must have been deep, and his dread of the coming events must have been appalling, since, with his inborn charity and his natural reticence, he expresses to his intimates gloomy and disheartened forebodings, such as that to Vergara, to whom he writes on August 14, 1527, that everything is unstable, that he is sticking to a slippery path rather than standing on it, and that he has no hope whatever for the next day ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 254, 26.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 243, 57-61; Cranevelt alludes to the 'coniugium regale' in danger to be cancelled, in his letter to Erasmus of July 26, 1527: Allen, vii, 1850, 8-10. Cp. *SchismAngl.*, 13-15, 70; Ortrov, 30, 57, 159-61, 165-72; Laemmer, 25-31; *StPp*, i, 230; *CalStPp, Spain*, iii, ii, 69 (p. 193), 550, iv, 132, 160, 182, 194; Brewer, iv, 3312, 3641, 4881, 5072; *NarRef.*, 219; *Agre*, 315; *TuTracts*, ix-xi; &c.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 248, 29-36.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 241, 22-28, 243, 11, 56-69, 248, 7-8; Brewer, iv, 3261.

⁵⁾ *HispEp.*, 263-4.

The Fifth Visit.

October 1527-April 1528.

When the time came that Vives was to return to England, he was suffering ¹⁾ and only undertook the voyage in the first days of October ²⁾. He at once started tutoring Princess Mary, probably at Greenwich ³⁾, and in the question *de Jove et Junone*, as the humanists called it ⁴⁾, he stood gallantly up for the despised spouse, helping her where he could by word and by writing ⁵⁾. Wishing to make sure of the assistance of such an advocate, Queen Catherine sent a present to his wife in Bruges, with the urging request to come and reside in England, and the promise that she would never fail her ⁶⁾.

Vives thus became the object of distrust and open hatred for the Cardinal and his party ⁷⁾; his doings and his writings were spied upon ⁸⁾; Wolsey went even as far as to cross-examine him about the confidences which he had received from the Queen, and since at his patroness's request he had communicated with the Spanish ambassador Inigo de Mendoza ⁹⁾ about informing the Pope of the iniquitous way in which she was treated, he was placed in strict confinement in the house of a councillor, in which also Mendoza was kept a prisoner ¹⁰⁾. In consequence of his avowals about the

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 248, 9-18.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 249, 18-20, 251, 4; Brewer, iv, 4990.

³⁾ Stone, 39; Höfler, 360.

⁴⁾ *LatCont.*, 392; Allen, vii, 1932, 64, 2040, 41, 2061, 81.

⁵⁾ *Cran.*, 261, a; Stone, 39-40; VOO, vii, 148.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 252, 11-15.

⁷⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 254, 5-14: John de Fevyn announces that Wolsey is highly displeased with the Queen and her favourite Vives.

⁸⁾ *Cran.*, 251, 5-15, 252, 15, 254, 1-19; about the same time (Jan. 28, 1528) John Crucius wrote to Erasmus: 'de rebus Britannicis in Britannia scribere non ignoras ipse plerumque non satis tutum esse, tantum abest vt semper expediat': Allen, vii, 1932, 25.

⁹⁾ *Cran.*, 254, 26-31; VOO, ii, 311; Ortro, 168, 174, 182.

¹⁰⁾ Vives and Mendoza evidently were neither allowed to leave the house, nor to have any communication with the outside. On March 9, 1528, John de Fevyn hastens to tell the news to Cranevelt; Vives' confinement started probably about February 25; for it lasted 38 days, and ended between April 1 and 4, allowing 3 or 4 days for the journey from London by Gravesend, Canterbury, Dover and Calais (Platter, 3-13, 138-143) to Bruges, where he arrived on April 7: *Cran.*, 254, 27-31, 261, 30; VOO, vii, 148.

confidences which he had received from the Queen, he was compelled by Wolsey to write down a declaration setting forth the part he had taken in the case. This document, drawn up in the form of a letter, is still preserved in the Record Office ¹⁾, and is reproduced here.

VIVES' EVIDENCE IN THE DIVORCE CASE

Quid Serenissima Domina Regina mecum communi-
carit, iubeor enunciare, et cogor silentium secreti rum-
pere. Magnas hoc tempore audio de Cæsare querimonias,
quod captis multarum gentium legatis humanum ius
5 violarit : et violauit indubie, si ita fecit. Atqui hoc non
minus est humanum ius violare, adigere aliquem ad
proferenda per secretum commissa et concredita, et qui-
dem ministro ab hera sua : de cuius in maritum fide et
pietate non dubitatur. Non quod periculum sit vllum, si
10 dicantur : nam ea sunt, quæ nulli nocitura sint, etiam si
descripta pro compitis vrbis et templorum valuis publice
legantur. Sed quod res pertinet ad exemplum : quippe
magna pars communionis vitæ, vt in commercio gentium
inter se multum consistit, ita plurimum in fide et silentio
15 secretorum ; quæ si tollatur, non minus vnusquisque a

¹⁾ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* (51) : iv, 4912-5107 ; the document takes up ff. 78 and 79, the latter being blank ; it is entirely in Vives' hand ; it is summarized in Brewer, iv, 4990, and reproduced (unclearly on ll. 5, 36, 41, &c.) in *VivAng.* between pp. 272 and 273 ; cp. also *ibid.*, 252-3 ; *Cran.*, 266, 4.

Textual Notes. 1. Domina] ms. Dña 3. Magnas] second a
corrected 15. tollatur] corrected from tollantur

3. de Cæsare querimonias] in February 1528 Charles V. retaliated on the French ambassadors in Spain by taking them into custody for the safety of his own in France : Brewer, iv, 3882, 3916, 3966 : it seems as if Mendoza was arrested at the request of the French ambassador in England ; Wolsey probably readily assented on account of the divorce question, and ex-

tended the measure to Vives : *Cran.*, 254, 28-31. The policy was not new with him : he intercepted Louis de Praet's letters to the Emperor on Febr. 11, 1525 : *Cran.*, 150, b, 30, 243, 43-45. Campegio was not treated any better on leaving England in October 1529 : Pastor, ii, 504-5 ; Ortroy, 213-5 ; *Schism-Angl.*, 69-70 ; Bémont, 50, 102.

4. humanum ius] cp. further p. 33.

socio cauebit, quam ab hoste. Verum quandoquidem maior potestas imperat, dicam : præsertim quum ea sint, vt mihi laude potius videantur esse digna, quam reprehensione vlla.

- 20 Superiore Maio, quum a Regia Maiestate peterem veniam reuisendi domum et familiam, quæsiuit ex me, quando essem rediturus. Dixi rediturum me, quum ei videretur. Post venationes, inquit, hoc est ad festum Michaelis. Respondi me ita facturum. Simul Regina me-
- 25 cum egit, vt hyeme hac docerem Illustrissimam Dominam Principem linguam latinam, et præcepta sapientiæ tanquam arma aduersus vtramque fortunam. Ita vt et voluntati Regis et desyderio Reginae simul satisfacerem, circiter Calendas Octobres huc redij. Serenissima Domina Regina
- 30 concussa et afflicta controuersia hac de suo coniugio nacta me conterraneum suum, et eiusdem linguæ, simul quod opinaretur me in rebus morum et consolationibus mœroris aliquid legisse, cœpit aperire mihi suam calamitatem : tum defflere sortem suam, quod virum quem ipsa magis
- 35 quam seipsam amaret, tam alienum a se experiretur, vt de alia ducenda cogitaret : et hoc acriore dolore vreretur, quanto illum ardentius amaret. Hæc sæpe deplorabat, et deplorat. Ego illi solitus sum respondere sic Deum suos exercere ad incrementa maximarum virtutum ; hoc esse
- 40 argumentum eam esse Deo charam : et feliciorem esse ijs, quibus omnia ex sententia succedunt. Eam ad rem multis vtebar dictis exemplisque, non solum sanctorum hominum nostræ pietatis, sed eorum quoque, qui præditi fuissent sapientia seculari. Jubebam etiam ipsam propo-
- 45 nere sibi ante oculos non mediocria mala, sed acerbissima, et ad ea confirmare animum, vt quæcunque acciderent,

20. Maiestate] *ms.* : *ma^{te}*. 25. Illustrissimam Dominam] *ms.* : Jll D 29. Domina] *ms.* : D. 30. de] *after de the word lite is crossed off* 30. suo] *o corr.* 38. Deum (*as also* 40. Deo, 66. Sanctitas Sua)] *in ms. with minuscule initial* 45. oculos] *first o corr.*

20. Superiore Maio &c.] *cp. Cran.*, 237, 3-5.

25. docerem &c.] *cp. Stone*, 39.

29. Calendas Octobres] *cp. Cran.*, 248, 10-14.

40. feliciorem &c.] this recalls the conversation on the way to Sion Convent, at Christmas-tide 1523/4 : *Cran.*, 90, 26-36 ; *cp.* before p. 10.

minus haberent in præparato pectore impressionis ac virium : quæ ipsa multo melius præstat, quam ego, aut ij omnes, qui istis de rebus scripserunt.

- 50 Quis potest culpare quod miseræ et calamitosæ mulieri aures prebuerim ? quod alloquio et consolationibus eam alleuarim ? Reginam illo genere ortam, et cuius parentes aliquando meminissem principes fuisse meos naturales : virtute tanta vt nullo casu videatur minus digna, quam
55 hoc isto.

- Procedente tempore res incaluit : ventum est ad disputationem, et examinationem caussæ. Quid conclusum est, nescitur. Quæ postea Regia Maiestas in hoc negotio egerit, scire Regina non poterat : nam occulta erant omnibus, præterquam paucissimis. Tantum fama atque opinio hominum vulgauerat causam esse ad Pontificem Maximum remissam. Tunc Regina iussit me Oratorem Cæsaris adire, et eum suis verbis rogare, vt Cæsari scriberet, ageret cum Pontifice id quod esset equissimum,
60 ne ipsa insciens condemnaretur : audiretur, antequam Sanctitas Sua de caussa pronunciaret. Orator recepit se facturum ; an fecerit, an Cæsar acceperit literas, quid omnino sit actum, adhuc ignoramus.

47. minus &c.] f^o 78 v 57. est] ms. ð 58. Maiestas] ms. : matas.
61. Pontificem Maximum] ms. : Pont. Max 64. Pontifice] ms. : Pont.

56. disputationem &c.] Vives evidently refers to the discussions of the question in Councils and Parliament, amongst churchmen and erudites, whose advice was eagerly sought for by Henry VIII. ; Stone, 37-48 ; SchelhAmHist., i, 14, 15 ; SchismAngl., 28, 31-33, 72, sqq ; Blunt, i, 131 ; Ortroy, 182, 397.

59. occulta] in sending the various messengers to Rome — Christ. Mores and Will. Knight, and, on February 11, 1528, Steph. Gardiner and Edw. Fox — the King and Wolsey tried to hide things from each other, whereas the Queen was kept in complete ignorance, although the chief person

interested in the case, which Henry VIII. pretended to prosecute merely for the peace of his conscience. The history of the Divorce has been fully told by Nicolas Harpsfield (cp. Pocock) and Edmond Campian (cp. Harpsfield, 733-740) ; also by : Theiner, 556-606 ; Ehse ; J. Gairdner, *New Lights on the Divorce of Henry VIII.*, in *EngHistRev.*, xi-xii, London, 1896-97 ; Pastor, ii, 483-516 ; Ortroy, 57-61, 148-215, 397 ; *SchismAngl.*, 13-80 ; Stone, 35-61 ; Pollard, 173, sqq ; Creighton, 150, sqq ; Grisar, ii, 374-82 ; Bémont ; *RéfAngl.*, 18-45 ; &c.

62. Oratorem] Inigo de Mendoza.

Quis non admiretur, et suspiciat moderationem Reginae?
 70 In ea caussa, in qua aliæ mulieres miscuissent cœlum
 terræ, et omnia clamoribus et tumultu replessent, ipsa
 tantum id petijt a filio sororis suæ, vt a iudice impetraret,
 ne inaudita damnaretur !

Hæc est summa omnium, quæ Regina et ego sumus
 75 collocuti : nec aliud inuenietur. Nec alijs me rebus ipse
 admiscuissem : quippe qui non libenter tracto res princi-
 pum. Nec ipsa aliud a me postulasset, nempe sanctissima
 matrona, et quam ego scio atque habeo compertum,
 nullis hominum præsidij aut opibus fidere, sed vnico
 80 Deo, qui suis has calamitates dat, et adimit : Ille miseratus
 populum suum det pacem et quietem illam suam princi-
 pibus, populis, domibus, et vnicuique hominum intra se.

Joannes Lodouicus Viues.

This document, which reflects a candid soul and a grateful devotedness, was probably required by Wolsey, on the authority of his spiritual jurisdiction, whilst Vives was still free ; for he joins himself to the Queen where he says that they do not know whether Mendoza wrote his letter, and what was the effect. If Vives had been already in his *libera custodia*, he would have spoken in the singular, and he would have heard from his fellow-prisoner whether the letter had been dispatched. Most probably it occasioned his confinement, if not also that of Mendoza ¹).

83. *cp. for Vives' monogram, p. 26, note to line 44* *F^o 79 r is blank ; it has several small blots made by marks of punctuation added to the writing of f^o 78 v ; f^o 79 v, also blank, has two notes on the right edge : Ludov. Viues, and, in the hand which added a similar note to Vives' letter to Henry VIII. : i. lre. (cp. p. 26.)*

¹) Charles V.'s treatment of the French ambassador can hardly have entitled Wolsey to proceed against Mendoza ; still it was readily used as a pretext to deprive Catherine of his help.

At any rate this document was written before February 20, 1528, when J. Russell informed Wolsey from Windsor, that he had announced to the King that he, Wolsey, had cross-examined Vives and Queen Catherine's confidential servant Francis Philip ¹⁾, and that Henry was satisfied with the gentle manner of that examining and with the « course » which he, Wolsey, was adopting to prevent Vives from leaving London or visiting the Court, — namely the *libera custodia*. The King had also read “ Vyves pystelle where yn he wryttes of iugensyng ” — evidently this present statement, referring to the ‘ humanum ius ’ and the ‘ gentium legati ’ (ll. 4-6), — and he will write “ hys mynde ” on that letter, which Russell will then send back to Wolsey ²⁾.

If Henry wrote an apostil at all on the matter, it certainly was not on this document; possibly ‘ hys mynde ’ was not so much incensed against his old favourite Vives: that may even have induced the vindictive Cardinal to make him lose for ever his master's good will, by soliciting the scholar to write down his opinion about the validity of the marriage, as was asked of divines, of universities and erudites: the withdrawal of royal favour was then a necessary result, for there was no doubt as to the Spaniard's opinion.

That memoir, of which he offered another copy to the King in 1531 ³⁾, was written during his confinement, which lasted thirty-eight days, and probably was put an end to in the first days of April, for fear of reprisals on the English ambassador in Spain. Wolsey evidently was at a loss what to do with an upright man and a royal favourite: still he managed to deprive Catherine of one of her staunchest supporters; for Vives was released only on condition not to put foot again in Court. On the Queen's secret advice ⁴⁾ he left England, where there was no longer an office to retain him, and he arrived in Bruges on April 7, 1528. Not that the King was quite estranged

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 243, 58, 261, *a*.

²⁾ *Brewer*, iv, 3943.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 261, *a*; *VOO*, vii, 135: ‘ de quo <matrimonio regali> libellum, quum in Britannia essem, rogatu Cardinalis Eboracensis composui ’.

⁴⁾ *VOO*, vii, 148-149: consultissimum iudicavi domum redire, idque Regina per codicillos suasit clam missos.

from him ; for Mountjoy and Henry's treasurer Bryan Tuke informed him, a few days later, that the royal pension should be continued ¹⁾ ; this was not necessary to prevent him from venting his displeasure at so ignominious a dismissal ²⁾ ; for he gave in Flanders as only comment of his unforeseen arrival that Henry was ' parum... abalienatus ceu stultitia, aut amore vesano ' ³⁾, and he even left it to his Bruges friends to announce his return to his most intimate acquaintances farther in the country ⁴⁾.

The Last Visit.

November 1528.

When the validity of Henry VIII.'s marriage was examined by Wolsey and Cardinal Campegio as Clement VII.'s special legate, the King granted — *mira festinatione* ⁵⁾ — to the Queen, besides her English councillors, the help of two advocates from Flanders, as well as of Ludovicus Vives whom she herself nominated, whereas he positively excluded the inter-

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 260, 14-21. Cp. *TrevPap.*, I, 136, &c.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 261, a, 25-30 ; VOO, VII, 148.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 260, 17-18.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 261, 7. In his letter to Claymond [June- July 1528], VOO, VII, 214, he alludes to his difficulties ; he may have requested Erasmus to say his say in the matter, and use his authority with the King to good purpose ; but the prudent Dutchman must have disappointed the chivalrous Spaniard by his callous remark : ' *Negocio Iouis et Iunonis absit vt me admisceam, praesertim incognito. Citius tribuerim vni duas Iunones quam vnam adimerem* ' ; whereas in the same breath he bitterly complains about a present from the Queen being kept back for a few weeks (Sept. 2, 1528 : Allen, VII, 2040, 41-49). Cp. FG, 223, 19 ; *SchismAngl.*, 79 ; EE, 1757, A, B. He may have tried to neutralize the bad impression by inducing — or at least allowing — Gilbert Cousin to write " *Ex aedibus Erasmicis* " to Zasius about Henry VIII.'s divorce : " *De his nemo Erasmo nostro aduersus Leum, & multis alijs in locis absolutius scripsit* " : Gilberti Cognati Nozereni *de Iis qui Romæ ius dicebant olim, deque eorum origine & potestate libellus. De Regis Angliæ diuortio sententia eiusdem ad clariss. Iureconsultum Vdalr. Zasium. Vna cum aliquot de legali studio epistolis eiusdem* : Basle, Henricus Petri, 1562 : [A 8] v.

⁵⁾ VOO, VII, 149.

ference of all other Spaniards ¹⁾). On his request Margaret of Austria sent her the official and vicar-general of Liège diocese Giles de la Blocquerie, provost of Tongres ²⁾, as well as a member of her Mechlin Parliament, Louis de Schore ³⁾). These two delegates left Mechlin on November 17, 1528, and, on their way to Calais, they were joined at Bruges by Vives, who evidently responded with promptitude to the Queen's call ⁴⁾).

It seems to have been clear to the Spanish scholar that, come what would, Catherine should never more be recognized as Henry's wife, and that neither the King nor Wolsey looked upon this trial and the coming sentence as on the means of arriving at a beneficent decision in an anxious doubt, but intended it only as a pretence to show the indignant nation ⁵⁾ that their repudiated Queen had had a fair chance of defence. Rather than playing a part in that sinister comedy, Vives advised Catherine to desist from every defence, and to rely merely on her right and guiltlessness, without admitting for herself as much as the possibility of a doubt. This lofty and proud advice highly displeased the nearly exasperated woman at the time ⁶⁾; yet she was not long in finding out that it was the best course to protect her innocence, and she acted upon

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 261, b ; *CollectGeld.*, 87 ; *CalStPp*, Venice, iv, 373 ; *Brewer*, iv, 4875 (p. 2109) ; *StPp*, vii, 115-116, ; *Laemmer*, 28 : Campeggio announces on Oct. 26, 1528 to Clement VII.'s secretary Sanga that Catherine receives the help also of " uno Spagnolo ch' ella si ritrova detto Ludovico Vives, quale altre volte è stato in questo Regno et ha letto in studio Oxoniense". *Cp.* *Ortroy*, 191-192 ; *Ehsses*, 58.

²⁾ *Aléandre*, 126 ; *AléaLiège*, 50, &c. ; *Keussen*, 569, 49 ; *DocPLiège*, i, 49, &c. ; *Halkin*, 88, &c.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 110, c-f ; he wrote in consequence a *Consilium super Viribus Matrimonii Serenissimorum Henrici Octavi, & Catharinæ Regum Angliæ* : Louvain, 1534 : *Paquot*, iv, 128 ; *VAnd.*, 184 ; *Foppens*, ii, 835.

⁴⁾ *Brewer*, iv, 4938-9 ; 4943-6 ; *Bonilla*, 215 : in their company also journeyed Ochoa de Salzedo, Catherine's servant.

⁵⁾ *SchismAngl.*, 42 ; *Pastor*, II, 499.

⁶⁾ *VOO*, vii, 149 : *Irata est mihi etiam Regina, quod non statim voluntati potius suæ paruerim, quam rationi meæ ; sed mihi mea ratio instar est omnium Principum : Ergo et Rex tamquam inimico, et Regina tamquam immorigero et refractario, uterque annum mihi salarium ademit : letter to John Vergara <1531>. Cp. Farr., 37 r.*

it ever after ¹⁾. Still under that momentary displeasure Vives left the country, which he never visited again ²⁾.

Thus broke the last link that had bound the scholar to England, and being dismissed from Catherine's service her pension was stopped. To be true she may have been deprived herself of all means, and have been unable to help her old favourite any longer. Such a consideration cannot have influenced the King, whose pension, after having been remitted at regular periods until then ³⁾, was no longer paid, although Vives' name remained on the list of those entitled to their half-year's wages 'due at Lady's Day' and in September 1529-1530, and did not appear amongst those from whom such wages were withdrawn ⁴⁾. The poor erudite was thus deprived of his income, as he complained to his friend John Vergara ⁵⁾, and to his former pupil Pate, then studying in Paris ⁶⁾. Generous men like John Claymond came to his relief in his bitter need ⁷⁾.

That bitter need, however, had left his noble mind unimpaired : for he spoke kindly of Henry VIII. ; he wrote in *De Officio Mariti*, 1528 ⁸⁾, as high a praise of Catherine as ever woman could desire ; he continued vindicating her honour by his writings ⁹⁾ ; nor did he even retaliate with a sneer on Thomas Winter all the wrong he had suffered from his then ruined relative Wolsey ¹⁰⁾. So free was his heart from all anger, that on Jan. 13, 1531, although it was the third year,

¹⁾ *SchismAngl.*, 42-67.

²⁾ Vives is certainly not the Queen's secretary referred to in some of Chapuys' letters of 1530-31, as is implied by the *Index to CalStPp, Spain*, iv, p. 1138.

³⁾ *HispEp.*, 267.

⁴⁾ *L & P, Henry VIII.*, v, pp. 310, 325 ; *TrevPap.*, i, 149, 157, 164, 170.

⁵⁾ VOO, vii, 149.

⁶⁾ 'Mihi huc sesquiannum munus non est missum e Britannia, οὐδέ ἄλλοθεν, &c. <Nov. 1529> : VOO, vii, 142 ; Bonilla, 217.







⁷⁾ VOO, vii, 142, 217 ; Brewer, iv, 6796 ; Bonilla, 217.

⁸⁾ VOO, iv, 322 ; Watson, lxxxi.

⁹⁾ With John Fisher and the German controversialists John Eckius and John Cochläus, he was accounted as Catherine's chief champion : *L & P, Henry VIII.*, v, app. 13, 14, vii, 859 ; Laemmer, 34 ; Ortroy, 59, 192, 360.

¹⁰⁾ VOO, vii, 141 ; *Farr.*, 43 v ; Bradford, 290-91 ; Laemmer, 70 ; Ortroy, 211.

as he said, that he had been deprived of the King's and Queen's pensions, he besought Henry VIII. not to separate from his wife, invoking all the arguments prompted by religion and reason, sending him the memoir which he wrote in 1528 at Wolsey's request and which might not have reached His Majesty ¹).

That memoir may be identical with the one printed anonymously 'Lvnebvrgae anno M.D.XXXII. Mens. Sept.' under the title :  NON ESSE  / NEQVE DIVINO, NEQVE / NATVRAE IVRE PROHIBITVM, / Quin Summus Pontifex dispensare possit, vt frater / demortui sine liberis fratris vxorem legitimo / Matrimonio sibi possit adiungere, / aduersus aliquot Acade/miarum Cen-/suras, / Tumultuaria, ac perbreuis Apologia, siue / Confutatio. /    / LEGE LECTOR CVM IVDI/cio, nō dubito quin illustrissimæ Reginæ tam modis / omnibus vincibili caussæ vtroque fauebis pollice. / Quod si aduersarij adhuc proteruire & calum/niari pergent, indubitato a nobis aduer/sus illorum vrbinam machæram / expecta. /  ²).

The author of this pamphlet, whose style and argumentation are most similar to those of Vives, dedicates it ³) to Eustace Chapuys, privy councillor to Charles V., and his ambassador in the English Court ⁴); he mentions that, with

¹) *Cran.*, 261, b ; *VOO*, VII, 134-136 ; *L & P*, *Henry VIII.*, v, 46 ; *Collect-Geld.*, 87 ; *Lecigne*, 59-60.

²) A copy of this rare tract (in-4°, *sign.* a-s, in fours), once belonging to the famous Louvain professor J. F. van de Velde (1743-1823), reposes now in the British Museum (Grenville, 1234).

³) "Ex Museo nostro, XIX. Cal. Maij" (f° b ij r).

⁴) Eustace Chapuys, born at Annecy in 1499, J. V. D., first became councillor of Duke Charles of Savoy in Turin ; then canon of St. Peter's, Geneva ; dean of Viry ; and from Aug. 17, 1517 official of the Bishops of Geneva John-Louis II. of Savoy and Peter de la Beaume Montrevel, afterwards Cardinal (Herminjard, I, 73-4). Having entered the service of Charles of Bourbon, he was sent on a mission to Charles V. in Spain, who, at his master's death at the siege of Rome, appointed him on July 1, 1527 as councillor and Master of the Requests. In 1529 he was sent on embassy to England, where he remained 17 years. He was commendatory abbot of Sant' Angelo in Sicily ; he retired to Louvain, where he bought the hospice of 'St. Bernard's on the Scheldt', in Penny Street, on April 28, 1548. In May 1548 Charles V. allowed him to start in that hospice and the neighbouring houses the *College of Savoy*, which was endowed by successive grants and by his will of Dec. 13, 1551. He also founded a grammar school at Annecy, preparing boys for his

a very few exceptions, the Universities whose advice had been asked, enounced a judgment in favour of the validity of Henry's marriage with Catherine ¹⁾; amongst them "Louvainum, vel summis & famigeratissimis scholis non tantum æmulum, sed par' ²⁾": which evidently suggests a common interest in that *Studium Generale*. He owns that it is dangerous speaking frankly to kings; still in this instance the king is not a Dionysius, but a very good man, as he himself knows from his conversation, and as Eustace must have experienced as well ³⁾; he consequently requests him to use his personal influence or that of his imperial master Charles V. to bear upon this most unpleasant case. That personal acquaintance with Henry VIII. mentioned to Chapuys strengthens the impression given by the spirit and the language of the pamphlet, that it was written by Vives, and most probably sent to the King for the second time on January 13, 1531 ⁴⁾,

Louvain foundation. He died on Jan. 21, 1556, and was buried in the chapel of his College, of which hardly anything but the site remains. His natural son Cesar Chapuys was legitimated in March 1545: *FUL*, nos 2849-2854; *ReusDoc.*, III, 230; *Mol.*, 642; *Vern.*, 218; *VAnd.*, 309; *PF*, II, 53, *BaxH*, IX, 135; *BaxF*, III, 157; *ArchRoy*, *Chambre des Comptes*, 642: 138-9, 351 v; *Stone*, 41-42; *Bradford*, 255 sqq; *Ortroy*, 214, 216, &c.; *CalStPp*, *Spain*, IV, v, vi, 18, 132, &c.; *ULAnn.*, 1853, 259.

¹⁾ *SchismAngl.*, 72-76.

²⁾ As the registers of the *Acta* of the University, and those of the Faculty of Divinity, for that period have perished, no material proof can be produced from the academic records; still, besides this memoir, can be quoted the testimony of Luther, who said to his friends with reference to the universities that had opined for the divorce: 'Nos autem et Lovaneum diversum statuimus': *Cordatus*, 199, 200; *Köstlin*, II, 263; *Grisar*, II, 376; also that of Geldenhouwer, who notes: *Etiam Lovanii fecerunt consilium et illuc <viz., in Angliam> miserunt ad favorem reginæ: CollectGeld.*, 87. — Political or financial considerations influenced the advice given by several other Universities; cp. *Blunt*, I, 129-130; *Cranmer*, I, 5; *Theiner*, 583, 605-6; *NarRef.*, 241-43; *Schism-Angl.*, 72-80; *Strype*, I, 144-46; *EE*, 1757, B; *CalStPp*, *Spain*, IV, 396, 398; *Delisle*, 30-32, 83-84; *Laemmer*, 75; *Ortroy*, 58-9, 183-5; *AgrE*, 298-9, 316-7, 322; *Pocock*, 27, 309; *Cordatus*, 199, 200; *Cranmer*, I, 11; *Réf-Angl.*, 37, 362, 375-8, 381.

³⁾ Cp. the dedicatory letter of the tract *NON ESSE* &c., f° b i r.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 261, c; *Foppens*, II, 682; *Paquot* II, 59; *Mayans*, 100, 123; *Bonilla*, 648, 786.

— with such changes as circumstances requested ¹⁾).

That Vives was suspected of having written an anonymous pamphlet against the Divorce, results from some questions which the authorities ordered the judges to put to Bishop Fisher during his trial, after March 1534. They were to ask him, amongst other things : ‘(12.) whether he <had> gyven many or enny one of <his> books or copies to enny person or persons of beyond the [s]eas that the matter in them conteyned myght be put forth openly under a straunge stile by sum man that was not the kings subiecte that feared not his jndignation, though he wrote many things both lewde and slaunderows’. Also : ‘(13.) whether the booke whiche is prynted and born without certayn auctor or father, And yet is said to be w[ritte]n either off aggrippa ²⁾ or of l[owis vives] or Anthony pullion ³⁾ were put forth [by] rochesters counsell

¹⁾ On f^o [a iv] r of the tract *NON ESSE* &c., the author declares that he has put every thing hurriedly together in the preceding days “adversus Censuras” : — namely, the opinions of English divines and erudites (1528) or those of foreign Universities (1530).

²⁾ Henry Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim, erudite lawyer and physician, and an authority on magic arts, born in Cologne, 1486, served Maximilian I. as secretary and soldier, and was knighted. He studied in different countries and towns, residing a long time at Metz (where he was intimate with Claud Cantiuncula), Lyons and Paris. In July 1528 he removed to Antwerp, and in the hope of a promotion wrote for Margaret of Austria his *De Nobilitate et Præcellentia Fæminei Sexus*. He was disappointed in his expectations, and left for Bonn, where the protection of Archbishop Herman of Wied could not prevent the difficulties roused against his *De Occulta Philosophia* by the Cologne Divines, those of Louvain having condemned before some passages in *De Vanitate Scientiarum*. He sought refuge at Grenoble, where he died in 1535. Cp. H. Morley, *The Life of Henry Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim* : London, 1856 ; JovEDV, 236 ; Cran., 18, pr., &c. ; Foppens, 439-440 ; Keussen, 473 ; Knod, 699 ; FG, 291 ; PaulusDD, 129-134 ; PaulusHH, 224 ; Herminjard, I, 46, &c. ; Bianco, I, 613-624 ; Janssen, II, 38, 97 ; SchelhAmLit., II, 513-596 ; AgrE, 345-353 ; Diercxsens, IV, 58 ; Varrentrapp, 29, 69, 84 ; KalkUIHut., 189 ; Notestein, 62 ; SaxOnom, 138 ; ADB ; Hermelink, 177 ; Lefranc, 178 ; Renaudet, 644 ; Riekel, 81-83.

³⁾ ‘Anthony pullion’, evidently John Antony Pulleo, Baron del Burgio (Ehshes, 152), who was sent as Papal Nuncio to England in July 1530 (Brewer, IV, 6521, 6550, &c.) ; he was mixed up with Elizabeth Barton’s affair ; as he enjoyed the King’s confidence, he was suspected by the Queen ; yet the Pope declared to Charles V.’s ambassador that Pulleo had always written in her favour, and done a great deal for her, continually urging him to decide her case. He was recalled in July 1533 : *L & P*, *Henry VIII.*, v, vi, 1222, 1331, vii, 72, 96 ; Ehshes, 152, 164, 175, 178, &c.

swasement or knowledge'. — And finally the order enjoins : ' (14.) lett him be straytlye examined who was the auctor of [the sa]me booke' ¹). In reply to these three queries, the venerable prelate answered, with reference to the sending abroad of his own writings : ' 12. No such thing was ever in my mind'. — As to having encouraged the publishing : ' 13. Not by my counsel or knowledge'. — Moreover he declared : ' 14. I am quite ignorant of the author, but suspect, from the style, it was Cornelius Agrippa' ²). From these queries it appears that if Vives' pamphlet was identical with the *Non Esse*, those questions were drawn up by men who were ignorant of his having sent it to the King on January 13, 1531. If they were two different documents, it follows that Vives was suspected of having written a second memoir on the divorce — the *Non Esse* — besides the one he submitted in January 1531. That Fisher attributed the anonymous book on account of its style to Henry Cornelius Agrippa suggests his acquaintance with the proposal which was made to the famous author on the excellence of Woman and of Marriage ³) to issue a *libellus* in favour of the Queen. Indeed the Imperial legate Eustace Chapuys wrote to Agrippa from London, on June 26, 1531, praising him for having covertly condemned the divorce in his writings, and asking him for a refutation of the book in which the favourers of the divorce had published the advice of French and Italian Universities ⁴). Agrippa

¹) These injunctions, summarized in *L & P, Henry VIII.*, VIII, 859, are taken from the threefold document reposing in the Record Office, *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* (93) : ff. 63 to 77 ; ff. 63-68 is a clean English copy ; ff. 69-73 is its minute, and ff. 74-77 is a clean Latin translation. The text of the three queries 12, 13 and 14 is taken from the first document, f° 63 v, which is in a very bad state, being worn and torn at places, e. g., for the very name of Vives ; the missing words have been supplied, between square brackets [], from the minute, f° 69 v, and the Latin translation, f° 74 v : *L & P, Henry VIII.*, VIII, 859, p. 333.

²) *L & P, Henry VIII.*, 859, p. 336.

³) Agrippa wrote his *De Nobilitate & Præcellentia Fæminei Sexus* in the beginning of May 1529 ; he had already before dedicated *De Sacramenti Matrimonij Declamatio* to Margaret Duchess of Alençon : probably Chapuys made the request on account of these two pamphlets : they brought universal renown to their author, whom he had known for several years : AgrE, 115, 324 ; Herminjard, I, 428 ; Jourda, 140.

⁴) AgrE, 297-8 : Chapuys sent that book to Agrippa (cp. *RéfAngl.*, 362) along with Fisher's plea for the Queen.

replied from the Emperor's Court, Brussels, July 21, 1531, excusing himself for such a heavy task and wondering whether men like Fisher, Erasmus, Vives, Eckius, Cochläus, Sasger (Schatzgeyer) and Faber were not better qualified ; at any rate, if he did write a rejoinder, he should want the Emperor's and Mary of Hungary's protection ¹⁾. On Sept. 10 Chapuys replied by a long letter in which he promised to obtain that protection through Queen Catherine and through his friend Louis de Praet ; moreover he declares that with the only exception of Erasmus he considers Agrippa better qualified than any of the other apologists ²⁾. It is evident that at that time Chapuys did not know of Vives' memoir to Henry VIII., for he says that : ' Viues quoque, dum Christianam foeminam instituit, vicem suam officio <viz., defensoris Reginae> functus videri potest ' ³⁾. Two months later, on November 25, 1531, Chapuys again urged Agrippa and sent him further information in the shape of a pamphlet, in which a professor of the Sorbonne protested against the judgment ascribed to the university of which he was a member ⁴⁾.

Whether the versatile erudite complied with that eager request is very doubtful ; by the end of 1532 he sent Chapuys' letters from Bonn to Queen Mary of Hungary ⁵⁾ through her secretary John ' Khreutter ' ⁶⁾ : which implies that at the time the execution was no more than a pious wish ⁷⁾, — if it still *was* a wish. For Cranmer contended that on his journey to the Continent, in 1531, he had gained Agrippa to his and to the King's views ⁸⁾. Still the difficulties which molested

¹⁾ AgrE, 298-301.

²⁾ AgrE, 312-319.

³⁾ AgrE, 314 ; he states of Erasmus : ' certe illud dabis <eum> iampridem Reginae studium atque fauorem suum approbasse, edito ad illam de Matrimonio Christiano copioso & erudito syntagmate '.

⁴⁾ AgrE, 322.

⁵⁾ AgrE, 342-3.

⁶⁾ Without doubt John de Gruter or Gruyter : Walther, 213.

⁷⁾ There seems to be no allusion to a pamphlet about the Divorce in his correspondence ; perhaps to atone for the non-compliance, he dedicated to Chapuys his *Querela* about the way in which the *Burgundiones* had treated him : November 1532 : AgrE, 339.

⁸⁾ Agrippa, says Strype, confessed to Cranmer " that the marriage was naught, but that he durst not say so openly, for fear both of the Pope and Emperor. Yet he was afterwards cast into prison " : *Cranmer*, I, 14.

the scholar from November 1531 to the end of 1532, were such that they fully account for his silence : for he was continually harassed by his creditors, who even imprisoned him ¹⁾ ; he was contending with the imperial treasurer who refused the payment of fees promised to him as Charles V.'s historiographer ²⁾, which made him seek for employment under Herman of Wied, Archbishop of Cologne ; finally, he was striving against the condemnation which some Louvain divines had pronounced against his books. The latter circumstance is a decisive argument against the supposition that Agrippa should have been the author of *Non Esse* : for it looks almost impossible that a man who from February 1532 vents his anger at the Louvain Faculty for an unwarranted condemnation ³⁾, should, on April 13 or 14, call that University : ' vel summis & famigeratissimis scholis non tantum æmulum, sed par ', and praise those very divines who attack his writings, for having brought out a sentence against Henry VIII. And although he may have seen and heard the King during his stay in England, 1509-10 ⁴⁾, those interviews with a youth of eighteen, in the first days of his reign, can hardly justify the acquaintance with the self-willed grown-up monarch to which the dedicace of *Non Esse* refers. These and other particularities can be ascribed much more fitly to Vives, and seem to point to him as the probable author of the pamphlet ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ AgrE, 306.

²⁾ AgrE, 307-310, 339.

³⁾ AgrE, 319, 327, 336, 338, 339 : the three last letters, September-November, 1532, refer to his *Apologia* against the attacks of the *Lovanienses*, which he dedicates to Cardinal Campegio. Charles V., to whom he appealed, referred him to Mechlin Court, which judged in his disfavour.

⁴⁾ In the latter part of 1509 Agrippa was sent to England on ' a very secret business ' ; during his stay, which lasted till 1510, he was a disciple of John Colet, and wrote an *Expostulatio cum Iohanne Catilineti super expositione libri Iohannis Capnionis de Verbo Mirifico*, dated *Ex Londino* A° MDX, printed with the *De Nobilitate ... Fæminei Sexus*, Mense Maio 1532 ; cp. Lupton, 199-201 ; AgeEr., 143.

⁵⁾ The only detail which does not seem conclusive is the acquaintance of Vives with Chapuys, which the dedicace represents as rather intimate : referring to his opinion of Henry VIII., it says : ' ipse tu charissime Orator, idem non raro neque illibenter, nec minus grauitur et adseuerate testari soles ' (f° b i r). Still on account of Vives' interest

Whatever the case may be, certain it is that the King was incensed by the message of Jan. 13, 1531, which told him his duty too frankly, and by the way in which his old favourite resolved the problem on which depended the destiny of a whole nation for centuries to come. For it is a fact that on the next account of the Treasurer, March 1531, Vives' name was left out for good from the list of those to whom a pension was due ¹⁾. Still he had not been prompted in all this by animosity or by excess of zeal, and his epistle sounds as the sincere expression of a faithful subject's mind, as the voice of true love and gratitude for the King and for the country which, as he declares, 'aliquamdiu fuit hospita benignissima' ²⁾.

A Puzzling Letter.

Amongst Vives' letters which have reached us, there is one which is particularly puzzling on account of the contradictions it contains. It is connected with the visits to England as it is dated from Oxford, on March 10. It was first published in the earliest edition of Vives' *Opera Omnia* ³⁾, and reproduced in all subsequent collections of his letters ⁴⁾.

The letters in the edition of 1555, mostly to Erasmus, were evidently printed from the originals then extant in Basle; they seem to have been lost since; with one exception they are complete, and give the impression of actual missives, with exact dates and addresses. In that respect they are quite different from the many new letters added to that series in the *Farrago* published by G. Simon in Antwerp, 1556, which, with a few exceptions, are incomplete: places and dates are hardly ever indicated; they suggest, not the actual epistles,

in the affairs of Queen Catherine, of his universal renown, and of his familiarity with the Imperial Court and Courtiers, a friendly connection — either direct, or through a mutual confidant — with Chapuys appears quite natural, although no proof seems to be at hand.

¹⁾ *L & P, Henry VIII.*, v, p. 325: it is expressly stated that 'Ludovicus Vives and Ric. Trees are omitted'.

²⁾ *L & P, Henry VIII.*, v, 46; *VOO*, vii, 136.

³⁾ Basle, Nicolas Episcopus, 1555.

⁴⁾ *Farr.*, 101 r; *EE*, 1879, D; *VOO*, vii, 196.

but the rough draughts by Vives, or the copies by his amanuensis which for some mistake or default had been discarded ¹⁾ : they consequently lack the names of places and dates, which he added himself at the last minute with a final greeting or a conclusive remark ²⁾, as can be seen from the original letters which are still extant. The set to which the letter to Cognatus belongs, comprizes 18 letters to Erasmus, 1522-1534, which precede, and one to Damian a Goes, June 17, 1533, which follows. It is the only one in the collection without a year date — and as Vives generally adds it, the inference seems quite natural that the editor left it out on purpose, as it seemed in contradiction with the time of service of Erasmus' amanuenses with whom it is connected, and whom he is most likely to have known from personal acquaintance.

Indeed this letter brings together three of these amanuenses : it is written to Gilbert Cousin, who served from 1530 to 1535 ³⁾ ; it answers two messages : one was delivered by Livinus Algoet *Panagathus*, who left Erasmus about 1527 ⁴⁾ : after an estrangement of several years, he got reconciled on a visit paid in July-August 1533 ⁵⁾, on the return from which

¹⁾ Allen, iv. 1222, *pref.* ; P. S. Allen, *Some Sixteenth Century Manuscript Letter-Books* : London (Bibliogr. Soc.), 1914 : 24. Letters like that to Francis Leardus (VOO, vii, 218), in their short and abrupt state, suggest that they were copied, not from a final draught, but from jottings penned down by Vives for his secretary to work upon : similar short sketches are numerous in the series added in the *Farrago* : VOO, vii, 213, 217, 221.

²⁾ Cp., besides the letter to King Henry VIII. reproduced on pp. 24-26, *Cran.*, 157, 185, 202, 221, 261, — 6, 8, 13, 32, &c.

³⁾ As Erasmus wrote to the abbot of Ste. Marie, Dec. 11, 1533, Gilbert had served him faithfully 'plus quam triennium' ; he left in September 1535 : EE, 1484, F, 1514, A, 1515, E ; *LatCont.*, 379, 381 ; FG, 359 ; part of his correspondence is edited in the *Gilberti Cognati Nozereni Opera Multifarii Argomenti* : Basle, Henricus Petri, 1562 : i, 295-322, iii, 2, 207.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 58, a ; Ent., 140.

⁵⁾ On June 21, 1533 Nicolas Olah wrote to Erasmus saying that as Queen Mary wanted Erasmus to come to Brabant, she was sending Livinus Algoet to accompany him on the journey, for which she sent even the *viaticum* : OE, 378, 381, 399. Algoet probably reached Freiburg about the beginning of July, and went on several errands for his old master : FG, 226, 7, 23-33 ; he returned, leaving Freiburg in the middle of August (OE, 400), but without Erasmus, who pleaded ill health, to the great disappointment of his Belgian friends : OE, 396-9 ; EE, 1511, E.

he naturally was entrusted with letters, amongst which there was one to Vives.

The third amanuensis *Quirinus Hagius ciuis*, a native of The Hague, who brought the second letter, entered the *familia* about May 1532 ¹⁾ and left in March 1534; it is recorded that he was sent to England in the last days of August or in the beginning of September 1532 ²⁾; as he came back empty-handed, he was sent off again ³⁾, at latest in April 1533 ⁴⁾, and did not return to Basle before July 23 or 24, 1533 ⁵⁾.

From their time of service it follows that these three amanuenses can only have been together during part of 1533 and of 1534. The 'VI. Idus Martii' on which the letter was dated cannot have fallen in 1533, since Algoet recovered his old master's confidence only in July-August 1533, and could not have brought from Basle any message before that time ⁶⁾. Moreover, as Vives was in Bruges from the 3rd to the 8th of January 1533, and in Brussels from the 13th to the 20th of the same month ⁷⁾, it can hardly be supposed that, having just returned from Oxford, where he had met Quirinus Hagius in October-November 1532 ⁸⁾, he should go back again to write this epistle in Oxford on March 10, 1533: for handicapped severely and constantly by headaches, colics and

¹⁾ *LatCont.*, 379-380.

²⁾ On Aug., 29, 1532 Erasmus wrote to Olah: Nunc Quirinum meum mitto in Angliam: OE, 235; on Oct. 5, 1532, to Choler: alterum... <famulum, viz., Quirinum> amandavi in Angliam: EE, 1453, e.

³⁾ On May 14, 1533 Erasmus wrote to Viglius: Rursus amandavi Quirinum Hagium famulum meum in Angliam: nam proxima legatione rediit vacuus; nec aliud nunc expecto: EE, 1757, a. Cp. also his letter of April 23, 1533 to thank Chapuys who had taken up Quirinus on his first stay in England: EE, 1466, c.

⁴⁾ Erasmus refers to Quirinus in his letters of 19 to 23 April: OE, 353; EE, 1466, a, c; *Erasm.*, II, 607.

⁵⁾ Quirinus was in England in May and June: OE, 381; FG, 218, 3, 222, 15, 22, 225, 15; EE, 1856, b; *MoreCorr.*, 562; and in the Netherlands in the first half of July: Ent., 131, 132, 133; *Erasm.*, IV, 794; on July 25, 1533 Erasmus wrote to Damian a Goes: Sero rediit ex Anglia famulus meus: EE, 1473, b.

⁶⁾ FG, 226; *Cran.*, 58, a.

⁷⁾ VOO, II, 294-5.

⁸⁾ A, I, 3 (p. 50).

podagra from 1531 to 1534 ¹⁾, it would seem as if he had only started to be a real ζῶν ἀμφοτέρων ²⁾ after he became an invalid.

The only remaining year, 1534, does not fit in any better for a stay in Oxford ; for Vives' absence was deplored at that time : the state of the University called forth a letter of complaint, with the hope, since it was wished that ' professors should be sent from beyond the sea, as was Mr. Vives, for certain colleges to find his stipend ' ³⁾. Nor can it be admitted that, especially in that year, Vives should live peacefully in England with nothing to complain about except the climate : — ' Me hic cœlum istud... inclementer accipit... cetera cedunt prosperrime ' ⁴⁾, — whilst at a few miles' distance his bosom-friend More and his protector Fisher were in prison for opposing the royal supremacy ⁵⁾, the natural outcome of the divorce question, for which he himself had been disgraced and deprived of his pensions six years before ⁶⁾. In fact the favour of the King and Queen in which he exults : ' diligunt principes, ac fauent, idque re ostendunt ' ⁷⁾, cannot possibly have been experienced except in the months of March of 1524 or of 1525, and if out of all question any year after 1528, it was especially so in 1533 and 1534 ⁸⁾.

According to the pre-eminence given to either of these contrary details, biographers fixed a date to this puzzling letter : A. Bonilla y San Martin and, after him, Foster Watson, on

¹⁾ Cp. his letters of that period : to Louis de Praet, about 1532 : VOO, VII, 136 ; to Vergara : Aug. 8, 1532 : *HispEp.*, 267 ; to Damian a Goes, June 17, 1533, and Erasmus, May 10, 1534 : EE, 1471, A, 1492, F ; VOO, VII, 195, 198.

²⁾ Allen, VII, 1830, 1, 1889, 9.

³⁾ Letter of Michael Drome to William Marshall, March 9, 1534 : *L & P*, Henry VIII., VII, 308 ; *VivCorp.*, 160.

⁴⁾ B, II. 6-8 (p. 56).

⁵⁾ Vives announces their imprisonment to Erasmus in a letter from Bruges, May 10, 1534 : *L & P*, Henry VIII., VII, 635 ; VOO, VII, 195.

⁶⁾ The year 1534 as date also seems improbable from a comparison of Vives' letter of Bruges, May 10, 1534 (VOO, VII, 195), in reply to one of January 5, in which Erasmus announces his ' affecta... valetudo ' : in the light of which whatever is requested about the rumour spread in Antwerp (to which our letter refers) appears to be irrelevant.

⁷⁾ B, I. 9.

⁸⁾ The Queen's situation was most lamentable in those years : Stone, 44-78.

the strength of Vives' royal favour, suggest 1524 ¹⁾; whereas Dr. P. S. Allen, on account of the reference to the amanuenses, concludes that it 'seems necessary to infer that <it> belongs to the years 1531-5, during which Cognatus was Erasmus' servant; and therefore Vives must have revisited England and Oxford at that time' ²⁾).

The solution of this difficulty is intimately connected with the consideration that under no circumstances could the letter either have been written by Vives, or received by Cognatus, in the shape in which it has come to us: for contradictions and anachronisms so palpable are out of the range of possibilities. If the letter was *not written*, nor received as the 1555 edition gives it, inadvertency or an accident must have reduced it to that form. A close examination shows that it is not *one* homogeneous letter, but a heterogeneous whole, consisting of two diverse parts, one being the beginning of one letter, the other the end of another; — or perhaps, one, a letter without the end, and the other, one without the beginning; and, moreover, that these letters were written at seven or eight years' distance. It is not difficult to imagine that, amongst the enormous amount of letters and documents in Amerbach's possession, there should have been two that had been mutilated, especially as they were not considered of great importance, being only addressed to Erasmus' servants. They may have been written originally on folio sheets, which having been folded and doubled up, were torn into halves, of which one in each case apparently got lost. The two remaining halves were probably considered as belonging to one another, one being taken as the beginning and the other as the end: indeed, the two fragments were written by *one* and the same hand, Vives'; and at first sight seemed addressed to *one* recipient, a friend in Erasmus' *familia*; about *one* and the same object, an anxious inquiry into the health and state of their beloved master, about whom discouraging rumours were circulating. That may have led the editor of the collected

¹⁾ Bonilla, 639; Watson, *lxxix*.

²⁾ Allen, III, 927, *pref.*

works of 1555 to consider them as integrant parts of one letter ¹⁾; he left out the year-date, which indicates some doubt about the joint reference to the three amanuenses; still the fact that he included the letter in the series, shows that he had no idea of the inconsistencies which he was cramming into this ill-fated little scrap of a document.

It thus remains to reconstitute the two letters, A and B, which were soldered into one.

The first, forming the beginning, was indeed addressed to Gilbert Cousin, with whom Vives apparently was in regular correspondence; it answered a message which reached him through Livinus Algoet ²⁾, in the first days of September 1533, and a second which had been delivered by Quirinus Hagius ³⁾, evidently after his second voyage to England; indeed he had brought letters to Bruges which Vives was requested to forward to English friends ⁴⁾, for which there was ample occasion in that town ⁵⁾; he often rendered a similar service, and had done so lately — as he mentions in this epistle — for a missive to Charles Mountjoy ⁶⁾. As Quirinus Hagius made a journey to Belgium in September (to the beginning of October) 1533, a little while after Algoet had brought some messages from Erasmus ⁷⁾, it is more than likely that this letter was

¹⁾ It is always possible that the 1555 editor had before him, not the two original fragments, but already a copy made at an earlier date: such a supposition only displaces the difficulty to another moment.

²⁾ A, l. 2.

³⁾ A, l. 3.

⁴⁾ A, l. 8.

⁵⁾ Cp. VOO, vii, 173; Allen, v, 1306, 23; *Cran.*, 254, 1-10.

⁶⁾ A, l. 8. Erasmus took a great interest in the literary education of Charles, the son of William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, and may have sent him as tutor John Crucius, and, later on, Peter Vulcanius: *Cran.*, 241, a-c, 257, c. As the Mountjoys lived either at Bedwell, in the vicinity of London (Ent., 14, 15; Allen, vii, 1932, s), or at Court, it is incomprehensible that a letter should have been sent to Oxford when it could have been delivered by Quirinus himself, who was Eustace Chapuys' guest in London (EE, 1466, c), — especially since all Erasmus' amanuenses called regularly on Mountjoy, his oldest patron. It is one more argument to prove that Vives was not in Oxford, but in Bruges, or some other town of Belgium, when he wrote this letter.

⁷⁾ Algoet was back in Brabant in the first days of September: OE, 408; EE, 1479, c, v; Quirinus left before October 5: cp. *Cran.*, 139, f, and note to A, l. 22 (p. 51).

written on the occasion of his visit to Bruges; it also was taken to Freiburg by Quirinus, to whom Erasmus refers in his reply to Goclenius, November 7, 1533¹⁾. The name *Londini*, from where Vives sent a message to Erasmus²⁾, is probably a misreading for *Louanii*, which is most similar in the writing.

This first letter consequently was as follows³⁾ :

A. — VIVES TO GILBERT COUSIN

IOANNES LVDOVICVS VIVES OPTIMO ATQVE ERVDITISSIMO
IUUENI GILBERTO COGNATO NOZERENO, D. ERASMI
AMANUENSI, S.

Ex binis tuis literis, Cognate charissime, quarum priores

Textual Notes (*Ba* = text in *Io. Lodovici Vivis Valentini Opera, in dvos distincta Tomos* : Basle, 1555 : II, 976-977 ; *E* = that in EE, 1879, E, F ; *Ma* = that in VOO, VII, 196-197).

GILBERTO COGNATO] Gilbert Cousin, *Cognatus*, called *Nozerenus* after Nozeroy, Jura, where he enjoyed a prebend, was born in Burgundy, 1506, being related to Didier Morel, of Besançon, and to Louis de Vers, abbot of Mont-Ste. Marie : EE, 1475, c, d, 1485, c. He studied law at Dôle from 1526 to the last months of 1530, when he entered Erasmus' service : EE, 1484, F ; 'fidelem & commodum præstitit famulum', as his master stated, until October 1535, when he left to go and perform the duties of his canonry at Nozeroy : EE, 1514, A, F, 1515, c, E. He remained on excellent terms with Erasmus, keeping up with him a regular correspondence, and supplying

him with burgundy : EE, 1516, E, 1519, A ; FG, 272, 2 ; Ent., 183-184. Cousin was a very learned historian, a humanist and a poet ; his *Opera Multifarii Argentii*, published at Basle, 1562, were put on the *Index* of prohibited books, and imprisonment was decreed against him, July 8, 1567, on account of his dangerous opinions. Still as he enjoyed Cardinal Granvella's protection, and as he was venerated for his erudition, he was merely kept under the supervision of the authorities within Dôle or Besançon. Pius V., however, requested the Duke of Alba to apply the Placards against him, so as to prevent him propagating his doctrines, January 19, 1568 ; conse-

¹⁾ EE, 1479, A-D.

²⁾ A, l. 4.

³⁾ The text reproduces that edited <by H. Coccius> in Basle, 1555 : *Io. Lodovici Vivis Valentini Opera, in dvos distincta Tomos* (= *Ba*), with the variants in EE and in Mayans' edition, VOO, VII, 196-197 (= *Ma*).

misit Leuinus Panagathus Antuerpia, posteriores attulit Quirinus Hagius ciuis, intelligere non potui, quod ualde cupiebam, essentne tibi redditæ quas <Louanii> ad Erasmus & te dederam. Satis suspicabar non esse, quod nihil
 5 meminisses in tuis. De libris quos red<d>idit Quirinus, habeo & ago tibi gratias immensas. Per ocium legam. De literis tuis faciam, quod me rogas : alias iam misi ad Carolum Montioium.

4. Louanii] in *Ba, E, Ma* : Londini (probably misreading the *a* for *d*, under the impression of the final date : Oxoniæ) 6. reddidit] *E, Ma* ; *Ba* reddidit 8. misi] *Ba, E* ; *Ma* missi

quently on May 10, 1568, the Cardinal of Pisa ordered the inquirers to search his house ; and, as the law-suit about his doctrine seemed to be spun out by the Dôle Parliament, Alba finally entrusted the case to the Besançon official, November 29, 1571 : the latter had Cousin arrested, but he soon suspended all proceedings, on account of the illness of the erudite, who died on May 22, 1572 : Cp. P. A. Pidoux, *Un Humaniste Comtois. Gilbert Cousin, Chanoine de Nozeroy, Secrétaire d'Erasmus* (in *Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation du Jura* : VIII, iv, 35-147) : Lons-le-Saunier, 1910 ; *CatDuo*, I 1 v, L 7 v ; FG, 359 ; *SaxOnom.*, 291, 638 ; *JovEDV*, 223 ; &c. Several letters to and from Cognatus' *magister*, Coelius Secundus Curio, 1553-1556, are kept in copies in the Uffenbach-Wolf Collection, Hamburg : 59, 69-76, and in that of Werner Huber, Basle : G I 22, G² I 17, G² I 28, G² II 43 ; as well as, in the latter collection, to Theod. Zwinger, 1563, G² II 8, to Joh. Thom. Freigius, 1570, G I 26, and to Henr. Petri, 1552, G² I 20^b, G² II 42. Cp. *SanSF.*, 104 ; *SanGa.*, 86.

2. Leuinus Panagathus] *Cran.*, 58, *a* ; he returned from Basle late in August or early in September : FG, 226, 23-33 ; OE, 399, 408.

3. Quirinus Hagius] *LatCont.*, 377, 379-81 ; having returned from his second journey to England about July 25, 1533, he was sent again to Belgium, where, apparently in September, he met Francis van der Dilt in Mechlin or in Antwerp : *Cran.*, 139, *f* ; probably he brought a letter to Olaus (Aug. 23 : OE, 399) ; also one to Goclenius (Aug. 28 : *GoclE*, 34 *r*), taking back a message (Sept. 17 : *AmerMs.*, 110 *v*), to which Erasmus answered on November 7 : EE, 1479, *A, D*.

4. Louanii] in the first weeks of 1533, Vives journeyed to Ghent (Jan. 10), Mechlin and Brussels (Jan. 13-20 : VOO, II, 295) : he may have continued to Louvain, and seen Goclenius, who always asked for letters to Erasmus, which he undertook to dispatch : cp. *GoclE*, 33 *v* : July 1530 ; EE, 1479, *D*.

6. libris] possibly by Cousin.

8. literis] erudites living at Bruges used to see to the dispatch of their friends' letters to England, for which the harbour and the travelling merchants provided ample means : cp. *Cran.*, 254, 1-5.

9. Montioium] Erasmus kept up with his oldest protector a regular intercourse by letter or by word of mouth through his amanuenses.

- 10 Mi Cognate, sæpenumero sum te precatus ut ad nos uel
hanc ob caussam scriberes frequentius de Erasmi præcep-
toris nostri ualetudine, rerumque suarum statu, qui mihi
non minus curæ est quam meus ipsius, <ne> uel credere-
mus famæ, uel ea commoueremur. Hoc in præsentia uehe-
15 mentius a te peto & oro. Nam mihi ex Antuerpia scriptum
est, de salute sua, id quod uel cogitare abhorreo. Tametsi
hæc & similia nos de illo audire, nouum non est : ideo
minus mouemur, quod uelut occalluimus. Sed quo cre-
brius audimus, hoc nos magis terrent humani casus, et
20 communis mortalitatis reputatio.

<...Vale etiam atque etiam.>

<Brugis, ...Septembris M.D.XXXIII.>

<J. L. V.>

Vives wrote these lines to request his friend Cousin to keep him informed about the health of his master, who, since a few years, had turned a deaf ear to his affectionate advances ¹⁾, and, after his removal to Freiburg, seems to have

13. ipsius] *Ba, E; Ma ipse* 13. ne] *not in Ba; added by E, Ma,*
wh. r. 13. crederemus] *Ba, E; Ma crederemur* 15. a] *Ba, E; Ma*
ad 16. cogitare] *Ba, E; Ma cogitate*

15. Antuerpia] from this town, developing into the metropolis of Western Europe, news from the German countries spread. Information about Erasmus was sure to be found there, for a brisk correspondence was maintained between him and his banker Schets : Ent. 140 : ' Vix dies est qua non accipio undique expostulatrices epistolas, quidnam de te audiam, qui valeas' ; cp. *ULAnn.*, 1853, 257-61 ; Allen, vi, app. xvii ; Roersch*Let.*, 2. Thus

Hajo Caminga sent to Antwerp for news in Sept. 1533 : FG, 229, 12.

16. de salute sua] rumours about accidents and diseases which were said to have befallen Erasmus, circulated in 1533, as he wrote to Justus Decius, Nov. 1, 1533 : EE, 1476, c.

22. Septembris] Quirinus had left before October 5, when occurred the fire of Our Lady's at Antwerp, which Erasmus learned from « rumor » : EE, 1479, A.

¹⁾ A certain coolness in the connections of these friends arose, without doubt, on account of the *Civitas Dei*, which Erasmus obstinately represented as a failure both scientifically and financially : Allen, v, 1309, pref., 1531, 36, vii, 1889, 15, 2040, 25, 2061, 43 ; whereas Vives, disappointed in that evident lack of all encouragement, must have been sufficiently conscious of the qualities of his work and of the purity of his intentions : Allen, vii, 2061, 54-80 ; *ErServ.*, 5, 14, 16 ; *Cran.*, 221, 10. It seems

left unanswered his requests for personal news ¹). In the present instance information was eagerly desired, for sad rumours were spreading concerning Erasmus. That uncertainty about his health and life or death, which is expressed in this first part of the letter ²), is in full contradiction with what follows in the second half : the sad tone of doubt suddenly turns into a joyful revelling in the certainty of the good news communicated by Goclenius, assuring : ‘ se habere compertum omnia esse apud uos recte ’ ³). It is evident that such a statement cannot have been brought out almost in one breath with these words of the first half : ‘ <scribe...> de Erasmi... ualetudine... ne uel crederemus famæ, uel ea commoueremur. Hoc in præsentia uehementius a te peto ’ ⁴). Consequently it can be safely assumed that the joining is passed ⁵), that another letter has started, or part of another letter, which also refers to a report of Erasmus’ decease ⁶). This

as if Erasmus was ill disposed towards the Spanish scholar, who about the time of this letter — the latter half of 1533 — may have suspected somebody’s interference, — possibly that of the vagrant *Franciscanus* he had recommended : EE, 1477, B-E ; — he must even have written a few days after this message to complain about it to Peter & Christopher Mesia ; they sent that letter on to Erasmus, who answered it on Dec. 24, 1533, declaring that he did not know why he should be suspected of being less friendly than he had ever been before : EE, 1489, A-C. Contrary to that statement is Goclenius’ declaration in his letter to Erasmus of Aug. 16, 1528 : *Consilia Viuis nisi e literis tuis non noui. Et animo est sublimiori quam qui nobis quicquam communicet, egoque tuum consilium secutus cum Viue præter ciuilem amiciciam nihil habui commune* : Allen, VII, 2026, 3-6. Such disclosure, which does not stand by itself in Erasmus’ correspondence — cp. GocLE, 33 v ; ZGE, 1887, 492-3 ; EE, 1489, A-C ; Allen, VII, 2008, 21, 2040, 11, 2061, 19, &c. — can hardly be explained otherwise than as a proof of Vives’ forgiving and charitable nature ; for notwithstanding coolness and discouragement, his letters sound as hearty and affectionate in 1534 as they did fifteen years earlier.

¹) Vives made an urgent appeal on June 12, 1531, beseeching Erasmus to add a few words about the state of his health and of his mind, to his rare epistles (which evidently had become too much like ‘business’ letters to the tender-hearted scholar) : VOO, VII, 195, 196 ; EE, 1489, c.

²) A, ll. 14-16.

³) B, ll. 1-5.

⁴) A, ll. 11-15.

⁵) This seems to be indicated even by the fact that a new paragraph starts (at the words *Goclenius me recreauit*) in the Basle edition of 1555.

⁶) B, ll. 1-2.

second part, which has the date *VI. Idus Martii*, belongs without doubt to 1525 : for in December 1524 the news of that death had spread throughout Belgium, and was checked effectively in January 1525 by the arrival of a letter to Livinus Algoet written by his master after the date on which he was said to have died ¹⁾. In all probability Goclenius announced that false report and its correction to Vives ²⁾, who was then in Oxford, where he intended staying till June ³⁾.

This second letter was, apparently, also addressed to a member of the *familia* of Erasmus, who is called *communis praeceptor noster* ⁴⁾. At that time there were as amanuenses Livinus Algoet ⁵⁾, and Nicolas Canne ⁶⁾, possibly also Quirinus Talesius ⁷⁾. Vives does not seem to have been acquainted then with Canne, who had come to Louvain after he had left; nor with Talesius either, who had studied in Cologne. Still it is scarcely possible that the letter should have been written to Livinus Algoet; for that young man had been in England in October and November 1524, and had met Vives ⁸⁾; having been recommended by his master to Wolsey, he had, to all appearance, accepted the place of tutor and companion to Thomas Winter, then studying in Louvain. On his return to Belgium in the last weeks of 1524, he was in doubt whether to continue the relatively free life of an amanuensis, or to accept the offer of a routine of teaching ⁹⁾. He dreaded study and hated the university work to which his master urged him; consequently, instead of joining his pupil, as had been agreed to, he spent some time in Ghent, leaving his English acquaintances without any information ¹⁰⁾; and finally returned to

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 129, 14, 134, 22-35.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 95, a-j.

³⁾ B, l. 10.

⁴⁾ B, l. 15.

⁵⁾ 1519 - c.1527 : *Cran.*, 58, a.

⁶⁾ 1524-1530 : *Cran.*, 242, a-c ; *LatCont.*, 386-388.

⁷⁾ 1524-1531 : Allen, vii, 1966, *pref.* ; *LatCont.*, 378-9 ; Keussen, 862, 25.

⁸⁾ *Cran.*, 122, a, 40, 124, 36, 128, 1, 134, 22-32 ; Allen, v, 1486, *pref.*, 1494, 2, 1531, 13, vi, 1537, 2, 1547, 2, 1549, 1, &c.

⁹⁾ *Cran.*, 122, a, 136, a ; OE, 352 ; Allen, v, 1486, 14-21, 1491, 4, 15-21.

¹⁰⁾ *Cran.*, 122, b, 136, a, 1-6, 134, 29-32.

Basle, where he arrived in the first days of February ¹⁾. It is evident that it was quite superfluous for Vives to mention the disadvantages of life in Oxford and the marks of royal favour ²⁾ to one who had certainly seen and heard these things for himself a few weeks before. Nor is it likely that a young man so utterly averse to studies ³⁾ should have been entrusted with greetings, not to congenial *compotatores* and joyous companions, but to a stern jurisprudent of Freiburg, Zasius, and to the erudite Basle humanist Glareanus ⁴⁾.

The reference to these two scholars suggests that this second letter was addressed to Claud Cantuuncula ⁵⁾, who had been professor of law at Basle from 1518 to 1523 ⁶⁾, and then seems to have held some office in his native town Metz ⁷⁾, from where he often journeyed to call on his friend and *praeceptor* Erasmus ⁸⁾. At any rate Cantuuncula was intimately connected with Zasius ⁹⁾, with whom he was in regular correspondence ¹⁰⁾, as well as with Henry Glareanus, who had been a favourite colleague for several months ¹¹⁾. The reference to the royal favour and to the disadvantages of life in England seems quite natural in a letter to an old congenial friend : for both scholars had studied in Louvain, where Cantuuncula had matriculated on Oct. 18, 1512 ¹²⁾, about the

¹⁾ Ent., 53; LipsE, 767-8, 772. ²⁾ B, ll. 6-9.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 58, a; Allen, iv, 1091, *pref.*; OE, 352.

⁴⁾ B, l. 15. Cp. *Rhegius*, 14, 27-9, 33, 39, 50.

⁵⁾ Claud Chansonnette, *Cantuuncula*, was born at Metz about 1488 : he studied in Louvain, where he was elected president of the bachelors of law : VAnd., 210, and made several friends. Cp. Riegger, 317-18, 466, 479; Allen, iii, 852, 77; *Cran.*, 225, b; RE, 169; CantE, 6-10; GoclE, 28 v; Hoyneck, ii, i, 197-9; Seck., iii, 76 b; Muther, 279, 313.

⁶⁾ Cantuuncula was in Basle at least until September 1523 : Allen, v, 1388, 12; Riegger, 3, 46; Jourda, i, 94, ii, 1076.

⁷⁾ He probably cultivated there the acquaintance of Henry Cornelius Agrippa : AgrE, 102, 120, 136-7, 139, 152-4, &c.

⁸⁾ CantE, 10-15, 36, 39, &c.; Allen, iii, 852, 80; FG, 318; *ADB*.

⁹⁾ CantE, 9, 10, &c.

¹⁰⁾ Riegger, 319-332 (letters from January 19, 1518 to November 4, 1523); Zasius frequently refers to him in his letters to Boniface Amerbach : Riegger, 3, 5, 18, 20, 21, 27, 29, 33, 39, 46, 120, always implying a brisk correspondence; — also A. Horawitz, *Briefe des Claudius Cantuuncula und Ulrich Zasius von 1521-1533 (Sitzungsberichte des kais. Akad. der Wissensch., xciii)* : Vienna, 1879; and Spahn, 76.

¹¹⁾ CantE, 9, 12, 13, 33, 36, &c.

¹²⁾ *Excerpts*, 97.

time when Vives arrived there ¹⁾; their common bent for letters and even for jurisprudence apparently linked them together, as also did their veneration for their common preceptor Erasmus, with whom Cantuincula had been living for several years in close intimacy. On October 1, 1528, Vives requests Erasmus to greet 'Cantuincula, si est Basileae' ²⁾; and he is mentioned himself in one of the few letters of Cantuincula that have been preserved ³⁾. Most probably these men occasionally wrote to each other, and it is more than likely that the Metz jurispudent had announced to his absent friend, in the very last days of 1524, the great changes which he was contemplating, and to which Vives refers in his reply ⁴⁾. One was his coming marriage ⁵⁾; another was the accepting of the office of Chancellor to Cardinal John de Lorraine, Bishop of Metz ⁶⁾. That letter reached Louvain in the first days of 1525 ⁷⁾; along with one from Erasmus, and with a message relating the false report of his death, Goclenius forwarded it to Oxford ⁸⁾, where Vives was then working away in the full zenith of his power, in the golden noonday of royal favour, with only the damp climate to complain about ⁹⁾. The answer which he wrote, is assuredly the second half of the 'puzzling letter' ¹⁰⁾.

¹⁾ *Gran.*, 233, a.

²⁾ Bruges, Oct. 1, 1528 : Allen, VII, 2061, 82 ; also VI, 1636, *pref.*

³⁾ CantE, 44 : not one of these letters is addressed to a friend on this side the Ardennes. — A few unedited letters of Cantuincula are extant in the DCE : D 4 : 126 ; and in UWCH : 59 : 128 ; 66 : 38, 63.

⁴⁾ B, ll. 11-13.

⁵⁾ Cantuincula married in 1525 : CantE, 21 ; Riegger, 120 : Zasius writes to Bon. Amerbach, Freiburg, October 30, 1525 : *Claudio nostro noli male ominari. In matrimonio libertas est & iucunditas maxima. Quid enim Venere licita & concessa securius ? &c.* ; he further praises the servitude of marriage, which had been his (Am's) own father's, and which would also be his own, if there were not the 'domus Pamphili'.

⁶⁾ He accepted that appointment in 1525 : Allen, III, 852, 80 ; CantE, 15.

⁷⁾ Probably together with that to Livinus Algoet, dated Basle, Dec. 28, 1524 : *Cran.*, 122, a, 134, 31.

⁸⁾ Basle, Dec. 27, 1524 : Allen, V, 1531 ; B, ll. 1-2.

⁹⁾ B, ll. 6-9.

¹⁰⁾ It is reproduced here from *Io. Lodovici Vivis Valentini Opera, in duos distincta Tomos*, edited <by H. Coccius> in Basle, 1555 : II, 976-77 ; it is identical with the text of EE and VOO, VII, 197.

B. — VIVES TO <CLAUD CANTIUNCULA>

<IOANNES LUDOVICUS VIVES ORNATISSIMO AMICO SUO
CLAUDIO CANTIUNCULAE S.>

...> Goclenius me recreauit, qui nunciauit fuisse quidem
sparsum in Brabantia aduersum rumorem de Erasmo, &
malis modo iucundum; cæterum se habere compertum
omnia esse apud uos recte. Quod equidem Christo habeo
5 & ago gratias quam maximas.

Me hic cœlum istud uentosum, densum, humidum
inclementer accipit, et uictus ratio multum diuersa a
consuetudine mea. Cætera cedunt prosperrime Deo gratia.
Nam diligunt principes, ac fauent, idque re ostendunt. Sed
10 mihi certum est ad mensem Iunium in Flandriam redire,
ut alijs tibi literis meis significauim. De te quid optem,
non ignoras sententiam & uotum animi mei; quicquid
tamen statueris, Deum uelim tibi fortunare. Gratissimum
mihi feceris si meo nomine dixeris salutem D. Erasmo

1. Goclenius] probably in a letter forwarded to Oxford with one from *Cantiuncula*. Vives seems to have been in correspondence with him, at least for a time, as results from the remark about his wages in Erasmus' letter of Sept. 25, 1523 to Goclenius: Allen, v, 1388, 4-6.

2. rumorem] in December 1524: cp. *Cran.*, 129, 14, 134, 22-35; it was probably caused by a pessimistic remark of Erasmus to John de Hondt: FG, 28, 22-24.

6. cœlum &c.] cp. *Cran.*, 80, 11-23, 90, 40, 136, 52; VOO, vii, 207; Allen, v, 1532, 28.

9. principes] this results from the intimacy with the King and Queen; from the visit they paid him in Oxford in December 1523;

from their invitation to spend the Christmas-tide at Windsor; and from the pensions and the various grants they allowed him about the time when this letter was written: cp. above pp. 9-10, 19.

10. ad mensem Iunium] the first visit in 1523/4 had been shortened on account of Vives' intended marriage; as he had been late in starting teaching in 1524/5, he probably intended staying out the summer term, but was called home on his wife's sudden illness: *Cran.*, 151, 6, 153, 1-8, 157, 8.

11. literis meis] they apparently had been entrusted to Livinus Algoet, who left England in the latter half of November 1524: cp. *Cran.*, 122, a, b, 136, 1.

15 communi præceptori nostro, & Zasio, & Glareano. Vale etiam atque etiam.

VI. Idus Martii <M.D.XXV>. Oxoniæ.

<J. L. V.>

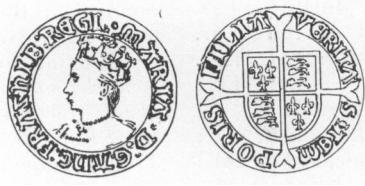
It needs no pointing out that both the totally different complex of circumstances and the tone of the two fragments indicate two periods several years distant. In that addressed to Cantiancula resounds the joy of prosperity and the conscience of royal appreciation; it brims over with optimistic hope for his and his friend's future, with glad confidence in the rejuvenating power of work and effort. In the message to Gilbert Cousin sounds the voice of a weary man, toiling for his bread, without joy and without hope, a man bowed down by the burden of life, — from which he has ceased to

15. Zasio] Ulrich Siguardus Zäsi, born at Constance, 1461-62, was *professor legum* in Freiburg (Mayer, I, 138) from 1506 to his death, 1535. He was an eminent jurispudent, and one of Erasmus' oldest friends: Riegger; R. Stintzing, *Ulrich Zasius*: Basle, 1857; MutRufE, 622, &c.; FG, 448; RE, 84, &c.; Allen, II, 303, *pref.*; JovEDV, 293; BudERép., 8, 68-72; Hoyneck, I, i, 10, 75, 135; II, i, 82, 83, 88, 94, 100-4, 199, 213; Gabbema, 529; Seck., I, 88 b, 92 b; Lasco, 131; Muther, 193, 241; Spahn, 26, 76-8, 140; Grisar, I, 501, 528, 543, II, 676, III, 538; Reich, 159, 172, 177; Heresbach, 21-4, 33; HerExMon., 42; PastReun., 1, 128, 312, 464-7; Celtis, 30; CorpCath., II, 44; Hutten, 108; SaxOnom., 90, 592; ADB; &c. — Parts of his correspondence are preserved in the HCB: G I 22 & 26; G² II 27, 32 & 51.

15. Glareano] Henry Loriti, born in 1488 at Mollis in the canton Glarus, *Glareanus*, was at the head of a boarding-school or 'academy' at Basle from 1515 (with a short interval at Paris) to 1529, when he removed with it to Freiburg, a few

weeks before Erasmus, and for the same motive; he died in 1563: ZWf; O. F. Fritzsche, *Glarean, sein Leben und seine Schriften*: Frauenfeld, 1890; A. Elter, *De Henrico Glareano Geographo et antiquissima forma 'Americae' Commentatio*: Bonn, 1896; Keussen, 612; MutRufE, 347; FG, 360; RE, 6, &c.; Gabbema, 11-18; Riegger, 202; *Erasm.*, I, 454; Allen, II, 440, *pref.*; Herminjard, I, 31, 41, &c.; BudERép., 25, 29, &c.; Varrentrapp, 33; Heresbach, 15, 16, 31; Hoyneck, II, i, 111, 266; Humbel, 51, 89, 232; Reich, 161, 177, 226, 241, &c.; PastReun., 126; Grisar, III, 538; Höfler, 22, 402; Brusch, 217; Lefranc, 54-58; Renaudet, 645-6; Hutten, 219, 467; ReuchlE, 209-10, 292; Herzog, I, 72-77; Lasco, 120; Lasciana, 115; Spahn, 11; Mestw., 180; Lindeboom, 99, 103; SaxOnom., 44, 585, ADB; &c. — Some of his letters are extant or are copied in the HCB: G² II 32; in the RCB: 1794 a; and in ViglE, 24. Cp. N. E. Tatarinoff, *Die Briefe Glareans an Johannes Aal, Stiftpropst in Solothurn 1538-1550*: Solothurn, 1895,

expect any good, and from which he dreads every misery as much for his friends as for himself. One letter can be likened to the glow of youth, to the enthusiasm in the friend of a great King, in the confident of a noble Queen ¹⁾; the other evokes the sickly sadness of the Vives of later years, when, old before his time, he suffered less from his own misfortune than from that of others : first, from that of a truly-beloved Erasmus, who was callously indifferent to his devoted affection ; then, and especially, from that of Catherine of Aragon, whom his appreciative sympathy could no longer reach, and who was living her life of lonely misery with scarcely anything to console her, except the righteousness of her conscience and the memory of the happy days, over which, however, had already been hovering the shadows of the coming disaster : for she had devised with him about the dangers of a prosperous fate ; and he had instilled in the unsuspecting heart of her daughter that panacea for life's miseries, the conviction that Truth, though sightless, oppressed and despised, necessarily outlives wealth and power and renown : *Veritas Temporis Filia* ²⁾ !



Queen Mary's Groat

¹⁾ Vives' joy seems even to have grated on Erasmus' ear, for on Dec. 27, 1524 he remarks : A tanto Rege, a tali Regina laudari vehementer gratum est ; sed quid istuc προς τ' ἀλφειτα : Allen, v, 1531, 10-11.

²⁾ Mary's device, which appears on her groats, half-groats and pennies, is also used on the title page of Richard Linche's *The Fontaine of Ancient Fiction* (London, 1599) : Tempo è figliuola di verità.

*Verses composed by Vives for a Sun-dial erected by
Nicolas Kratzer in the Churchyard of St. Mary's,
Oxford : 1523 ¹⁾.*

CARMINA INSCRIPTA IN HORALOGO VNIVERSITATIS
OXONIENSIVM, EDITA PER LVDOVICVM VIVEM

AD ORIENTEM

Per virgas virides notantur horae
Quas monstrant numeri, a die renato.

AD MERIDIEM

Solis meatus, lucis alternas vices,
Horas diurnas, signa quae tempus notant,
Vmbrae docebunt gnomonum meatis suis.

AD OCCIDENTEM

Ceruleae signant ex quo se condidit vndis,
Temporis interea quot sol confecerit horas.

AD SEPTENTRIONEM

Tempora et obliqui solis luneque meatus
Ostendi mirum possunt mortalibus vmbreis.

¹⁾ These verses were copied by Kratzer in the Corpus Christi College MS. 152, f^o 66 v; they were printed for the first time by the president Dr. P. S. Allen on the programme of the solemnity of June 17, 1925, at which a tablet was unveiled in the College Library to commemorate the residence of Vives in Corpus, 1523-5. Cp. Allen, II, 515, 1.

IN COLVMNA

Tanget quum medii nótam diei
Phebus lunaue, stilus indicabit
A coeli medio, polis, horizonte
Ad sidus spacium quod esse dices.

OXONIEN . ACADEMI . VETVSTISS .
INCLYT . POSITVM

Columna edita 1523 a me Nicolao
Kraczer Oxonie

MARTIN VAN DORP'S

APOLOGY TO

MEINARD MAN

MARTIN VAN DORP'S

APOLOGY TO

MEINARD MAN

Dorp's Standing towards Humanism.

One of the most interesting personages in the history of humanism in Belgium and in Western Europe during the first quarter of the xvith century, is the Louvain professor of Divinity Martin van Dorp ¹⁾. He exemplifies the struggle for the new methods in research and teaching, and for the regenerated conceptions of life and ethics, with so much more right that, after having been a fervent advocate for several years, he became infected with the dread of the possible danger of ruin with which those innovations seemed to threaten faith and established order. From an admiring friend of Erasmus, he became at least the mouthpiece of his antagonists ; from being one of the ablest promoters of the new ideas, he turned into an obstinate patron of the antiquated ways and traditions ; at any rate for a time. Indeed, so much importance was attached to his standing towards the growing movement, that no less a man than Thomas More undertook to make him return to the party which he seemed to have betrayed, less on account of his conviction than through a grateful deference for his professors, and possibly through the hope of a material advance in his prospects which lay in their power.

Repentance followed on the heels of rashness : during the last years of his troublesome stay in Brabant, Erasmus had no stauncher supporter than Dorp, who, for all that, even managed, after a short-lived difference, to resume an uninter-

¹⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 24, a, b, 152, a, b, and, further in this volume, *Gerard Morinck's Life of Martin van Dorp*.

rupted friendly intercourse with his colleagues of the Faculty of Divinity. The unequivocal marks of esteem with which they surrounded him throughout the remainder of his short career, seem to indicate that they had ceased to oppose — and even sympathized with — the theories which he did not refrain from advocating and proclaiming at every opportunity.

The untimely decease of the zealous professor robbed his contemporaries and posterity of a full exposition of those views about teaching and research, which he appears to have contemplated publishing. The extent of that loss can be gauged from a few confidential letters to his old friend Francis de Cranevelt, in which the enthusiastic scholar revealed part of the glorious ideal that he was working out ¹⁾. Therefore any document transmitting some of his final views, can hardly be overestimated in its value as contribution towards the history of humanism in general, and, in particular, towards the knowledge of the influence which the ideas advocated by Erasmus effected, in those days of growing reform, on the very persons and in the very surroundings that had been, at one time, so impatiently hostile, that the old Scholar had to bid farewell to his dreams of settling on the banks of the Dyle, and seek a refuge at Basle.

The following — hitherto unknown — document provides intelligence on that head. It was written by Dorp in the last weeks of 1521 ²⁾ to justify his publishing the *De Laudibus Pauli* which had roused contradictory comments, not only in Louvain, but throughout the Netherlands, in so far that his protector the abbot Meinard Man expressed his misgivings at the rumour, and his wishes for an explanation, probably in a letter, to which this apology is a reply ³⁾.

Meinard Man and Egmond Abbey.

Meinard Man came from a ‘ magna & honesta familia sed

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 85, 123.

²⁾ Cp. note to DorpApol., 64.

³⁾ A sketch of the controversy between Erasmus and Dorp, and between the latter and his colleagues, as well as the meaning of this apology in that strife, will be drawn in *Gerard Morinck's Life of Martin van Dorp*, further in this volume.

non nobili' ¹⁾ of Wormer, in North Holland ; most probably he was trained in the University of Louvain, where 'Minardus zibaldi de Wormaria clericus traiectensis dioc.' matriculated as a student of the Faculty of Arts on December 8, 1485 ²⁾. Afterwards he was ordained — apparently in Utrecht, — and worked for a time as a curate at Graft, near Alkmaar, before he entered the Benedictine abbey of St. Adalbert at Egmond ³⁾. Not long after his profession, the parish of Egmond was entrusted to his experienced care, which proved so excellent that it was applied to a most delicate mission. His abbot Henry of Wittenhorst had been elected on January 16, 1494 by those of the monks who had accepted the reform of 1491 ; whereas those who had not, had chosen the prior Oedzer of Cralingen, who resided with his partisans in a castle near Breda. When his competitor relapsed into infancy, the abbot sent Man to direct him and manage the abbey property which had been left at his disposal.

Man executed his trust with so much tact that he not only prevented wastage and alienation of what belonged to the community, but even gained the sympathy of the elder members, who had hitherto looked upon the reformed monks as downright enemies. On the first of September 1509 the damp hay occasioned a fire, which destroyed the abbey barn and mill ; and a few days later, the dikes breaking near Putten, the flood caused even greater damage : these calamities so preyed on the conscientious abbot Henry that he was laid up with fever, and died, after a few weeks' lingering, on October 30, 1509 ⁴⁾. At the election of his successor on November 10, which was to be made 'per viam compromissi', Meinard Man gathered the greatest number of votes of the Chapter ; as he was proposed as such, the assembly, forgetting all former dissensions, unanimously granted approval, and, in consequence, he was proclaimed as the thirty-sixth abbot ; the papal confirmation being given in due time, he

¹⁾ *ChronEgm.*, 140, 259.

²⁾ *LibIntIII.*, 5 v.

³⁾ *ChronEgm.*, 140.

⁴⁾ *ChronEgm.*, 138-39.

was consecrated at Antwerp in Peter Pot Abbey on March 17, and solemnly installed at Egmond on March 24, 1510 ¹⁾).

The new abbot did what he could to make up by his careful managing for the harm done to the old abbey by the late calamities, and even more by half a century of internal dissension ; he saw to the scattered goods of the community ²⁾ ; he rebuilt the barn and the mill ; he embellished the convent, the guest-house and the Count's residence ; he provided the church with a new high altar, with ornamented stalls, with an organ, with a tower and six bells, and with many paintings, besides other improvements. By the care he bestowed on the library ³⁾ he showed his predilection for studies, suggesting one of the chief ways in which he wished to break off with the ruinous habits of idleness and relaxation ; he ordered new seats and tables — *scamna sive pulpita* ; — and by his liberal acquisitions he contributed to make the Egmond book-collection famous throughout the country ⁴⁾. These improvements are merely symbols of the renewed spiritual discipline of his abbey, which he promoted by living the life of his brethren, encouraging them more by his example than by his preaching, thus breaking off with the custom of prelates who deserted their flocks for the pursuit of honours and worldly pleasures, and who looked down from their height on their

¹⁾ That consecration is said to have been given by the 'episcopus Trinopolitanus': *ChronEgm.*, 139-140. In his dedication of *de Laudibus* Dorp referred to the peaceful way in which Man was elected, in happy contrast with that in which his two predecessors had become abbots: 'monasterio', he wrote, 'non principum nutu, non armatis (quas vocant) precibus, sed vni tuorum suffragiis, nihil tale, ne somnians quidem, praefectus es, luculento ... virtutum tuarum argumento': Dorp*LDisc.*, A ii v ; *ChronEgm.*, 125-6, 133-6 ; Ullmann, II, 308 ; Imbart, II, 222, sq.

²⁾ *OpmHistMart.*, 106. A register containing copies (mostly authenticated) of deeds of Man's administration — from March 10, 1510 to February 5, 1526 — reposes in the Brussels Archives, *ArchEcclBrab.*, n° 17307.

³⁾ For several centuries already Egmond Abbey had been known for her manuscripts: *BatSac.*, II, 430 ; Dorp*Dial.*, F ii v ; *HEpH*, 77.

⁴⁾ The catalogue of the library was made about 1515 by one of his monks Baldwin de Haga Comitum ; the manuscript, which his friend the Alkmaar head-master Murmellius adorned with an epigram, is preserved as n° 611 of the library of the Leiden 'Maatschappij der Nederl. Letterkunde': Gelder, 101, 162.

monks ¹⁾. So great was the improvement of his community ²⁾ that his intervention was requested for the reformation of several abbeys of his order throughout the country. At the request of the Bishop of Cambrai he undertook the reformation of the convent of Cortenberg, which he afterwards visited regularly, leaving there two of his brethren, of whom one acted as confessor. Similarly by sending one or more of his monks to some religious houses — the abbey of Afflighem amongst them — he retrieved the monastic spirit and the pious vitality which had been on the wane for some time ³⁾, and which had weakened in some cases to such extent that his intervention occasionally lacked the desired success ⁴⁾. Thus through his example of a saintly life and his prudent management, Man not only saved from threatening decline and moral corruption his own and several other abbeys, but restored wherever he could the spirit of the order and that of true religion, in so much that about forty years later, in 1560, his *organicus*, and afterwards his successor on the abbatial see, Nicolas Nieulant, was appointed as the first bishop of the Haarlem diocese, of which the Abbey was the vivifying centre ⁵⁾.

Meinard Man and Humanism.

Man's effective zeal for the renovation of spiritual life was not the result of a sentimental mysticism, but the logic outcome of a rational aspiration towards truth and both moral and intellectual perfection. It explains the deep sym-

¹⁾ DorpLDisc., A ii r.

²⁾ The reform, which had been attempted in vain by Nicolas de Cusa and others, had been almost imposed by the strong will and the ruthless proceedings of John Count of Egmond in 1490-91; it was only under Man's management that discipline and virtuous life were effectually restored: *ChronEgm.*, 126 sq; Renaudet, 340; *OpmHistMart.*, 106.

³⁾ *ChronEgm.*, 140-141.

⁴⁾ His attempts at reforming St. Winock's abbey at Bergues is said to have failed on account of the remissness of the monk who had offered to undertake the work, but, being overwhelmed, had left things as they were: *ChronEgm.*, 141.

⁵⁾ *HEpH*, 15-24, 76; Nieulant resigned his office in 1569 on account of his great age, and died on June 15, 1580.

pathy which he showed throughout his life with learning and with the chief erudites of his country. Indeed he took a vivid interest in the son of one of the abbey officials, Martin van Dorp ¹⁾, and in his work in Louvain. He followed most eagerly the endeavours of the young professor to put into execution the ideals of the humanists by studying and illustrating the masterpieces of antiquity with so much thoroughness, truth and vividness that he gave them the reality of actual representation. He also encouraged his own kinsman Alard of Amsterdam ²⁾, who taught for some time at Alkmaar, and then, in his eagerness for humanism, went to study in Cologne ³⁾ and in Louvain. When Man was invested with the abbatial dignity, he used his influence to favour his protégés, especially Dorp; from the poetical and philosophical pursuits he led him to theology; he probably caused him to enter holy orders, and to devote himself to the study of divinity, although it had become almost the last inducement for the granting of any benefice, for prelates were said to prefer appointing an ‘assentatorem, aut equisonem, aut denique coquum’ ⁴⁾ rather than a theologian. Consequently when on October 14, 1513, Martin Dorpius ‘theologus’ edited the oration which he had given on the first of that month at the opening of the *ordinarium* ⁵⁾, he gratefully dedicated that first of his publications to his Mæcenas, whom he praised for his exemplary life as abbot ⁶⁾ and for having made studying possible for him by providing him with an ‘amplum sacerdotium’ ⁷⁾.

As a further proof of his thankfulness, Dorp wished to see Man honoured by the greatest erudite of their time, Erasmus,

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 24, a, b.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 96, a-f.

³⁾ Gelder, 83, 87, 89; Keussen, 752.

⁴⁾ Dorp *LDisc.*, [A i] v.

⁵⁾ Cp. de Jongh, 51, 124.

⁶⁾ That praise of Man was so unconditional that in the controversy about Erasmus’ *Moriæ Encomium*, Thomas More turned it into an argument against Dorp; for he, too, had criticized prelates: ‘qui dum illum <Menardum> laudas, alios hoc pacto deploras’: More *Luc.*, 420.

⁷⁾ Dorp *LDisc.*, A ii v: ‘Tu siquidem vnus amplo sacerdocio ocium mihi ad studia tranquillum suppeditasti, tu me scholaribus tumultibus eripuisti, tu sacræ theologiæ mancipasti’: — which refers to the parish of Overschie granted by Man to Dorp, on Aug. 9, 1511; cp. *Gerard Morinck’s Life* (note to *Dorp Vita*, 371).

whom, in September 1514, he begged for the dedication of one or other of his editions for this Mæcenas; he advocated the probability of an ample return both in nature and patronage ¹⁾, and praised him as the foremost amongst the prelates of their native Holland for piety and erudition; and if, he added, he is more pious than erudite, he is for certain most affectionately disposed towards all scholars ²⁾).

Notwithstanding the insistent plea, Erasmus did not act upon Dorp's suggestion. Perhaps he regretted it afterwards; he may even have tried to make up for it in 1517, when he dedicated the edition of, and the scholia to, the *Epistola Eucherii ad Valerianum* to Man's relative Alard of Amsterdam ³⁾. In expressing the wish that the latter's works might secure the favour of some magnates, he praises Man as their worthy example; for, he adds, 'audio venerabilem virum Menardum Mannium cognatum tuum, Abbatem Edmondanum, vt in caeteris omnibus, ita hac quoque in parte priscorum praesulum exempla referre' ⁴⁾. Two years later, on Dec. 7, 1519, Erasmus felt displeased with Alard's impudent persistence in criticizing Goclenius' appointment as Latin professor in the *Collegium Trilingue* ⁵⁾; he wrote a letter to him, addressing him as Ἀθρογλώττω, and reproaching him for his ill manners, on account of which his relative the abbot — without any doubt, Man, — had so little intercourse with him ⁶⁾. If Alard never found favour again in Erasmus' eyes ⁷⁾, the abbot and his abbey enjoyed his veneration, and, most probably, even his affection: for a friend of Man's, and his relative by his father's side, Quirinus Talesius, of Haarlem ⁸⁾, became in 1524 the favourite amanuensis of the great Humanist; no wonder that, in his will of January 22, 1527, he stipulated that a 'vigesimal' — and last — presentation copy of his complete

¹⁾ Dorp wrote: 'certo scio gratissimum illi futurum et beneficium haud illiberaliter pensaturum... tibi, si vsu veniat, multis in rebus possit esse auxilio': Allen, II, 304, 161-166.

²⁾ The letter reads: 'vir doctus quidem, sed religiosior tamen quam doctior, tametsi doctos omnes non mediocriter amet': Allen, II, 304, 163-5.

³⁾ Iseghem, 288.

⁴⁾ Allen, III, 676, 38-40.

⁵⁾ *Cran.*, 62, a, 96, c, d.

⁶⁾ Allen, IV, 1050, 1051.

⁷⁾ *Cran.*, 96, d.

⁸⁾ *OpmHistMart.*, 106; cp. above, p. 53; *HEpH*, 56-7.

works was to be offered at his decease 'ad monasterium Emondanum, reponendam in eius bibliotheca' ¹⁾).

As to Dorp, he inscribed to his patron the *Quæstiones Quodlibeticæ* of his master Adrian Florentii of Utrecht; several manuscript copies of these treatises were circulating amongst the students, and on account of the general interest, the young theologian prepared an edition from these various *exemplaria* ²⁾, which he corrected with the assistance of his professor John Briart of Ath, as is explained in the *Epistola Dedicatoria* to Meinard Man, March 24, 1515, which was not reproduced in the subsequent editions ³⁾.

Dorp intended inscribing to his patron at least two more theological works ⁴⁾, as results from this apology in the form of a letter, which, written in the last weeks of 1521, proves by its very aim how closely Man followed his friend, and what anxiety the hostile criticism about the professor's opinions and his too outspoken partiality for humanism, had caused to his protector, who was churchman and abbot above all.

Still although churchman and abbot before all ⁵⁾, Man took an interest in whatever might add to the greatness of his country: 'earum rerum, quae patriam suam ... illustrare possunt, quam maxime studiosus', wrote about him one of the greatest erudites amongst his contemporaries, Cornelius Gerard Aurelius, in his *Defensio gloriæ Batauinæ*, 1514-15 ⁶⁾, praising him for doing what he could towards that aim: 'vir sane integra fide, integriore doctrina, integerrima religione... bonorumque omnium, ac perinde literatorum libera-

¹⁾ Allen, VI, *App.* xix, 110.

²⁾ On account of its rarity and its interest (cp. ReusAdrVI., xxv), that dedicatory letter, which takes up the verso of the title-page of the *Quæstiones*, is reproduced at the end of this paper.

³⁾ Louvain, Th. Martens, March 1515: Iseghem, 249-51.

⁴⁾ He probably submitted to his patron a rough draught or sketch of the two treatises before sending them to the press: cp. DorpApol., 17-28, 568-9; at Dorp's decease Morinck searched in vain for them amongst his papers: cp. DorpVita, 433-449.

⁵⁾ On Sept. 25, 1525 he assisted with two other abbots at the execution of John de Backer, of Woerden: CorpInq., IV, 451, 494.

⁶⁾ Allen, I, 17, *pref.*, II, 304, 161.

lissimus fautor & patronus ' ¹). Amongst the latter was the great humanist pedagogue John Murellius ²), whose services he most probably secured for the Alkmaar Latin School; indeed, as the abbots of Egmond were the patrons of Alkmaar church, they must have had, if not the right of appointing the schoolmaster ³), at least a sufficient authority to bear upon the choice of that important official, to whom was entrusted for a great part the management of the choir and of the liturgic functions ⁴). At any rate John Murellius, who made that school famous from 1513 until 1517, when the Gelderland army ruined the town for some time to come ⁵), was glad to express his gratitude to the ' pientissimo patri Menardo Man... bene de divi Benedicti religione merito', for the great kindness shown to him : ' tuis in me collatis beneficiis ', as he wrote in the dedicatory letter of April 24, 1515, by which he placed his bundle of poems *Caroleia* under his great patron's protection ⁶).

Man died in 1526, leaving the memory of an exemplary life ⁷), a well ordered abbey ⁸) and a name linked for ever to

¹) Edited in 1586, Antwerp (Chr. Plantin), by Bonaventura Vulcanius (p. 17) and in 1609 by P. Scriverius : *BatIll.*, 87 ; Gelder, 82.

²) D. Reichling, *Johannes Murellius* : Freiburg, 1880 ; *ADB* ; *BN* ; Allen, III, 838, 2 ; Gelder, 90-106, 147-162 ; Keussen, 392.

³) Gelder, 82, 95. A judgment of the Count of Holland of 1411 stated that the abbot of Egmond, and not the count of Egmond, had a right to appoint the Alkmaar schoolmaster as he was the patron of the church. Still several facts referred to by Gelder, 7-11, seem to contradict that judgment, as the Count of Holland granted that right for Alkmaar to the churchwardens in 1390 and 1395, and as he made use of it himself again in 1404. A closer inspection of the documents might clear up this contradiction : probably it is caused by a confusion between the office of schoolmaster, dependent on the church patron — and the material school and schoolhouse, which apparently belonged to the Count, and were granted to the churchwardens : in 1487 the town seems even to have let them, apparently since the teacher did not use them : at any rate that particular building could not contain the six hundred *Scholastici externi* of Murellius (Gelder, 155), of whom, besides, it is recorded that he was paid 3 flemish pounds for a 'goed huus' for himself in 1517 : Gelder, 13.

⁴) Gelder, 6-7, 10, 16-21.

⁵) Gelder, 90-106 ; *ChronEgm.*, 142.

⁶) Louvain, Th. Martens, c. 1515 : Iseghem, 257-58 ; Gelder, 157.

⁷) The authority of his approbation was invoked as a testimony about Gertrude Adriaensz' virtuous life in *OpmHistMart.*, 150.

⁸) His name is mentioned in a — rather uncommon — receipt dated

that of his great friends and celebrated countrymen Dorp and Erasmus ¹⁾).

The Document and its History.

The apology published here for the first time, is a copy by Gerard Morinck, Dorp's pupil and, for a time, his *convictor* ²⁾, — which explains the resemblance between his writing and that of his master's letters in the Cranevelt Collection ³⁾. It has an initial address and an elaborately traced initial Q, which, besides its neat writing, suggests that it was originally intended to be sent to a printer. The great number of words which had to be crossed off, or added over the lines, and the numerous wrong beginnings, indicate that the transcript ⁴⁾ was made from a rough draught, — apparently the one from which Dorp copied the letter actually sent. That explains why there is neither signature, nor date. Most probably Morinck found it amongst the papers at his decease ⁵⁾.

It consists of a quire of four double folio leaves folded together and forming sixteen pages : the letter with the address begins at the top of the first, and finishes at the first third of the fifteenth : the sixteenth is blank. This last page shows that the document, folded up lengthwise in two, had been much handled about before it was bound up : the line of the fold in the middle is soiled, and has moreover at the top a large stain made by a deep brown liquid, in which the folded-up manuscript must have lain ; it has impregnated

Rome, July 20, 1523, signed by Adrian VI., with his initial \bar{A} , declaring that he had received through Ægidius Petri, his *familiaris*, the annual rent of 4 *solidi* for 1518 to 1524, due by Egmond Abbey to the Holy See; as well as one third of the revenue of some indulgences on holy Thursday granted some years before by the Pope to the abbey : Hoyneck, III, i, 201-2. Another deed, of April 16, 1519, is edited in *ChronEgm.*, 259.

¹⁾ *ChronEgm.*, 138-143; *OpmHistMart.*, 106; *BatSacr.*, II, 430; *HEpH*, 76, 79; Allen, II, 304, 161.

²⁾ Cp. his biography in *Morinck and his Friends*, further in this book.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 24, 74, &c. : Morinck's minuscules resemble Dorp's; his capitals differ; his size of writing, generally small, is here like Dorp's.

⁴⁾ Judging from the tints of the ink used, and from the comparative size of the writing, Morinck wrote at a different time the part from the beginning to l. 102, and that from line 103 on.

⁵⁾ Cp. the next paper, *Gerard Morinck's Life of Martin van Dorp*.

more or less the tops of the other leaves, staining considerably the last but one, and very slightly, the last but two.

Dorp's letter, which passed into Gerard Morinck's hands, as he refers to it in his biography of his beloved master ¹⁾, may be lost ; his copy survives : it followed him to St. Trond's Abbey and was kept amongst his papers, which, probably after his death, were gathered into a stately folio bound in leather, with wooden covers provided with ornamented brass knobs at the corners and in the centres, and with beautiful brass clasps. That folio, containing 398 leaves, found its way into the Archives of the Realm at Brussels, where it occupies n° 391^B of the department *Cartulaires et Manuscrits* ²⁾. Part of the ornamentation of the covers has disappeared, and, according to a note on the flyleaf, signed Alph. P<inchart>, some engravings which had been stuck in the book, were taken out and entrusted to the Royal Library, Brussels ³⁾. That note confirms the impression imparted by the aspect of the collection, which, although formed by manuscripts from several hands and of various dates, was patiently adorned on nearly every page, so as to make it into a show book — probably by one of the Benedictine monks of St. Trond's Abbey, to which it belonged. He made throughout the collection a profusion of red lines, covering words which had been crossed off by the original writers, underlining titles, proper names, and interesting sentences, touching up the capital letters and ornamented initials, adding punctuation marks, indicating by signs (such as ¶) the beginning of new paragraphs and marginal notes. He used to that effect a kind of paint, which is so opaque that the writing underneath can only be guessed at, — and so thick that, in some places, it can be felt on the paper. Up to about f° 174 that pigment is a bright vermilion for the documents themselves ; from f° 175 on it graduates into a deep, and finally into a light,

¹⁾ Reproduced in the next paper in this volume : *Dorp Vita*, 439-43.

²⁾ Some of the documents of this most interesting collection have provided the materials for several of the papers in this volume.

³⁾ This was done on the strength of the permission granted on January 7, 1858, by the minister of Home Affairs. These engravings are now in the ' Cabinet des estampes ', a section of the Royal Library.

orange. That ornamental work was done after the documents had been bound up into a book, for the scribe who did it, copied all over the book, on the spaces originally left blank, a variety of moral sentences, scraps from pious authors, details about his abbey or his order, biographical, historical, and even bibliographical notes, without any reference to the documents on which they follow; these additions are touched up, not with the red tint used for the documents preceding and following, but with the light-orange ink with which the deeds in the latter part of the collection are adorned.

Dorp's memoir takes up ff. 235 to 242; the two thirds of the obverse of the last leaf, and its entire reverse, are blank. It was used evidently at one time for a pedagogical purpose, for several hands, — Morinck's also ¹⁾, — added in the margin a title to some of the paragraphs: *Pro dialectica*, *Pro linguis*, etc., as well as the abbreviated form of *Prouerbium*: *puébiū*, *pūbiū*, *pū(b)*, *prouer*, *prou*, — mostly in black, but a few times also in a darkish, although transparent, carmine ink, which was moreover used to underline a few words, to make some others more distinct, and occasionally to point out a passage ²⁾. These carmine marks, evidently made by a gentle and delicate hand, were added before the manuscript was bound up with the others in one volume, when, on his general tour of inspection, the red-paint-man boldly underlined the title, covered the words which Morinck had crossed off, and added a few marks in the orange-coloured pigment which is used in that part of the volume where this interesting document found a final home.

That document is reproduced here as exactly as possible, with the only exception of the use of capitals and of punctuation marks, which have been regularized, and the division into paragraphs adopted for facility's sake. The ordinary

¹⁾ There are probably four marginal notes in Morinck's hand: '*Eccīs. c. 4*', added to line 101 when this letter was copied; and the titles added afterwards to the paragraphs beginning on ll. 385, 427 and 441.

²⁾ Four titles of paragraphs are in black ink, one in red; twenty-four times the abbreviation for *prouerbium* is used in black, seven times in red, ink; once is added in red ink: '*Snīa (sententia)*': l. 57; large signs in carmine mark the passages beginning on ll. 221, 297 and 366.

abbreviations have been, silently, expanded ¹⁾, whereas cases offering any possibility of doubt are fully described in the textual notes; the latter also record all the changes and alterations effected by Morinck or by the first owners ²⁾, so as to give a faithful representation of the manuscript even in seemingly insignificant details.

The Text ³⁾.

REUERENDO IN CHRISTO PATRI
D. MENARDO MANNIO
ABBATI ECMUNDENSI
PATRONO SUO

MARTINUS DORPIUS
S. D. P.

Quemadmodum ex studiorum meorum messe olim primitias tibi qualesquales dicaui, benignissime Patrone, ita quicquid interea, seu magnum seu pusillum, ingenioli mei ager assidua cultura produxerit, id omne, vt nullus

Textual Notes. — REUERENDO &c] on f. 235 r

¹⁾ The e with a cedilla is represented here by æ, occasionally by œ.

²⁾ In the textual notes M means Morinck (M2 indicating what he added at a later period in a different black ink); B, the scribe using black ink; R, the one writing with a darkish carmine: no mention is made of the latter's touching up capital letters, or tracing over punctuation marks; nor of the marks added afterwards in the opaque orange pigment.

³⁾ *Summary.*

1-14 Beneficiorum memor, Dorpius Patrono suo dicat

(continued overleaf)

- 5 dedicem, tuo tibi iure non secus atque anathema multis
 vindicare nominibus asserereque potes : vel quod vnus
 ocium mihi ad optima sacraque studia — quæ vacuæ
 sunt mentis opus — liberum tranquillumque vltro suppe-
 10 satis arbitratus, alijs insuper veluti certis firmisque iuditij
 tui symbolis cumulaueris; vel quod ea me semper beni-
 gnitate, ea familiam omnem nostram beneficentia prose-
 cutus sis, vt æri tuo tot syngraphis obstricti, ne sortem
 quidem, nedum fœnus aliquod, nostræ sit opis rependere.
 15 Proinde quando facultas non suppetit alia maior,
 quod proximum est, grati animi significationem ne non
 ostenderem aliquam, libellos quosdam proxima apud me
 fœtura natos, quamuis rudes etiamnum informesque

7. studia — ... 8. opus —] M *put commas*, R *adds brackets*
 10. iuditij] *the second letter looks like, and may be, an -n-*

Summary (continued from p. 75)

15-62 libellum, atque alterum in Concilio Hollandiæ antea recitatum.

63-102 Oratione sua de Sto. Paulo parum benigne accepta,
 103-140 declarat se maledicentiam non ulturum,
 141-166 sed protestatur se voluisse neminem lædere,
 167-196 nec unquam libellis quidquid obtrectionis indidisse,
 197-212 quin etiam potius a scribendo abstenturum.

213-220 Sctm. Augustinum sequens, obtrectoribus respondet
 221-273 se fuse Eloquentiam laudare
 274-296 sed tantum ut enunciatricem veritatis ;
 297-384 se Sophisticen merito absurdam et inutilem declarare,
 385-426 Dialecticam vero necessariam, modo sinceram ac moderatam ;
 427-440 Linguarum cognitionem se enixe commendare ;
 441-455 nec Scolasticam se improbare Theologiam,
 456-498 dummodo in recta S. Scripturæ intelligentia sit fundata.

499-536 Asserens se nolle contemnere quæ non laudet,
 537-555 hac in altercatione, animo pacifico exhibito,
 556-566 æquum exspectat atque humanum iudicium.

567-571 Vale dicit.

foetus, meritoque lambendos et fingendos adhuc, Tuæ
 20 Reuerendæ Paternitati nuncupare constitui. Horum vnus
 est De Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Ritu ac Consuetudine, quid hæc
 obliget, quam late pateat, quousque fines suæ ditionis
 propaget. Alter homiliam complectitur, seu parænesim
 25 potius ac paraclesim, De Vita Christo Domino Instituenda,
 lenem quidem illam, sed, ni fallor, admodum illicem,
 facilem item : sed nulla æque re viuida generosæ mentis
 indoles capitur, ducitur, retinetur, atque facili benigna-
 que institutione. Hanc annos abhinc duos in celebri con-
 30 sessu Principum Hollandiæ ingenti cum Summi Ordinis
 applausu dixi : id quod nequaquam meæ qui dicebam aut
 eruditioni aut facundiæ, sed mirifico illorum ascriben-
 dum candori duco : quibus mentiar si quicquam vsquam
 expertus sim candidius, purius, simplicius, ab omni fuco
 alienius, vt anceps ambiguusque nescias, in ipsis quid
 35 admireris potissimum, fortunamne, quæ est luculentis-
 sima ; an virtutem, quæ cum illa certamen de victoria
 sumpsisse videtur ; an morum amabilissimam facilitatem ;
 an denique omnibus numeris, omnibusque punctis abso-
 lutam eruditionem, vt ne quid dicam de incomparabili
 40 studio, quo sacras, quo literatas literas, quo vitæ bono-
 rum puritatem, quo viros eximie eruditos, quo me pecu-
 liariter eruditionis opinione, ipsi vere eruditissimi, prose-
 quuntur.

Magnifico Domino Nicolao Euerardo, Prouintiarum
 45 Præsides, quid vel fingi potest humanius, benignius, lite-
 rarum amantius ! vt vtriusque Juris peritiam in laudum
 eius album non referam, in qua nemo non herbam ei
 porrigit, quaqua patet amplissima Bourgundica ditio, vt
 dicam modestissime. Tum illustri ac generosis attauis

19. (and also l. 52) Tuæ Reuerendæ Paternitati] M : T. R. P. ; R ul
 (= underlines) 21. De ... Consuetudine] R ul 24. potius ac para-
 clesim] M added over line 24. Vita ... Instituenda] R ul 28.
 celebri] first e made indistinct by a correction (possibly into æ or
 œ) 32. duco] M wr (= wrote) this word over another, prob. puto,
 wh he er (= erased) 33. sim] before it M wr, then er, another
 word, prob. sum 40. bonorum] M wr over a word er (prob. the
 same misspelt) 44. Magnifico ... Euerardo] R ul 44 Prouintiarum
 &c.] on f. 235 v 47. non ... porrigit] R ul 49. attauis] M

50 ædito Domino Gerardo Assendelpho, an vel a Charitibus
 ipsis quicquam optaris benignius, mansuetius, officiosius!
 Qui et Tuæ Reuerendæ Paternitatis inter amicos nulli est
 secundus.

His profecto rebus vsque adeo animum illi meum
 55 affecerunt, ita sibi vinculis adamantinis deuinxerunt, vt
 si extra academias vitam transigere vel ratio vel sors
 suaderet (siquidem nemo non temere dixerit : hoc mihi
 non eueniet, — vt sunt humana quouis Euripo instabi-
 liora), nusquam gentium quam inter tot studiorum
 60 Mecænates feliciter consenescere, scribendoque, concio-
 nando, denique bene cum Christi auxilio consulendo,
 aliquam Domino vsuram comparare.

Verum vbi pressius fixiusque mecum reputo, oratiun-
 culæ quam anno superiore euulgaui quam sinistrum
 65 fatum, quam infaustus genius, quam non bonæ fuerint
 aues, non possum ab ancipiti æditionis alea non aliquan-
 tum abhorrere : quæ videlicet tam infelicitè mihi in
 pyrgum literarium ceciderit, vt improba insolentis Heræ
 temeritas vix arte corrigi posse videatur ; quamquam et
 70 iam tum etiam mens, ominosum quiddam ac læuum
 præsagiens, æditionem auersabatur, propterea quod
 haudquaquam ignorarem quam varia ac nauseabunda
 forent palata lectorum, quam iniqua, morosa et perti-
 natia præiuditia. Ac tum quidem, pro re nata, præceps et
 75 ab occipitio calua occasio capillis erat præhendenda. Cedo :
 quid euenit? nimirum quod hariolatus fuero, quod anxie
 metueram, quodque gnauiter manibusque pedibusque
 annisus eram euitare ! Siquidem oratiunculam ipsam
 critici quidam susurrone, ad dirimendas bonorum bonas
 80 amicitias linguæ spiculis armati, ansam delendi me,
 quam diu exquisierant, tandem aliquando nacti, desti-
 nata malitia sic interpretati sunt, imo vero sic depraua-

50. ædito] *r* ed- (cp. ll. 66, 71, &c.) 50. Domino ... Assendelpho]
R ul 54. His] *R* adds ¶ 57. siquidem ... (58) eueniet] *R* ul, adds
in mg (= margin) Snia 60. Mecænates] *R* ul; prob. add malim
 61. Christi] *R* ul 65. infaustus genius] *B* ul 65. non ... (66) aues]
B ul, adds *in mg* puerbiū 75. ab ... capillis] *id* 77. manibusque
 pedibusque] *id* 81. quam] *before it M* *wr*, then *er*, quam and
 another word

runt, quasi viros quosdam eximie tum probitatis, tum
 eruditionis, atro carbone oblique subnotassem, ac naso
 85 arguto vafre suspendissem : nihil quicquam morati excu-
 sationem præfationis, qua palam ac ingenue, nec vere
 minus quam ex animo testabar, neminem velle me vel
 perstringere vel lædere. Quod si iureiurando quicquam
 haberem hoc in genere sanctius, hoc vero ad innocentiae
 90 meæ suffragium nunc quoque libens adhibuerim, tantum
 abest vt fecerim quod illi fecisse impudenter calumniati
 sunt.

Nihil mirum sit autem mea verba aliorum atque dixi,
 accepta fuerint, cum ipsius Christi neutiquam obscurum
 95 aliquoties sermonem, discipuli perperam ac in sensum
 prorsus adulterinum interpretati sint, nulla haud dubie
 malignitate, sed rei verisimilis vicinitate : id quod liquido
 sacrum testatur Euangelium de verbis Christi quibus
 Diui Joannis Zebedei exitum insinuabat. Quanto id magis
 100 procliue est, nobis vt accadat, de quibus nimis quam
Eccīs verum, quod Rex ille dicit : ‘ Industriam animaduerti
 c. 4 patere inuidiæ proximi ’ !

Quid enim ? an mei tam iniquus iudex est quisquam,
 qui in tantum deploratæ malignitatis arcem conscendisse
 105 autemet, vt immerentes ipse vltro amarulentis stili telis
 confodere sustinuerim ? Ignoscat condonetque illi Domi-
 nus, precor, qui hanc tam insignem mihi calumniam,
 actis oblique cuniculis, vafer ac subdolus substruxit.
 Illi Metanea olim vltrix non deerit, quæ facinoris meritas
 110 pœnas æqua lance remetiatur. Quendam ipse noui (nam
 Coricæus, ut aiunt, auscultauit) qui operam in hoc nego-
 tio, vt strenuam ille quidem, ita neutiquam sanctam
 cacoglottus nauauit. Ego sane quantumuis læsus genui-

83. eximie] M ; R eximiæ 84. atro carbone] R ul, adds pūbiū
in mg 84. naso ... (85) vafre] *id* 85. morati &c.] *on f.* 236 r
 91. illi] *prob.* add me 93. sit] *prob.* r si 94, 98. Christi] R ul
 99. Joannis Zebedei] R ul 101. dicit ... (102) proximi] R ul ; M *wr*
here in mg & ul : Eccīs. c. 4. 103. Quid &c.] *the ink used is*
darker, and the writing smaller ; two words (the first being quis)
are er here 104. qui] *prob.* add me 109. Metanea] M *corr.* from
 -ania ; R ul 111. Coricæus, ut aiunt] R ul, adds puerbiū *in mg*

num non infigam, illius Pauli memor : ‘Nolite vinci a
 115 malo, sed vince in bono malum’. Vtinam qui spergunt
 eiusmodi tam accuratæ obtrectationis malitiam, perper-
 derent, quanta sit, quam late vagetur, vndique mala
 similiter ac Cæcias nubes attrahens, quam ego cætera
 120 quamlibet cæcus. An ingenium mihi tam parum inge-
 nium tribuunt, imo velim nolim inuito cubitis obtrudunt,
 vt vel non animaduertam vel dissimulem, minime gen-
 tium conuenire, vt seruus Domini litiget aut obtrectet,
 et dum vindice loquacitate, quos improbos esse suo vnus
 senatusconsulto statuit, hos parat vlscisci, ipse palam
 125 iniquitatis suæ vsturas ac ineluibiles notas orbi publicet ?
 ‘Si mordeat serpens in silentio, nihil minus habet qui
 occulte detrahit’, inquit Concionator ille sapientissimus.
 An non legi, an vero lectitantem nihildum commouit,
 quod magnus ille minimus apostolorum intonat : ‘Male-
 130 dici regnum Dei non possidebunt’ ? Et quem, queso, illa
 non terreat Seruatoris nostri tam vera quam seuera sen-
 tentia : ‘Qui dixerit fratri suo fatue, reus erit gehennæ
 ignis ? Vt hominum censuram forte fortuna euadat, an
 non sibi rea est humana conscientia, quæ nobilem fratris
 135 sui famam indigne lacerat, atrocibusque linguæ vulneri-
 bus rabide dilaniat, quæ fratris sui erratis, haud secus
 atque oleto scabens, ociose pascitur ? Hoc qui facere
 sustinet an dignus non est qui sus sit ac cæno volutetur,
 qui in hara siliquas ingurgitet, potius quam hominis
 140 dignitatem sua accessione dehonestet ?

Proinde in oratiuncula mea si quis me affirmet obtrec-
 tationis virus vllis in latebris, vllis inuolucris inspersisse,
 huic pro iniquo erga me offitio equidem malam gratiam
 non retaliabo : bonam, opinor, facto non debeo, homini
 145 debeo. Primum quidem, neminem nominaui ; deinde quos
 illi notatos fuisse confingunt, in eos minime competunt

114. Pauli ... (115) malum] *R ul* 115 spergunt] *M* ; *r* spargunt
 116. perperderent] *M* ; *r* perpenderent 117. late] *after it M wr,*
then er, a word like pateret 118. Cæcias ... attrahens] *R ul, adds*
pūbiū in mg 126. Si ... (127) sapientissimus] *R ul* 129. Male-
 dici ... (130) possidebunt] *R ul* 132. Qui ... fratri] *R ul* 132. suo
 &c.] *on f. 236 v* 143. offitio] *M (cp. ll. 74, 149, &c.)*

verba, quibus aculeos vti fallacem hamo escam subesse
 somniant. Porro quæ quo animo fiant incertum est : ea
 non esse præiudicio damnanda, dogma theologicum est
 150 cantatissimum : ‘ Nolite iudicare’, inquit Dominus, ‘et non
 iudicabimini’. Postremo, si cui scrupulus quoquo modo
 iniectus est, hunc vera hac mea excusatione prorsum
 exemptum velim. Neque enim quæ scripsi tam atro
 loliginis succo viciata infectaque sunt, opinor, vt nullo
 155 candore elui queant. Si quid tale est, indicet quispiam
 locum : re ipsa, non verborum fuligine, Christianum mihi
 pectus inesse ostendam, qui munus ad altare nisi fratre
 reconciliato neque velim offerre neque ausim. Sin nemo
 indicare potest, hic profecto malim vniuersam quantula-
 160 cumque est fortunam meam periclitari quam vt videar
 quasi circumforaneus circulator omni doctrinæ vento hinc
 illuc, illinc rursus huc impelli ! Etenim fortunam multis
 modis sarcire contingit : famam vix contingit, cum pos-
 sessio sit quum longe præciosissima, tum tenerrima ;
 165 denique nauibus equisque vel postliminio vindicanda,
 et liberali asserenda causa manu.

Non possum præstare quid quisque effutiat. Nulla tam
 modesta felicitas est, quæ malignantium dentes possit
 effugere. Quidnam tam circumspecte dicas quod non
 170 male narrando deprauari possit ? quod non calumnian-
 tium morsibus sit obnoxium ? si quis hoc sibi vnum studio
 habeat, vt veluti araneus quidam obambulans, ex optimo
 quoque flore venenum hauriat, vnde argumentosa api-
 cula Christiani mellis aluearium concinnaret ?

175 Cæterum quoquo animo Aristarchi mei scripta mea
 legant, mihi certo certius est, Dei auspicio, modestiæ
 limites numquam transilire. Neque contentionis funem
 ridiculus choragus vnquam producam ; hoc propositum
 sedulo vrgebo dum viuam ; hoc mordicus tenebo ; hoc
 180 curabo, vtut cedant, vtut sursum deorsum misceantur

150. Nolite ... (151) iudicabimini] *R ul* 156. Christianum] *R ul*
 164. præciosissima] *M* ; *r* precio- 165. nauibus equisque] *B ul*,
adds puébiū *in mg* 172. quidam] *M*, *added over line* 173. vene-
 num &c.] *on f. 237 r* 174. Christiani] *R ul* 175. Cæterum quoquo]
R adds ¶ 175. Aristarchi] *R ul* 176. est] *prob. add me*

omnia, vt in libellis meis ne quid obtrectationis, ne quid
 veneni, ne quid insit amaritudinis, ne quem mordacitatis
 aceto perfundam, nulli os ledam, nulli conuitiabor, nihil
 durum, nihil asperum, improbum nihil attexam. In sum-
 185 ma, ad caninam facundiam, quamlibet prouocatus, non
 descendam, haud ignarus quantum Christianos vniuersim
 dedeceat petulantis stili licentia, magis etiam sacerdotes
 ad benedicendum institutos, maxime autem Theologos,
 quippe diuini Verbi præcones, non Sathanicarum dirarum
 190 deuotores. Eorum quæ scribo si quis, habita ratione Chris-
 tianæ modestiæ, contrarium astruere conabitur, gratiam
 etiam vberem habebō, tantum abest, ægre vt sim laturus.
 Si quis porro durius ac par est digladiabitur, si quis
 cornua obuertet ferox, si quis hostili incursione sementem
 195 meam populabitur, huic quid faciam? quid precer, nisi
 mentem meliorem?

Concordia, pace, tranquillitate ac iucundissima in
 Scripturarum viretis expatiatione nihil mihi magis volupe
 esse queat, sine qua non video hæc vita, hæc miserabilis
 200 peregrinatio, quid habeat suaue. Ocio literario nullum
 equidem fortunæ strepitum prætulerim. 'Vita sine literis',
 inquit Seneca, 'mors est et viui hominis sepultura'. Quod
 si non alia conditione per rerum æstus tranquillitas esse
 potest quam vt nihil euulgem, age, obtemperetur: cedat
 205 illa potius quæ inflat scientia, quam illa ditionis suæ
 pomeria contrahere compellatur quæ ædificat charitas,
 cuius mœnia grauissimo quatit impulsu, qui virulentæ
 obtrectationis arietem illidit. Quid queam? Jam in his
 ipsis quæ nunc dico, si quis scintillulam inesse iniuriæ
 210 imaginabitur, eam animo ipsemet suo afferet, ex hoc
 certe sermone non refert. Hoc qui parum credit, in cuius
 manu est huic rem veram persuadere?

Cæterum vt cominus congrediar, in libello reo quid
 inuenias, queso? Quid æquus bonusque lector non æqui
 215 bonique consulat? Recte quidem vetus verbum monet,

186. Christianos] *R* ul 187. sacerdotes] *M*, *corr from* -doti 188.
 Theologos] *R* ul 189. Sathanicarum] *id* 190. Christianæ] *id*
 201. Vita ... (202) sepultura] *id* 213. Cæterum] *R* adds ¶ 215.
 vetus &c.] *on f.* 237 v

vt malum bene conditum ne moueamus, neue sopitos
suscitemus ignes. Si quis exigit tamen, non deest quod
respondeam. Quin certa spes est fore vt coram quouis
arbitro, coram quibusuis iudicibus causam euincam.

220 Quid intentatur criminis ?

Eloquentiam plenis laudum velis in cœlum extuli.
Inexpiabile vero ac indignum facinus, nec vno carcere
dignum ! Ego si predicem, longe impar eius meritis preco,
quam hactenus nemo vituperat, inclyti etiam religionis
225 nostræ heroes neque obscure neque dissimulanter tum
probant, tum amplectuntur ! At qui heroes ! Nempe ij a
quibus nullus cuiquam reliquus est prouocandi prætextus,
sit ille licet prostitutæ impudentiæ. Atque vt pro sexcentis
vnum producam, nempe Aurelium Augustinum, quo
230 viro haud scio an ex omni scriptorum ordine quisquam
allegari queat æquior, moderatior, circumspicior, ad
hæc ingeniosior doctiorue iudex ; quique minus pessimo
incantatori affectui, minus violento rapidoque orationis
impetui indulgeat. Is itaque, quarto de Doctrina Chris-
235 tiana : ‘Cum’, inquit, ‘per artem Rhetoricam et vera sua-
deantur et falsa, quis audeat dicere, aduersus mendatium
in defensoribus suis inermem consistere veritatem ? Quis
ita desipiat, vt hoc sapiat ? Cum sit ergo in medio posita
facultas eloquij, quæ ad persuadendum seu praua seu
240 recta valeat plurimum, cur non bonorum studio compa-
ratur vt militet veritati’ ? Jdem libro primo contra Cresco-
nium, Augustini eloquentiam ex professo accusantem
infamantemque, accurate tum sibi tum illi patrocinator,
tantum abest vt hic crimen aliquod agnoscat cum elo-
245 quentem se non neget. ‘In primis’, inquit, ‘partibus labo-
rasti, vt suspecta hominibus eloquentia videretur : adhi-
bens etiam testimonium aduersus eam de Scripturis
Sanctis vbi dictum putas : Ex multa eloquentia non effu-

216. vt ... (217) ignes] *B adds in mg pūbiū ; R ul* 221. Elo-
quentiam &c.] *B adds in mg. Pro eloquentia ; R ul & makes mark*
227. cuiquam] *after it M wr, then er, est* 229. Aurelium Augus-
tinum] *R ul* 231. de Doctrina Christiana] *M : de Doctri. Chr. ; R ul*
235. Rhetoricam] *R ul* 241. Jdem ... (242) Augustini] *R ul* 245.
inquit] *R ul* 248. Ex ... (249) dictum] *R ul*

gies peccatum; cum dictum non sit : Ex multa eloquentia;
 250 sed : Ex multiloquio. Frustra igitur hæreticorum com-
 memoratione accusasti eloquentiam. Neque enim pro
 patria non est miles armandus, quia contra patriam non-
 nulli arma sumpserunt : aut ideo vti non debent boni
 doctique medici ferramentis medicinalibus ad salutem,
 255 quia his etiam ad perniciem indocti pessimique abutuntur'.

Vtinam mihi eloquentia ad explicanda ea quæ sentio
 pro desyderio prouenisset ! Ecce Augustinus, vir tantus vt
 extra omnem ingeniorum aleam, omnibus tot sæculorum
 suffragijs euctus sit ; tantus etiam rhetor, quem nemo
 260 nescit annos complures in frequentissimis vrbibus elo-
 quentiæ emporium publicumque velut mercatum insti-
 tuisse, cum summa sæculi neutiquam infantis admira-
 tione. Js tamen ipse maiorem etiam eloquentiam optat,
 cum citra controuersiam maxima polleret. Neque vero
 265 hic de futili loquacitate, inaniumque verborum nundinis
 agimus, qua se logodædali quidam vocularum aucupes
 ambiziose venditant, præ sese viros graues ac summa
 celebres eruditione ceu annisos elinguesque nihili ducen-
 tes, ac e sublimi ridentes, quod videlicet tenellas auri-
 270 culas modulata dictionis rotunditate non scalpant, aut
 spumæ eloquentiæ luxu non feriant ; sed de graui, cor-
 data, mascula, quæ Ecclesiasticum veritatis Doctorem
 deceat.

Tametsi hic quoque recta ac regia grassandum est via,
 275 ne vel ad dextram deflectamus, nimio studio eloquentiam
 phaleratæque dictionis ampullas, ac eruditam, vt inquit
 Cicero, vanitatem complexi ; vel ad sinistram aberremus,
 omnibus eloquentium voluminibus nigrum præfigentes
 Θ, thita, ac vnica in vnam coniecta faba condemnantes,
 280 iure iniuria, probe improbe, susque deque ferentes. Quo
 quidem in discrimine iam olim mire ad stomachum

249. Ex ... (250) -loquio] *R* ul 250 Frustra] *M* ffr- 254. ad &c.]
on f. 238 r 257. Augustinus, vir] *R* ul 266. se] *M* *wr over* sic *wh*
he er 272. Ecclesiasticum] *R* ul 277. Cicero] *R* ul 278. eloquen-
 tium] *M*, *made iū more distinct, possibly corr from iā* 278.
 nigrum ... (279) thita] *R* ul 279. vnam ... condemnantes] *B*
adds in mg pūbiū ; R ul

meum fecit prudentissimum Augustini temperamentum :
 quod æquum est vt omnes vno calculo eloquentes inelo-
 quentesque comprobemus : abs te, inquires, Domine,
 285 didiceram : nec eo debere aliquid verum dici quia elo-
 quenter dicitur ; nec eo falsum quia incompositum sonant
 signa labiorum.

Hactenus eloquentiam eleuauit quo se solentur quibus
 vel præceptorum, vel sæculi culpa non contigit. Deinceps
 290 eidem suum locum tribuit : nec ideo verum esse quia
 polite enunciatur ; nec ideo falsum, quia splendidus sermo
 est. Æquum iudicasti, inclyte Augustine ! Vtrique quod
 suum est tribuisti, iustissime iudex ! Si licet, nos in tuam
 sententiam pedibus discedimus ! Tibi subscribimus ! Tibi
 295 succinimus !

Hactenus de eloquentia. Ad cætera pergimus.

Damnaui sophisticen. Fateor. Nec huius me dum viuam
 penitebit vnquam. Nonne Scriptura palam hanc detesta-
 tur : ‘ Qui sophisticè, inquires, loquitur, odibilis est ’. Quod
 300 Augustinus de hac ipsa interpretatur ; quam ego quidem
 acriter, sed nimis quam iuste insectatus sum, vt inutilem,
 imo uero vt perniciosam, pestemque studiorum. Quam-
 quam ipse nihil aliud quam mortuam, vti dicitur, iugu-
 laui ; quippe olim aliorum enectam stilis. Et mirabor
 305 hercule ! plusquam mediocriter si quis gnarus quid sit
 sophisticè, idemque sensu saltem communi præditus eam
 rectis studijs non secus atque infelix lolium optimis
 segetibus miscendam arbitrabitur.

Quod si tanta animorum propensione hæc amanda est
 310 scientiarum simia, atque in sinu pene vti amabilis pusio
 gestanda ; quorsum attinet, quæso, per Charites ! vt vene-
 rabilis Artium Facultas, sicut alia pleraque, ita hoc
 grauiter et prospicienter statueret, ne euanidas cauillo-

282. Augustini] *R* ul 283. vno calculo] *M* re-traced first writing
 283. eloquentes] *M* added over line ; *R* re-traced first e 283. inelo-
 quentesque] *M* first wr eloquentes, then put i before it 288. quo]
M ; *r* qua 292. Augustine] *R* ul 296. Ad ... pergimus] *R* ul
 297. Damnaui &c] on f. 238 v ; *R* adds ¶, also in mg Jn sophisticen
 and a sign 297. Fateor] *M* ffateor 299. Qui ... est] *R* ul 299.
 inquires] *M* corr from -quit 300. Augustinus] *R* ul 303. mor-
 tuam ... iugulaui] *B* adds in mg pūbiū ; *R* ul 309. est] after it *M*
 wr & er sciam

rum technas, inextricabilesque gryphos occinerent, qui
 315 de adolescentibus philosophiæ candidatis periculum in
 literis facerent? Cuius suffragio vtinam omnes vbique
 Academiae album adiitiant calculum!

Accedit ad hæc quod olim me puero vt erant Louanij
 grauissimi quique eruditissimique ac prudentissimi præ-
 320 ceptores, ita has insanas, hasce versutiarum meditationes
 longe arcebant, vt non sinerent ne pueros quidem nos
 illis immorari, ac veluti in arundine longa aut ligneo
 bucephalo inequitare. Porro si Theologicæ professionis
 nulla est sophisticæ, adulterino, ac personato fuco veram
 325 mentita disciplinam, nimirum perperam senserunt qui
 adeo nullam esse negant, vt in duas quasi factiones libera-
 liter eam secuerint, vtque in nulla seu primæ seu infimæ
 classis disciplinarum functione fascinatricem hanc impos-
 turam non adesse affirment, quin vbique veluti ignauus
 330 fucus inter mellificas sese apes mediam admisceat, verum
 hanc ab omni arte, ceu scoriam ab auro, fecem a vino,
 paleam a grano semouendam esse.

Nisi vero cuius liceat sophistices personam detegere,
 mihi non liceat. Alioqui hæc nobilium artium emulatrix
 335 larua ac cerussata veneficaque meretricula, quid fructus,
 quid affert boni? Nonne vel Tyresiae perspicuum est
 quam falsas præceptiunculas, et ut veræ sint quod non
 sunt, quam portentosas, quam futes, deliras, insanas
 tricas apinasque proferat. Neque enim præcium est operæ
 340 cuius vero inuestigando ætatem insumere. Alioqui et
 harenam innumerabilem numerabimus, et quod vanis-
 simus ille ab Alexandro salsissime notatus, consecutus
 erat, milium per acum traicere, longo vsu meditabimur.

In exponibilibus merito in flumen exponendis; in inso-
 345 lubilibus hyprocraticis vinculis astringendis; in obliga-

314. gryphos] r griphos 317. album ... calculum] B adds in
 mg pūb.; R ul 318. Louanij] R ul 322. arundine longa] B ul,
 adds in mg puerbiū 323. Theologicæ] R ul 329. non] M added
 over line 333. Nisi &c] B adds in mg Prouer. 334. mihi &c] on
 f. 239 r 336. Tyresiae perspicuum] R ul, adds in mg pūb. 337.
 non] M added over line 339. præcium] M 339. apinasque] B adds
 in mg pūb.; R ul 342. Alexandro] id 345. hyprocraticis] R ul

tionibus, in quas declinantes adducet Dominus cum operantibus iniquitatem; in his, inquam, nonne absurdissima quædam portenta excogitarunt et hebetissima acumina! ut si ipsos audias suos ænigmatum scirpos,
 350 sua spingis problemata sonantes, dicas cum Paulo: 'Quid insanitis'? His videlicet falsa est propositio: Jesse genuit David regem; neque tantulum apud eos momenti habet quod Scriptura Sacra sic loquitur, quippe quæ improprie loquitur, ut hæc nugæ illorum sint propriæ. Quibus
 355 delibuti veluti in hortis Adonidis atque in Insulis Fortunatis delitiantur.

Sed quorsum hæc deliramenta? Prosequar fusius. Quæ non sani esse hominis, non sanus iuret Orestes. Huiusmodi si ultro profitear me nescire, hinc mihi quæ iactura?
 360 Quis me istiusmodi quicquam interrogabit? Quis in eruditorum corona horum ingeret intempestivam semper mentionem? Quis animæ suæ salutem per hæc quæret? Et quidam tamen tanta diei ac somni iactura discunt quod neque prodest scitum, neque ignoratum nocet, ut
 365 grauissimi Stoicorum verba huc accomodem.

Jam in synecathegorematis iungendis, nouandis, aceruandis, o Superi! quanta voluptas est! quæ delitiæ! Dum regulis quibusdam confictis, ac vna nocte sub puluino natis, omnia distribuunt, confundunt, ampliant, restrin-
 370 gunt, ascendunt, descendunt, stant, appellant! Denique quid non suo iure faciunt! Miserati interim simplices quos vocant, quamuis eruditos alioqui viros, qui hanc acutissimam vanitatem non libauerint. Hi de instantibus instantanter disserunt; de infinito sine fine garriunt; in
 375 motu omnia mouent; a loco nihil loci, a tempore nihil temporis, a vacuo prorsus nihil vacuum relinquunt. Hi pulicis saltum in statera æquis lancibus ad scrupulos

346. declinantes adducet] *R ul* 350. Paulo] *R ul* 351. Jesse] *R ul*
 352. David] *R ul* 355. hortis ... Fortunatis] *B ul*, adds in *mg* puerbiū
 358. non sanus ... Orestes] *B* adds in *mg* pūb.; *R ul* 361. corona]
M first wr, then *er*, choro 365. Stoicorum verba] *R ul* 366. Jam
 in &c.] *R* adds sign in *mg* 366. synca-] *M first wr*, then *er*, syncha
 274. instantanter &c.] on *f.* 239 v

appendunt. Hi monstrosos casus comminiscuntur. Hircoceruis, horumque sororibus Chimeris cum tota poeti-
 380 corum figmentorum familia admodum familiariter vtuntur, vt putes vna vnus in ædibus educatos. Hoc est quod pallemus. His vigilatas noctes impendimus. His optimam ætatem prodigimus. His blattarum pabulis iuuat impalescere quemquam !

385 De Dialectica autem quid dixi quod, si vel summo iure agatur, reprehendi possit? Quam non vtilem tantum, sed necessariam quoque esse palam affirmaui, esset modo Dialectica pura, syncera, incontaminata, qualis ea demum est, quæ locos, quæ enunciationum vires, quæ formulas
 390 argumentandi commonstrat. Hoc ipsum spectauit magnus ille Ambulator, cum decem nominum generibus, ad hæc enunciationum tractatu, adiunctis concinnis collectionum typis, quæ necessario demonstrant, quæ suadent probabiliter, quæ callide cauillantur. His, inquam, Dialecticæ
 395 suæ pædiam absoluit : qua vtinam essent omnes contenti, præcipue vt est ab eximio viro Jacobo Fabro Stapulensi tum repurgata, tum scholijs illustrata.

Hanc qui erit assecutus — neque enim longo tempore opus erit, si dextre ac ingenue adolescentibus docili
 400 præditis ingenio tradatur — mox ea velut instrumentum ad potiores disciplinas accommodabit. Vtile est, imo necessarium, qui domum recens exstructurus est, instrumenta vt quam optima eademque vsui accommodatissima paret. At quis non insaniorem Oreste pronunciet,
 405 et totis semel antyciris dignum, qui tota vita nihil aliud quam instrumenta comparet et congerat, quibus numquam vtatur? Quale vero sit nauem insignem adornasse, quæ perpetuo in portu hæreat, a littore numquam soluat, donec procellarum vi et aquæ edacitate a compagine
 410 soluta, iam non nauis sit sed tabulæ.

378. Hircoceruis] M *first wr, then er*, Hircocer 385. De Dialectica &c.] M₂ *adds in mg* : Pro dialectica, R *ul*, *adds ¶ in text & mg*
 396. Fabro] M *ffabro* 396. Jacobo ... Stapulensi] R *ul* 399. erit] M *first wr, then er*) 404. non ... Oreste] R *ull* ; B *adds in mg pūb.*
 405. antyciris] M : r *anticyris* 408. quæ] M, *added over line*
 409. a compagine &c.] *on f. 240 r*

Nolim quemquam dialecticæ insenescere, maioremve
 ætatis portionem in ea, vti ad Syreneos scopulos, conterere.
 Hic si fas est dicere, mecum reus est sanctissimus Domi-
 nus noster Leo Decimus, qui proximo in Concilio Latera-
 415 nensi salubriter instituit (quod vtinam æque obseruent
 omnes!) vt in Academijs quoque supra quinquennium nulli
 philosophiæ parti quisquam insudet! Augustinus, antistes
 mansuetissimus, dialecticam non dubitat 'nodosissimam
 spinosissimamque' appellare, iniquior aliquanto illi quam
 420 ego, qui eam in oratione ipsa cui nunc de capite pericli-
 tanti patronus assum, aperte prædicaui, idque neque
 maligne, neque non dedita opera! Quid hic feci? Quid
 commerui? Quænam frons tam frontosa quæ ad verba
 mea corrugetur? Sed interest plurimum a quo quid
 425 dicatur. A diuersis profecta oratio non idem valet eadem,
 inquit anus illa Euripidæa.

Linguarum cognitionem his vtilem esse confirmaui qui
 Sacras enarrare Literas pararent. Atqui Augustinus nihil
 veritus est eam pronunciare esse necessariam, quum ipse
 430 careret: quo magis ipsi credendum est. Eandem Conci-
 lium Vienne, Basiliense, ac proximum denique Latera-
 nense publico diplomate, quod hisce oculis ipsemet vidi,
 valde probat. Ad hæc quid mutire quisquam ausit, si lin-
 guas piaculum est laudare, quo nomine excusabimus qui
 435 aiunt cupere se non tres modo aut quinque linguas, sed si
 fieri posset, septuaginta duas: tantum abesse vt vnam
 aliquam damnent. Et recte quidem illi mea sententia. Nisi
 quod non vsque adeo multum linguis tribuere debemus,
 vt sine his nihil esse in quoquam erudito eruditionis
 440 nobis persuadeamus.

Theologiam scholasticam parum probasse videor: scili-
 cet, hic teneor medius, neque rima est qua queam elabi.

412. Syreneos] M: r Sireneos 412. Syreneos ... conterere] R ul,
 adds in mg Proū. 414. Concilio Lateranensi] R ul 417. Augus-
 tinus] R ul 426. Euripidæa] R ul 427. Linguarum &c.] M₂ adds
 in mg Pro linguis; R ul, adds ¶ in text 428. Augustinus] R ul
 431. Vienne] M: r Vienn- 431. Vienne, Basiliense] R ul 431.
 Lateranense] R ul 436. duas] M corr from duo 441. Theolo-
 giam &c.] M₂ wr in mg Theologia Scholastica; R ul, adds ¶ in text

Atqui nulla opus est rima, quando ex toto libello nulla
 potest coniectura colligi, qua hoc quisquam debeat suspi-
 445 cari. Nisi sit — atque vtinam nullus sit — qui inter me
 et viros quosdam modis omnibus conspicuos ac probatos
 frigidam suffundere studio sibi habeat. Alioqui nihil est
 quod in hac Venere vel Momus carpat. Nonne hactenus
 in recepto Theologiæ studio versatus sum ? Nullis non
 450 disputationibus interfui, scholasticum in ipsis morem
 obseruans ? Quid itaque palam damno quod palam
 sequor ? Mira vero impudentia si faciam. Disputationes
 laudo, Palestram scholasticam amplector, vt si quis
 alius. Tantum vt moderatæ sint atque a contentionum
 455 studio alienæ.

Hocceine optare fas non est, quod prudentissimus ille
 Augustinus optauit, cuius verba subscribam. ‘Homo’,
 inquit, ‘timens Deum, voluntatem eius in Scripturis
 Sacris quærit; et ne amet certamina, pietate mansuetus;
 460 præmunitus etiam scientia linguarum, ne in verbis locu-
 tionibusque ignotis hæreat; præmunitus etiam cognitione
 quarundam rerum necessariarum, ne vim naturamve
 earum quæ propter similitudinem adhibentur, ignoret;
 adiuuante codicum veritate, quam sola emendationis
 465 diligentia procurauit: veniat ita instructus ad ambigua
 Scripturarum discutienda atque soluenda’. In his tam
 paucis verbis Augustini, qui singula pensitabat, fere
 inuenias quæcumque mihi impinguntur, vt ego, absoluto
 Augustino, iustis damnari tribunalibus non possum quo-
 470 quo modo. Vult abesse contentionem, quæ numquam
 abest sophistis; requirit ceu munimen quoddam lingua-
 rum scientiam; codices solerter emendandos censet; idem
 et ego persuadere institueram. Quod et Hieronymus fecit
 aliquoties, Cyprianus, Ambrosius, Origenes: ad hæc
 475 Thomas Aquinas, Nicolaus Lyranus, Baptista Mantuanus
 in libello de Christi Conceptione, et in altero rursus quem

447. frigidam &c.] on f. 240 v; in mg B adds pū. 448. Venere ...
 carpat] B adds in mg pū; R ul 452. si] after it M wr, then er, nō
 457. Augustinus] R ul 467. Augustini] R ul 469. Augustino] R ul
 474. Cyprianus ... Origenes] R ul 475. Thomas ... Mantuanus]
 476. de ... Conceptione] R ul

de Interpretum Varietate elucubrauit, vbi idoneis argumentis palam et copiose ostendit, etiam adductis exemplis manifestæ deprauationis vulgatorum codicum, latinam
 480 translationem ex Græca atque Hebraica lingua esse restituendam. Id quod Pontifex Maximus Leo Decimus, et ipse in epistola ad Felicem Pratensem comprobat, Petrus Aliacensis minime negligendum credidit, hodieque Cardinales quidam aggressi sunt. Cum his si errem, an non
 485 honestus sit error tantos duces sequenti? Quid quod huic meæ sententiæ omnibus punctis accedunt qui libris euulgatis codices diligentissime emendandos affirmant? Hieronymi in hoc Augustinique consilium facile admittentes vt humanum quidem illud? quod nec ego diffiteor.

490 Porro si quis hoc arrodat quod Scripturam Sacram voluerim studiorum nostrorum primas occupare: huic cum Augustino paratum est certamen, hoc dilucide præcipiente. Quod ne obiter ac in transcurso ceu parergon attigisse videatur, iterum atque iterum ingeminat, infulsit, occinit: id quod nemo quidem nescit qui huius
 495 libros vel a limine salutarit, vt non oporteat — quod perlongum foret, nec perinde refert — huc eius verba citare, ne apologia ingens fiat volumen.

Postremo, si quid videri possim supra dignitatem laudibus vexisse, malim in hanc sane partem propendere
 500 atque ab orbita deflectere. Candoris est laudare. Fieri potest vt necessitatis sit vituperare. At hanc lubens volensque effugerim si qua liceret; neque vero tam sinistro quisquam iuditio esse debet vt huius laudes suam ducat
 505 iniuriam. Non damnat plumbum qui huic aurum præfert. Non afficit argentum iniuria qui vniones huic anteponit. An Pauli laus cæterorum apostolorum vituperatio est? Quid si vere veterem Theologiam meis studijs præoptem, cui sim iniurius? An non hic in suo quisque sensu abun-

481. Pontifex ... Decimus] *R ul* 482. Felicem Pratensem] *id*; *M ff*- 482. Petrus Aliacensis] *R ul* 484. sunt &c.] *on f. 241 r* 488. Augustinique] *R ul* 490. Porro] *M* marked by two slanting lines; *R adds ¶* 492. Augustino] *R ul* 493. Quod] *M*, added over line 496. a ... salutarit] *R ul*, adds in *mg* Proūbi 499. Postremo] *M* marks before it ||, *R adds ¶* 501. Fieri] *M ff*ieri 507. Pauli] *R ul*

510 det ? Quid si ceu satur Theologici studij dem operam iuri,
 an non claris exemplis huius quoque ætatis tueri me
 possim ? Si quis pertinacior animum inducere non potest
 quin credat me damnassee quorundam studia : huic quid
 faciam ? Clamo me non fecisse, ne cogitasse quidem, nec
 515 causam fuisse vllam idoneam quamobrem facerem. Testor
 nihil esse cur velim factum. Certe neminem nominavi.
 An satis non est generaliter dicere quod nec indicare
 quemquam consilium fuit ? Conscientia mille testes.

Interea si quid interuenit, certe tum nihil fuit causæ.
 520 Non fuit animus quemquam offendere. Euentum quis
 præstare po[te]st ? Per me licet cuius sentire quod non est
 perniciosum. Vtra potior sit, vetusne an recens Theolo-
 gia, licet sine dispendio salutis ignorare. Equidem sim-
 plici veterum Theologia facile contentus fuero, neque
 525 vllum ob hoc præiudicium studijs neotericorum hinc
 nasci velim. Sit suum cuique pulchrum.

Non sit in Christianis verum quod de Jsocrate et Aris-
 totele Cicero scribit quod suo vterque studio delectatus
 contempsit alterum. Non est Christiani odisse quicquam
 530 nisi malum, nisi peccatum. Cætera omnia, sua quodque
 ansa præhendat qua teneri commode possint. Laudo
 diuum Thomam, Augustinum præfero : cui sim iniurius ?
 Opitulante Deo operam dabo, vt in vtraque, si non quod
 alij, certe aliquid valeam, ne tempus meum sine linea
 535 præterfluat. Vetus verbum est : Facimus pro opibus
 mœnia !

His singulatim lenibus spongijs, non aspera nitri acri-
 monia vtcumque dilutis, quid est reliqui in oratiuncula
 quod merito quisquam repræhendat ? Si quid est, per
 540 ego omnia iura quibus homines humanitatem hominibus
 debemus, oro, vt Christiana charitate iudicetur ; sin autem

510. Theologici] R ul 512. potest] after it M wr, then er, vt
 520. Euentum &c.] on f. 241 v 521. potest] four last letters indis-
 tinct through stain 526. Sit ... pulchrum] B adds in mg Proū. ;
 R ul 527. Jsocrate ... Aristotele Cicero] R ul 532. Thomam,
 Augustinum] R ul 534. sine ... præterfluat] B adds in mg Proū. ;
 R ul 535. Facimus ... mœnia] id. ; M wr ffacimus 537. singu-
 latim] M corr final m 538. vtcumque] before it M wr, then er, dilu
 541. Christiana] R ul

nihil quicquam est, rursus oro ne quis mortua scintilla
discordiæ, flammæ excitet quas non sit perinde facile
restinguere. Concordia parvæ res crescunt ; discordia
545 maximæ dilabuntur.

Paulus diligenter monet vt cum omnibus, quod in nobis
sit, pacem habeamus : hunc animum offero, sedulo præ-
staturus si mihi inuicem respondeatur ; sin minus, quod
non puto, non desinam tamen mei similis perseuerare.
550 Solabor me conscientia mea : hac quidem in re nullius
conscia mali ; solabor me libris meis, iucundissima pos-
sessione. Mussitabo semper aliquid, et ne alijs pulcher-
rimo conatu certantibus, ipse manus sub pallio habere
videar, vel dolium versabo ; vel iuxta Jsmeniam, Mihi
555 canam et Musis, vt Hieronymi vtat prouerbio.

In his quæ scripsi quemuis iudicem, quemuis arbitrum
non recuso qui idoneus videri possit ; nam affectus non
iudicat : odio, amicitia, inuidia, cæterisque perturba-
tionum æstibus vacuum esse oportet qui æquum iudicium
560 feret. Am<ici pe>rsonam exuit qui iudicis induit, quanto
magis inimici personam abijcit. Pulchrum est et scitum
illud : Ad penitentiam properat qui cito iudicat. Tametsi
hæc extra controuersiam declamo. Non est enim quod
hæc metuam. Quod si mea omnia, eo genio sunt, vt nisi
565 iratis Gratijs lucem ferre nequeant, age, in spongiam
incumbant potius, vt ille olim Ajax Cæsaris.

Habes, benignissime Patrone, oratiunculæ meæ apolo-
giam, ipsi pene parem ; cui cætera opuscula annexui vt
iustum aliquod voluminis corpus efficiant. Hæc tuo no-
570 mini vt mea omnia debebantur, si ingratitude notam
effugere decreuerim. Bene vale.

546. Paulus] *R* ul 547. sit] *M* first wr, then er, est 553. sub pallio
habere] *B* marks in mg Proū.; *R* ul 554. dolium versabo] *id* 554.
Jsmeniam... (555) Musis] *id* 559. qui æquum &c.] on f 242 r 560.
Amici personam] -ici p- completely resolved in stain 561. est] *M*
added over line 562. Ad... iudicat] *R* ul 565. iratis Gratijs] *R* ul
565. in ... (566) incumbant] *B* adds in right mg proū. ; *R* ul 567.
Habes] *R* adds ¶ before 571. Bene vale.] *R* ul

**Notes concerning Dorp's Apology
to Meinard Man.**

- 1 primitias] Dorp had dedicated to Man his *Oratio de laudibus sigillatim cuiusque disciplinarum ac amenissimi Louanii academiaeque louaniensis*, published October 14, 1513 (Louvain, Thierry Martens and Henry of Dieghem), by a letter dated from the Lily, October 5, (evidently of the same year) 1513 : Iseghem, 240-1. He also inscribed to him his edition of Adrian Florentii's *Questiones Quotlibetice* : March 1515 (Louvain, Thierry Martens : Iseghem, 249-51), by a letter dated from the Lily, March 24, 1515, which is reproduced at the end of these notes (pp. 116-120).
- 4 vt nullus dedicem] cp. Erasmus' adage : *Nullus sum* : EOO, II, 130, D, 1199, A.
- 7 ocium] in his dedicatory letter of October 14, 1513, Dorp called Man 'vnicus mearum vigiliarum Mecenás', and acknowledged his indebtedness for what allowed him to deliver orations and lectures : 'Tu siquidem', he added, 'vnus amplo sacerdotio ocium mihi ad studia tranquillum suppeditasti, tu me scholaribus tumultibus eripuisti, tu sacrae theologiae mancipasti' : Dorp *LDisc.*, A ii v. Through Man's intervention the parish of Overschie was granted to him on August 9, 1511 : Dorp *Vita*, 371 n.
- 12 familiam] Dorp's father was one of the abbey officials : cp. Dorp *Vita*, 124-125.
- 17 libellos] most probably the two treatises, which Dorp mentions as recently composed, and which he may have intended publishing, were identical with the 'cætera opuscula', which although not yet in their final state (ll. 18-19), were joined to this Apology so as to make up a 'iustum aliquod voluminis corpus' : ll. 568-9. These two works were not found by Morinck amongst Dorp's papers, and may have perished : Dorp *Vita*, 433-449.
- 24 De Vita Christo ... Instituenda] following the example given by Erasmus in his *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, 1503 (BB, E, 1000-1124) ; by Barlandus, in his *Institutio Christiani Hominis*, 1526 (BB, B, 285, s, 275) ; by Herman

Schotten Hessus, in his *Vita Honesta*, 1527 (Keussen, 793); and by so many others, Dorp provides one more proof that, on this side of the Alps, humanism intended to be as much an ethical, as an intellectual, movement.

28 annos abhinc duos] Dorp spent part of October and November of 1519 in Holland, apparently in The Hague, where especially Nicolas Everardi, the President, and Gerard of Assendelft, one of the members, of the Holland Council, favoured him with their encouragement and their friendship, as he related in his letter to Erasmus of Nov. 28, 1519, first printed with his *Oratio* by Froben in March 1520 : Dorp *LPaul.*, 1279-1380 ; Allen, iv, 1044, 13-30 : 'Me student hic inaurare', he wrote, which may, however, refer to an employ offered to him, possibly by the bishop of Utrecht on Assendelft's recommendation : *DorpVita*, 491 n. Cp. note to l. 64.

44 Nicolao Euerardo] Nicolas Everaerts, or Everts (1462-1532), was, for some time after September 1504, a member of the Holland Council before being appointed a member of Mechlin Council on May 17, 1505. He was made President of the Council of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland in 1509, and he filled that post until, on Sept. 20, 1528, he was called to preside the Great Council at Mechlin : cp. *Cran.*, 123, *a-e*, and the sources quoted.

46 vtriusque Juris peritiam] Everaerts promoted J. V. D. in Louvain University on June 11, 1493, and taught there civil law from June 18, 1492 to March 26, 1496 : *Analectes*, xxxix, 275-77 ; afterwards he was active as official of the Bishop of Cambrai, Henry de Berghes, in Brussels, and, probably, as an assessor or judge in one of the academical courts of Louvain ; he became one of the most famous lawyers of his time, in so much that his books remained classical for centuries, and largely helped to establish a national jurisprudence : *Cran.*, 123, *b-d* ; Brants, 86-7 ; *PF*, i, 256 ; *BibBelg*, 685-6.

47 herbam ei porrigit] Erasmus has *Herbam dare* : EOO, II, 360, F.

50 Gerardo Assendelpho] Gerard Lord of Assendelft and Heemskerck, Knight, was born about 1488 from a family

whose members had rendered loyal service to their country. His grandfather was most probably the Gerard who matriculated in Cologne in 1430 (Keussen, I, 329), and was appointed by Philip the Good as a member of the newly created Council of Holland, on May 14, 1463 (Hoyneek, II, I, *Tab.* 36, 38). That Gerard, Lord of Assendelft, Cralingen and Eemskerk, or Heemskerk, receiver-general and councillor for Holland, had married Beatrice van Daelhem, or Dongen, of the Arckel family, *Ambachts-vrouwe* of Besoijen and Heinenoord, in South Holland, and made with her on June 25, 1482, the foundation of a 'vicary' in the chapel of their family in the St. James's Church of The Hague, at the collation of the abbot of Our Lady's of Middelburg (Fruin, 120, 372-3), in whose behalf he had prosecuted in 1464 some farmers at Huesden on account of arrears (Fruin, 343). When in 1487 one of those Huesden farmers admitted his debt, 'Claes, lord of Assendelft' had succeeded Gerard in his rights and management (Fruin, 388); that Nicolas of Assendelft, who on May 7, 1514 was appointed councillor extraordinary in Holland, and against whom Count John of Egmont objected the political opinions of his family and his own matrimonial conduct (Bergh, II, 95-99), may be the father of the Gerard whom Dorp mentions. If so, the son soon replaced his father in the Council, of which he became one of the most influential members. He was commissioned on several occasions to proceed against heretics (1527-30: *HoopSch.*, 386, 480; *CorpInq.*, v, 226, 290, &c.); thus in February 1526, with Josse Sasbout, his colleague, he examined the case of Willem Ottensoen accused of Lutheranism: *CorpInq.*, v, 112; *HoopSch.*, 393. In those proceedings also appeared *Mr.*, or *master*, *Hugo of Assendelft* (Nov. 3, 1467-July, 21, 1510), possibly a relative, but evidently a different person from the *lord of Assendelft* mentioned in one and the same document. That Hugo had matriculated in Louvain on August 30, 1480: *LibIntII.*, 178 r; he promoted licentiate in laws in 1497, and was ordained a priest at Liège on March 24, 1497; he became curate at Haarlem in 1497, and canon

The Hague in 1507 : his missal with biographical annotations now reposes in Corpus Christi College, Oxford. On July 20, 1509 he was accepted 'ad consulatum Hagensis curie', becoming thereby a « *consul* » — probably an ecclesiastical — member of the Holland Council : *Eng-HistRev.*, xxxiii, 225-229 ; he was also a councillor or assessor in the ecclesiastical court of the Official at The Hague, and in that quality he took part in the lawsuit against Ottensoen as a « substitute » or supply of the Official of the Utrecht diocese : *CorpInq.*, v, 112 ; Hoop-Sch., 393, 590, 595 ; Nyhoff, iii, 945. It is therefore safe to conclude that Hugo is not the 'de Assendelft' mentioned in Dorp's letter of November 28, 1519 : for he is called 'dominus de Assendelft', which evidently only applies to Gerard : Allen, iv, 1044, ²⁶. At Nicolas Everaerts' promotion to Mechlin Parliament, 'Gerard lord of Assendelft, Emskerk and Honingen, knight', succeeded him as President of the Holland Council : *Cran.*, 123, c ; and he already assisted in that dignity on October 21, 1528, at the translation of the temporal power of the Utrecht diocese to the Emperor : Hoynck, ii, i, 369, iii, i, 82, 93 ; as such he also took an active part in most of the public events in Holland for over thirty years : Henne, vii, 335 ; *CorrVigl.*, 34, 36 ; *OpmHistMart.*, 104 ; Nyhoff, iii, 1018 ; HoopSch., 590, 595 ; SonnE, 12-14 ; *BibReNe.*, i, 616. He fulfilled the duties of his office with great ability and prudence, until on December 5, 1558, he died in his house at Westeinde, The Hague, and was buried in the family chapel in St. James's (Hoynck, iii, i, 93). His connection with Our Lady's of Middelburg, from which on April 9, 1546, he had acquired his house at Westeinde, which was a fee of the Abbey (*Zelandia Illustrata*, i, 240 ; Fruyn, 67, 508), suggests that the Albert of Assendelft who, on April 19, 1542, received the St. Nicolas parish in that abbey, was a near relative (Fruyn, 88, 497) ; anyhow, Nicolas of Assendelft, who studied in the Trilingue, Louvain, from June 6, 1532 to after 1534, was his son (*ManHoev.*, 199 v ; *AccHoev.*, ii, 290 v).

As results from the choice of that school for his son,

Gerard of Assendelft was deeply in sympathy with humanism ; he also proved a real friend and protector to Erasmus, who in 1533 received a *munus* of the Dutch States through him, and wrote to him on October 29, 1532, at the suggestion of his former amanuensis Quirinus Talesius, of Haarlem ; and in that most affectionate letter Gerard is praised for his protection of studies and scholars, and called an ornament of Holland, as much on account of his own talents as of the nobility of his family : EE, 1455, B, 1456, F, 1436, F, 1468, F, 1470, E. His friendly connections with Dorp, to whom he probably wrote occasionally, as well as his outspoken partiality for Erasmus, attested in Dorp's epistle of Nov. 28, 1519 (Allen, iv, 1044, ²⁵⁻²⁸), make it almost a certainty that to him also was addressed the interesting letter dated from Louvain in the last weeks of 1520 : EE, 1889, A-1890, F ; Allen, vi, 1166. For it is evident that Erasmus had been in correspondence with Gerard long before he sent him the missive of 1532, which gives a sad sense of the loss of many interesting documents. Cp. Guicc., 200 ; P. S. Allen, *Memoranda of Hugo de Assendelff* : *EngHistRev.*, xxxiii, 225-234 ; *LibIntIII.*, 215 v, 239 r, 254 r, 256 v ; *ArchEcclBrab.*, 17307, xxii r, xxv v.

- 64 anno superiore] Dorp's *Oratio ... de Laudibus Pauli* was dedicated to Beatus Rhenanus from Louvain on Sept. 22, 1519 (DorpLPaul., 79), and came from Michael Hillen's press, Antwerp, on September 27 following. Going by that date this memoir was written in the autumn of 1520, and the stay in his native country to which he refers on l. 28, «*annos abhinc duos*», must be placed in 1518. That stay, however, seems to have been rather long, as it is hardly probable that a professor on a transitory visit to his family or to his native country, should be requested to deliver an oration to the foremost body of that country, without being allowed the necessary time to compose it — even if his attention was not otherwise occupied ; and the fact that Dorp had kept the speech and contemplated dedicating it to the Egmond Abbot, shows that he considered it worth while publishing. Such a visit would therefore imply an absence from Louvain for much more

than a month, of which there is hardly any trace in 1518 : indeed in that year he had the Faculty's licence to lecture, and his office of president of the College of the Holy Ghost must have been the object of his care, as his fees had been raised on December 29, 1517 : de Jongh, 41*-42* : it is not probable that he should have answered that increase by a prolonged absence, which could not but harm the regular routine of his community. Moreover there are several references in Erasmus' correspondence which imply Dorp's continuous presence in Louvain : he is called the leader of the group who attend the Hebrew lessons (March 6 : Allen, III, 794, 78) ; he secures a Dutch student intended for John de Neve (April 26 : Allen, III, 838, 8) ; he reports on what happens in Louvain in Erasmus' absence in July, and is the first to visit him on his return in October (Allen, III, 852, 867, 255, 878, 11). Although these four dates leave space enough to place a trip north to Holland, yet the complete silence about such a journey, which is the more astonishing as it brought great success to the proudish professor, makes it almost certain that the visit referred to on ll. 28-53 of this Apology, is that of which a concordant report is preserved in the letter of November 28, 1519, printed with the *Oratio de Laudibus Pauli* at Basle, March 1520 : DorpLPaul., 1279-1380 (= Allen, IV, 1044). That letter indeed commemorates a similar welcome from the members of the Holland Council, and singles out for their particular kindness and protection the same two personages Everaerts and Assendelft mentioned here : DorpLPaul., 1297-1315 ; Allen, IV, 1044, 13-29. From the tone of that letter it moreover appears that the welcome is an unprecedented experiment : nowhere Dorp gives the least indication that the president or the councillors were friends or acquaintances of some time's standing, which he would not have failed to mention. On the contrary it sounds as if his intimacy and sympathy with Erasmus is the chief reason of the hearty reception : President Everaerts likes talking about you, he wrote to Erasmus, 'eaque de causa magno fauore me prosequitur'. As to

the councillors, 'omnibus modis student bene mereri de me, quod audierint, & in Oratione aperte legerint, ex animo me tuum esse': DorpLPaul., 1307-10; Allen, iv, 1044, 20-24. That avowed friendship with Erasmus could not have been used as an introduction by Dorp before October 1519, whereas it fitly accounts for the enthusiasm with which, in his Apology, he refers to the days spent at The Hague. Consequently it is most likely that the visit took place in November 1519, which assigns the Apology to the last weeks of 1521. That date is made more plausible by the absence of all mention of Erasmus, who, by the end of 1521, had left Louvain, but who, in 1520, would have sent his greetings to their common friend and patron, as he had done on former occasions; for Dorp had informed Man of the growing difficulties in November 1519, possibly at a visit to the abbey: 'R. D. Edmondensis', he then wrote to Erasmus, 'amice sentit de te, vir pius, & qui nativa bonitate dissidia ista odit. Apud eum, & apud omnes nihil cessabit Dorpius tuus neque id clam habebit': DorpLPaul., 1343-6; Allen, iv, 1044, 53-56. — The only objection to that date is suggested by the reference here to the *oratiuncula*, which he published 'anno superiore': still by that 'anno superiore' Dorp may merely indicate: one of these last years; or: lately; possibly he had in mind, not the first edition, of September 1519, which seems to have passed without much contradiction, but that of Basle, March 1520, which, on account of the accompanying letter to Erasmus with its latent criticism (DorpLPaul., 1281-1300 and 1326-8) raised a violent opposition amongst his colleagues and their partisans, which took months to subside, and even caused this Apology to be written. Cp. *Morinck's Life of Dorp*.

- 64 quam sinistrum &c.] For his adage *Genius malus*, Erasmus quotes Persius: *Diis iratis, genioque sinistro*: EOO, II, 55, E-56, c.
- 65 quam non bonæ fuerint aues] Erasmus: *Bonis avibus*: EOO, II, 57, c.
- 75 calua occasio] Erasmus explaining the adage *Nosce tem-*

pus refers to the proverb *Occasionem arripere*, and quotes, besides Posidippus and Ausonius, the verse of an anonymous poet : *Fronte capillata, post est Occasio calva* : EOO, II, 289, A-D.

- 75 occasio] the history of this edition and the reasons of Dorp's move are sketched in full in the introduction to his *Vita*, further in this volume.
- 84 atro carbone] Erasmus : *Carbone notare* : EOO, II, 202, D.
- 84 naso arguto] Erasmus : *Naso suspendere* : EOO, II, 307, D.
- 86 præfationis] Dorp wrote in his letter to Rhenanus : *Neque enim uolui quenquam uel perstringere uel lædere* : DorpLPaul., 71-72.
- 98 de verbis Christi] JOANN., XXI, 23.
- 101 Rex ille] Salomon, in the *Ecclesiastes*, IV, 4, as Dorp marked in the margin ; the Vulgate has : *industrias*. Dorp quoted this very text (also with *industrias*) in the first days of 1524 in a letter to Cranevelt on a similar subject : *Cran.*, 85, 203.
- 109 Metanea] cp. Ausonius, *Epigr.* 12 : *sum Dea quæ facti ... exigo poenas, Nempe ut pœniteat, sic Metanœa vocor*.
- 111 Coricæus] Erasmus : *Corycæus auscultavit* : EOO, II, 87, A.
- 114 Pauli] Rom., XII, 21 ; the Vulgate has : *Noli*.
- 117 mala &c.] Erasmus explains the adage *Mala attrahens ad sese, ut cæcias nubes* : EOO, II, 206, D, sq ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, II, 120, sq, XVIII, 335, sq.
- 127 Concionator] *Ecclesiastes*, X, 11 ; the Vulgate reads : ... nihil eo minus...
- 129 Maledici &c.] I COR., VI, 10.
- 132 Qui dixerit &c.] MATTH., V, 22.
- 150 Nolite &c.] LUC., VI, 37, and, with *ut* for *et*, MATTH., VII, 1.
- 153 atro loliginis succo] Horace, *Satir.*, I, 4, 100 : *Hic nigræ succus loliginis* ; cp. EOO, II, 467, B.
- 157 munus ad altare] MATTH., V, 23, 24.
- 160 quam vt videar &c.] Beatus Rhenanus and his disciple Albert Burer (RE, 197, 571), and many more contemporary humanists complained bitterly about Dorp's versatility ; on January 19, 1520, Zwingli called him *Cothurno versatilior* (ZWOZ, VII, 137) ; on January 31, 1520, Boniface Amerbach pronounced him *chameleonte mutabilior*

- (Letter to Ulr. Zasius, Freiburg : Basle Univ. Libr. MS. C. vi^a 73 : 392 r), whilst 'Conradus Nastadiensis' described him as a *polypus* (*DiaBiTril.*, 239-46); cp. further the introduction to *DorpVita*.
- 165 nauibus equisque] Erasmus quotes the adage to express great eagerness : *Navibus atque quadrigis* : EOO, II, 159, A.
- 185 ad caninam facundiam] Erasmus quotes : *Canina facundia* : EOO, II, 534, E, from Sallustius (*Fragm.Hist.*).
- 201 Vita sine literis &c.] a similar idea is developed in Seneca's *Dialogus*, XI, viii, and XII, xvii, although not in the same words. The nearest approach to this saying is the verse : *sine doctrina vita, est quasi mortis imago*, in Dion. Cato's *Disticha*, III, preface : *Catonis Præcepta Moralia* &c. : Strassburg, 1515 : B iij r.
- 216 malum ... (217) ignes] Erasmus has amongst his adages : *Malum bene conditum ne moveris*, to which he compares : *Sopitos suscitatur ignes* : EOO, II, 51, C.
- 221 Eloquentiam &c.] Dorp heartily praises eloquence in his oration : *DorpLPaul.*, 384-564. Also in his letter to his friend Francis de Cranevelt : *Gran.*, 85, 109, 157-180, 190, sq., 258-9. Cp. introduction to *DorpVita*.
- 235 Cum &c.] S. Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, IV, 2, 3 : Dorp chooses only three sentences from this chapter.
- 237 Quis] before this word a passage is left out : AugO, III, 89.
- 238 sit ergo] AugO, III, 89 : ergo sit.
- 240 valeat] AugO, III, 89 : valet.
- 245 In primis &c.] S. Augustine, *Contra Cresconium Grammaticum Donatistam*, I, 1, 2 ; Dorp quotes only a few sentences from this chapter.
- 246 videretur] Dorp leaves out the greater part of a sentence : AugO, IX, 447.
- 248 putas] AugO, IX, 447 reads 'putes' from mss., adding in a note that the editions have 'putas'.
- 248 Ex multa eloquentia &c.] the place referred to is evidently Prov., X, 19 : *In multiloquio non deerit peccatum*.
- 250 Frustra] before this word a long passage is omitted : AugO, IX, 447.
- 250 hæreticorum] AugO, IX, 447 : *istorum exemplorum*.

- 251 enim] AugO, ix, 447 : enim propterea.
 254 doctique] AugO, ix, 448 : et docti.
 255 indocti] AugO, ix, 448 : etiam indocti.
 276 phaleratæque dictionis] Terence, *Phormio*, 500 : phaleratis dictis.
 276 eruditam, ut inquit Cicero, vanitatem] I cannot give the reference for this quotation.
 278 præfigentes Θ] Erasmus, in his adage Θ *Præfigere*, quotes Asconius Pædianus' statement : ' olim in judiciis sortes, quæ mittebantur in urnam, triplicem notam habere solere. Ac Θ quidem damnationis fuisse symbolum, T absolutionis, Δ ampliacionis, i. e., quoties significabant sibi parum adhuc liquere, ac denuo causam agi oportere : EOO, II, 203, E, 204, A. Most probably Dorp refers to Erasmus' explanation in this passage.
 279 coniecta faba] cp. Plutarch, *Vita Pericles*, xl, quoted by Erasmus in his explanation of the adages *Creta notare*, *Carbone notare* : EOO, II, 203, B, C.
 282 Augustini temperamentum] if this sentence was not formulated by St. Augustine, it certainly follows as a conclusion from the chapters which he devoted to eloquence in his fourth book *De Doctrina Christiana*, and his first *Contra Cresconium* : AugO, III, 89-118, ix, 445-9, x, 1881.
 284 abs te, inquires, &c.] I have not succeeded in finding these words in St. Augustine's works ; it may be — as several other quotations in this apology : cp. note to l. 282 ; also ll. 201, 276 — a sentence attributed to the author by some of the *Summulæ* or collections of serviceable texts which were so popular in those centuries.
 290 eidem suum locum &c.] cp. St. Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, iv, xxviii, 61 : AugO, III, 119.
 294 pedibus discedimus] Erasmus has the adage : *Pedibus in sententiam discedere* : EOO, II, 616, B.
 297 Damnaui sophisticen] namely in Dorp *LPaul.*, 594-792 ; similarly in his letter to Cranevelt : *Cran.*, 85, 114, 126-135, 258.
 299 Qui sophistice &c.] *Ecclesiasticus*, xxxvii, 23 ; that passage is also quoted by St. Augustine, *Contra Cresconium*, I, 2, 3 : AugO, ix, 448.
 300 Augustinus] *Contra Cresconium*, I, 2, 3 : AugO, ix, 448.

- 301 inutilem &c.] in *DorpLPaul.*, 600-621, disapproval is expressed of the long years — *unum decennium non est satis!* — which are wasted on the *cavillatrix sophistica*.
- 303 mortuam ... iugulaui] Erasmus proposes the adages *Jugulare mortuos* and *Mortuos rursus occidere* : *EOO*, II, 91, c, 1200, c.
- 304 aliorum enectam stilis] following the example given by Plato and St. Augustine, several humanists bitterly criticized sophistics : James Lefèvre of Etaples, in his *Prologus in libros physicos Aristotelis* (Renaudet, 146) ; Erasmus, in his *Laus Stultitiæ* (*EOO*, IV, 406, c, 409, A, 463, A to 469, B), his *Colloquia* (*EOO*, I, 817, D) and his *Apologia in Dialogum Jac. Latomi* (*EOO*, IX, 103, E, F) ; James Locher, in his translation of Brant's *Narrenschiff*, and Alexander Barclay, in his English version of Locher's Latin (Zarncke, 29, 354-6 ; Locher, *xl*, r, v ; Barclay, I, 143-157 ; Pompen, 211-215).
- 307 infelix lolium] *DorpLPaul.*, 488 : *eius campos nimis infelix lolium & steriles inuaserunt auenæ* ; cp. Virgil, *Ecolg.*, v, 37 and *Georg.*, I, 154 : *Infelix lolium, et steriles dominantur avenæ*.
- 312 Artium Facultas] already on June 2, 1427 (the first year of its existence) the Faculty stated that nobody was to be admitted to lecture unless he took the oath never to teach the doctrines of Buridan, Marsilius (of Inghen), Occam or their followers. Still notwithstanding that prohibition, the useless discussions of the Occamists invaded the schoolrooms, in so much that in 1480 the Faculty deprived for three years some lecturers of all rights and honours, as they had explained the doctrine of Aristotle according to the views of Occam or his disciples : *Mol.*, 582. Already in 1339 the University of Paris prohibited by a decree the teaching of Occam's doctrine, and in 1473, at the request of Bishop Boucart d'Avranches, Louis XI. required from all professors of Theology and Arts the promise made under oath not to explain the writings of Occam, Gregory of Rimini, Peter of Ailly or Marsilius : Renaudet, 59-67, 92 ; *DogmGeschMZ.*, 87-92, 505 ; Rotta, 31, *sq.*, 249 ; Féret, III, 339-356.

- 317 album ... calculum] cp. Erasmus adage : *Album calculum addere* : EOO, II, 202, B.
- 319 præceptores] Dorp found in the Lily able and erudite teachers as up-to-date as any : Leo Outers, the legentes John de Neve, John Maerschalc of Raetshoven and the younger lecturers John de Spouter, Gerard Meeuwen, and John Ceusters ; — he attended, besides, the lessons of Erasmus' great friend John des Marais *Paludanus* : cp. *Cran.*, iv, 1, c, and further pp. 125-7.
- 336 Tyresiae perspicuum] cp. the adage : *Tiresia cæcior* : EOO, II, 134, c.
- 341 harenam ... numerabimus] Erasmus : *Arenam metiris* : EOO, II, 168, F.
- 343 milium per acum trajicere] Erasmus, commenting on the adage *Milium terebrare*, quotes as example of vain labour : Simile studium fuit illius, qui grana milii e longinquo mittebat per foramen acus : EOO, II, 1106, B. I am unable to explain who is the Alexander of l. 342, and what connection there is between him and the saying.
- 345 in obligationibus &c.] allusion to PsALM., CXXIV, 5 : Declinantes autem in obligationes, adducet Dominus cum operantibus iniquitatem.
- 350 Paulo] I COR., XIV, 23 : nonne dicent quod insanitis ?
- 351 Jesse genuit Daud regem] MATTH., I, 5.
- 355 in hortis ... Fortunatis] cp. Erasmus' adage : *Adonidis horti* : EOO, II, 26, c ; and Plutarch, *Sertorius*, IX ; both details are found together in the passage of the *Laus Stultitiæ* in which Folly describes her birth-place : EOO, IV, 410, c — and which may have inspired this sentence.
- 357 deliramenta] cp. Dorp *LPaul.*, 484.
- 358 non sanus iuret Orestes] borrowed from Persius, *Sat.*, III, 118 (Zarncke, 413 b). Cp. l. 404.
- 365 grauissimi Stoicorum verba] possibly an allusion to Cato of Utica, who, according to Erasmus' *Apophthegmata*, said : Tum demum abrumpam hoc meum silentium, quum ea loqui potero, quæ sunt indigna silentio : EOO, IV, 264, B.
- 371 simplices ... (372) eruditos] possibly an allusion to Nicolas of Cusa's *Docta Ignorantia* : Cp. Rotta, 371, sq ; J. Ritter,

- Docta Ignorantia : Die Theorie des Nichtwissens bei Nicolaus Cusanus* : Leipzig, 1927.
- 379 Chimeris) cp. the adage *Chimæra* : EOO, II, 1189, B.
- 385 De Dialectica &c.] cp. DorpLPaul., 486, sq, 621, sq ; also *Cran.*, 85, 135-144, 257, sq.
- 396 Jacobo Fabro Stapulensi] James Lefèvre of Etaples, c. 1455-1536, was with Budé the greatest figure amongst the humanists in France in the first quarter of the sixteenth century : Hurter, II, 1301-5 ; Renaudet, 130, &c. ; JovEDV, 263 ; FG, 351 ; Allen, II, 315, *pref.* ; *Budé*, 45-54 ; *Cran.*, 173, a, c ; DenifleQ, 287-96 ; Rotta, 236, 263 ; &c. On October 17, 1503 he published his famous edition of Aristotle's *Organon* : *Libri Logicorum ad Archetypos recogniti cum novis ad litteram commentariis* (Paris, W. Hopyl and Henry Estienne), which, on its title-page, advised the young men to study that right text : 'ex Aristotelico opere ceu ex proprio fonte purissimas haurite delibateque aquas, peregrinas autem tanquam viles lacunas insalubresque Trinacrie lacus devitate ... Si ... dialecticam artem cum modestia susceperitis, consequens est ut bone discipline redeant omnes'. A second edition was printed by H. Estienne in 1510 : Renaudet, xl, 414, sq. In his *Oratio* Dorp referred to Faber for his exegetic teachings and writings : DorpLPaul., 950, 1037, 1273 ; introduction to *DorpVita*, pp. 136, 147, &c.
- 404 insaniorem Oreste] cp. l. 358. The mention of Orestes' insanity was of most frequent occurrence in classical literature : cp. the adages *Orestis pallium texere* ; *Orestis somnium* ; *Orestis insaniam insanire* ; &c. : EOO, II, 981, A ; *Adag.*, 333 a, 420 a, 700 a, 772 b ; Zarncke, 13 a, 71 a, 413 b.
- 405 totis ... antyciris dignum] namely, of all the medicinal herbs — especially against insanity — for which the town and the territory of Anticyra, in Phocis, was famous : Horace, *Ep. ad Pisones*, 300, and *Sat.*, III, 3, 83 & 166 ; Ovid, *Ep. Pont.*, IV, 3, 54 ; Persius, 4, 16 ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxv, 5, 52 ; Gellius, xvii, 15 ; EOO, II, 318, D ; &c.
- 414 Leo Decimus &c.] the decree taken on that subject by the Council of Lateran, and promulgated by Pope Leo X. on

December 19, 1513, was inspired by the fear of wrong opinions about the soul of man and the necessity of preparing an apologetic teaching against possible errors. The bull reads : hac ... constitutione ordinamus & statuimus, ne quisquam de cetero in sacris ordinibus constitutus ... philosophiæ aut poesis studiis ultra quinquennium post grammaticam & dialecticam, sine aliquo studio theologiæ aut juris pontificii, incumbat. Verum dicto exacto quinquennio, si illis studiis insudare voluerit, liberum sit ei, dum tamen simul aut seorsum, aut theologiæ, aut sacris canonibus operam navaverit ut ... inveniant, unde infectas philosophiæ & poesis radices purgare & sanare valeant : Mansi, xxxii, 842-3 ; Pastor, I, 563.

- 417 Augustinus &c.] in his *De Doctrina Christiana*, II, 37, 55, he says, referring to rhetorics and dialectics : 'facilius homines res eas — namely the practice of these arts — assequantur ... quam talium præceptorum nodosissimas et spinosissimas disciplinas' : AugO, III, 61.
- 426 anus illa] viz., Hecuba, in Euripides' tragedy of that name. The passage referred to reads in Erasmus' translation (first published in Paris in 1506) : a levibus profecta oratio, Et a probatis, non idem valet eadem : EOO, I, 1137, A.
- 427 Linguarum &c.] the necessity of the knowledge of languages — especially of Greek — is vindicated in DorpLPaul., 376, sq, 882, sq, 934, sq, 1198, sq, 1242, sq.
- 428 Augustinus] he shows the necessity of the acquaintance with Greek and Hebrew for the study of the Bible in his *De Doctrina Christiana*, II, 11, 16 : AugO, III, 42, 43. Cp. DorpLPaul., 901-915.
- 431 Vienense] Dorp quotes part of the decree in DorpLPaul., 1207, sq ; cp. Mansi, xxv, 367, sq.
- 431 Basiliense] the statute approved of in the XIXth session, Sept., 10, 1434, is quoted in DorpLPaul., 1224, sq ; cp. Mansi, xxix, 1175, 1235-50.
- 431 Lateranense ... (432) hisce oculis ... vidi] most probably an authenticated copy forwarded to Louvain University.
- 441 Theologiam scholasticam &c.] DorpLPaul., 685-749, 816, sq.

- 442 teneor medius] cp. the adage, quoted from Aristophanes and Terence, *Medius teneris* : EOO, II, 180, A.
- 442 neque rima est &c.] allusion to the adage (from Plautus' *Curculio*, IV, 2, ²³) *Reperire rimam* : EOO, II, 764, c.
- 447 nihil est &c.] this sentence recalls the adage *Momo satisfacere*, which Erasmus illustrates by a passage from Philostratus' letter to his wife, relating how Momus had found nothing to carp at in Venus, except her creaking sandal ; and another from Lucian (ΘΕΩΝ ΚΡΙΣΙΣ, 2), mentioning how Venus went to the judgment without any doubt about the sentence, though Momus was to be the judge : EOO, II, 210, E, F.
- 457 Augustinus] the passage *Homo* &c., to l. 466 : *soluenda*, is the beginning of the third book of *De Doctrina Christiana* : (III, 1, 1) : AugO, III, 65.
- 459 Sacris quærit] AugO, III, 65 : sanctis diligenter inquit.
- 464 sola] AugO, III, 65 : *solers* ; probably a slip of Morinck's : for Dorp writes on l. 472 : 'codices solerter emendandos'.
- 468 quæcumque mihi impinguntur] in his letters to Cranevelt Dorp developed his ideal scheme of studying Scripture and Theology : *Cran.*, 74, 16-19, 85, 114, sq, 123, 145-230 ; 123, 21-39.
- 473 Hieronymus ... (475) Lyranus] these various correctors of some passage or other of the Vulgate are mentioned by Erasmus in the prefaces to his (1st, 4th and 5th) editions of the *Novum Instrumentum* : EOO, VI, **4 v, ***1 r, ***4 r.
- 474 Ambrosius] in his commentary on Rom., v : DorpLPaul., 1139-1156.
- 475 Thomas] DorpLPaul., 1015-1016.
- 475 Nicolaus Lyranus] Nicolas de Lyra, 1270-1340, the *Doctor Planus* & *Utilis*, gave in his famous *Postilla* the literal sense, and in his *Moralitates* the mystical interpretation of allegories and tropes, for nearly the whole Bible ; his exegetic works, which were the first that were printed, were generally used, also by Luther, especially for the *Genesis*, which gave rise to the saying : Nisi Lyranus lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset : Hurter, II, 558-62 ; Féret, III, 331-39 ; DenifleQ, 188-94, &c. — Dorp in his *Oratio* refers to Lyra's opinions about the Vulgate : DorpLPaul., 1016-1020.

- 475 Baptista Mantuanus in ... (476) de Christi Conceptione] Baptista Spagnoli, of Mantua, 1448-1516, who enjoyed a great popularity in the first decads of the xvith century, was more a poet than an exegetic author ; still he contributed to propagate the knowledge of the Bible ; his poem about the Virgin's motherhood, *Parthenice Mariana*, especially was admired, studied and imitated : Tiraboschi, vi, 958-960 ; JovEDV, 141-3 ; Hurter, ii, 1186 ; Allen, i, 47, 79, 49, 96-104 ; SaxOnom., 4, 576 ; Sandys, ii, 243 ; Renaudet, 125, 258, 260, 265, 281, 382-3, 409, 468, 518, &c. ; Pastor, i, 440-1 ; PastPäpste, iii, 108, 115, 253 ; Symonds, 518, 521.
- 447 De Interpretum Varietate] this evidently refers to the memoir which Baptista Mantuanus wrote to a friar of his order, Jerome of Milan, *De Causa Diversitatis inter Interpretes sacrae Scripturae*, in which he praises Reuchlin for his knowledge of Hebrew, and explains the differences between the Greek text and the Vulgate, and even the readings of St. Jerome : I. Baptistæ Mantvani... *Opera Omnia* : Antwerp, 1576 : iv, 226-231.
- 481 Leo Decimus] Leo X.'s privilege of Oct. 10, 1515 allowed Felix a Prato to translate the Bible anew into Latin ; it is printed in the Psalter by which he started.
- 482 Felicem Pratensem] Felix a Prato, who from a rabbin became an Augustine monk, was a successful preacher in Rome ; he was entrusted with several missions, and he died nearly a centenarian in 1559. He edited a *Psalterium ex Hebraeo*, Venice, 1515 ; also a *Biblia Hebraea* with annotations, which the famous Venetian printer Daniel Bomberg published for the first time in 1518 : Hurter, ii, 1493 ; Pastor, ii, 305 ; Sanuto, XLVI, 208 ; Tiraboschi, vii, 1083-4 ; Allen, ii, 456, 92.
- 482 Petrus Aliacensis] Peter of Ailly, 1350-1420, Gerson's master, wrote, besides commentaries on the Canticle of Canticles and the Psalms, two treatises, the *Epistola ad novos Hebræos* and the *Apologeticus*, about the authority of the Vulgate, St. Jerome's translations and the proposed corrections : Hurter, ii, 727-33. In his *Oratio* Dorp refers to one of them, or, at any rate, to one of

- d'Ailly's writings on the correcting of the Vulgate by means of the Greek texts, of which a manuscript copy belonged to St. Martin's Convent, Louvain : he quotes two passages from it : DorpLPaul., 921-46, 1053-6. Cp. L. Salembier, *Petrus de Alliaco* : Lille, 1886 : 304, sq, 321, also *Une page inédite de l'histoire de la Vulgate* : Amiens, 1891 ; P. Tschackert, *Peter von Ailly* : Gotha, 1877 ; *DogmGeschMZ*, 97, 557 ; Renaudet, 111-114 ; Féret, iv, 181-222 ; Rotta, 96, 158, 243, 413, 424-8 ; J. L. Conolly, *John Gerson* : Louvain, 1928 : 42, sq.
- 483 hodieque Cardinales quidam] in his introductory letter, *Pio Lectori*, to the 4th and 5th editions of his *Novum Instrumentum*, Erasmus mentions amongst the living authors who find fault with the Vulgate text : ' Paulus Episcopus Sempronianensis, R. D. Thomas Cardinalis Cajetanus in utrumque Testamentum, Felix <Pratensis> in Psalterium, Augustinus Augubinus in Pentateuchum : EOO, vi, **4 v.
- 490 Scripturam &c.] Dorp repeats in several places of his *Oratio* that Holy Scripture should take the first place in studies : DorpLPaul, 185-198, 568-594, 745-749, 834, sq.
- 492 cum Augustino] Dorp refers in his *Oratio* to the *De Doctrina Christiana*, II, 8, 12, and to the *Confessiones*, viii, 5, 12 : AugO, I, 754, III, 40, XI, 593-599 ; DorpLPaul., 578-587.
- 496 a limine salutarit] cp. the adage *A limine salutare* : EOO, II, 362, f.
- 499 si quid videri &c.] the importance which Dorp ascribes in theological studies to Holy Scripture (DorpLPaul., 591-94, 740-68, 779, sq), especially to St. Paul's Epistles (DorpLPaul., 811-880), seems to have roused contradiction. Cp. introduction to *DorpVita*.
- 511 claris exemplis] amongst others was Dorp's friend Josse Vroeye, *Lætus*, of Gavere, who having obtained the second place at the promotion of 1505, taught philosophy in the Lily ; he became a priest, and started studying theology, but he turned to Civil and Canon Law, in which he promoted doctor on May 22, 1520. He was professor of law from 1524 to his death, 1533 : cp. further, p. 127 ; VAnd, 182, 296 ; *Excerpts*, 92 ; *Cran.*, iii ; Allen, III, 717, 21 ; &c.

- 518 Conscientia mille testes] cp. EOO, II, 394, D.
- 526 suum cuique pulchrum] cp. EOO, II, 74, E.
- 527 Isocrate &c.] Cicero refers to the rivalry between Aristotle and Isocrates in his *Brutus*, 8-10, ³²⁻⁴⁰; cp. Isocrates, xv, 27, and Erasmus' apophthegm of Aristotle : Quum Xenocratis æmulatione cœpisset habere scholam, hoc carmen usurpavit... *Silere turpe, ac Xenocratem pati loqui*. Alii pro Xenocrate ponunt Isocratem : EOO, IV, 337, F.
- 530 sua quodque ansa &c.] EOO, II, 152, c : *Ansam quærere*.
- 534 sine linea] allusion to Pliny's remark about Apelles (*Nat. Hist.*, xxxv, 10, ⁸⁴), which has become the proverb *Nulla dies sine linea*.
- 535 Vetus verbum &c.] the adage is explained by Erasmus : *Efficimus pro nostris opibus mœnia* : EOO, II, 285, F.
- 544 Concordia &c.] Sallust, *Jugurtha*, x, 6 ; cp. EOO, II, 917, A, 929, A.
- 546 Paulus &c.] ROM., XII, 18 ; also HEBR., XII, 14.
- 553 manus sub pallio &c.] *Manum habere sub pallio* : EOO, II, 691, B.
- 554 dolium versabo] the adage reads *Volvitur dolium* : EOO, II, 1009, A.
- 554 iuxta Ismeniam &c.] evidently inspired by one of Erasmus' apophthegms : Antigenides Thebanus Ismeniae discipulo quum scite canens populo minus probaretur ; *Mihi, inquit, cane & Musis* : EOO, IV, 306, A.
- 555 vt Hieronymi vtar prouerbio] the place referred to has escaped my research.
- 556 quemuis arbitrum non recuso] cp. the adage *Cedo quemvis arbitrum* : *Adag.*, 436 b.
- 562 Ad penitentiam properat qui cito iudicat] this proverb attributed to Publius Syrus (with *qui* and *cito* in inverted order) is amongst the *Dicta Mimi Publani, ab Erasmo castigati, & elucidati*, in *Catonis Præcepta Moralia &c.* : Strassburg, 1515 : D ii v. Cp. *Adag.*, 432 b : *Iudicium præceps, insani iudicis Index*.
- 565 in spongiam] an allusion to Cæsar Augustus' reply to his friends inquiring about his projected tragedy : 'quærentibus ... *quidnam Ajax ageret ?* respondit, *Ajacem suum*

in spongiam incubuisse (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 85). This answer, on the humour of which Beroaldo commented, is quoted by Erasmus in the explanation of the adage *Notari ungui* : EOO, II, 295, c.

568 opuscula| cp. note to l. 17.

Dorp's Dedication of the
Questiones Quotlibeticæ
Hadriani Florentii to Man.

The edition of the texts of the various questions proposed and defended by Adrian of Utrecht at the erudite jousts, the *Quodlibeticæ*, in the University of Louvain ¹⁾ from 1488 to 1507, of which copies were circulating amongst the students, was undertaken by Martin van Dorp, and carried out by Thierry Martens, who published the stately folio in March 1515 under the title : *Questiones quotlibeticæ Excellentissimi viri : artium : et sacre theologie professoris longe celeberrimi M. Hadriani Florentii de Traiecto : Prepositi insignis ecclesie sancti Saluatoris Traiectensis : atque preclariss. academie Lovaniensis cancellarii* ²⁾. That publication was dedicated to Meinard Man by a letter which is interesting in many respects : it iterates the editor's deep gratitude to his protector for the kindness received, and celebrates again the abbot's enlightened zeal for the welfare of faith and religion ; it illustrates the frame of mind which characterizes Dorp during that period, when he was wavering between his engrossing studies of divinity and his literary bent ; between his humanistic friends in Martens' circle and his greatly admired masters of divinity ; between a sense of respectful, all-bearing tradition, and his shrewd vision of Church dignitaries unworthy of their office ; — in so much that he had become a living contradiction, as Thomas More pointed out, doing himself that for which he incriminated Erasmus ³⁾.

¹⁾ *StatFacArt.*, 26r, 78r ; *VAnd.*, 249-50 ; *ReusAdrVI.*, xxii ; de Jongh, 57.

²⁾ Iseghem, 249-51 ; *ReusAdrVI.*, xxii, sq.

³⁾ Cp. note to ll. 31, 53 ; More, in his Apology for Erasmus' *Moria*, further pointed out some contradictions made by Dorp in this dedicatory letter : *MoreLuc.*, 386, and notes to ll. 1, 7, 73.

This letter, moreover, testifies to the uncommon esteem in which the future pope Adrian of Utrecht was held, and to the veneration with which his experience and erudition was surrounded. Having been at work in the Faculty of Arts since he became licentiate, April 6, 1479 ¹⁾, and in the Faculty of Divinity at least since his doctorate, June 21, 1491 ²⁾, he had behind him a long past of efficient activity when, at the request of Margaret of Austria he took charge about 1507 ³⁾ of the instruction and education of the young prince Charles, whose great-grandmother Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, had defrayed the expenses of his doctorate in theology ⁴⁾. Though, from then on, he spent most of his time at Court in Mechlin or Brussels ⁵⁾, he kept in close connection with the University, to which he was repeatedly sent by Margaret on some commission about taxes or subsidies ⁶⁾, or which he helped by his intercession with his royal pupil, and his influence in Rome ⁷⁾. Still the strongest link that bound him to Louvain was the dignity of Chancellor of the University, ranking first after that of the Rector ⁸⁾. He had exercised that dignity from 1497, when he was appointed dean of St. Peter's Chapter in Louvain ⁹⁾; it belonged in right to the

¹⁾ He passed that act *in specie pauperis* : *LibNomI*, 85 v (putting ReusAdrVI., ix, in the wrong); he matriculated June 1, 1476 : *Adrianus florētii de trajecto inferiori* : *LibIntII*, 120 v ; *LibActArtV.*, 27 r, 55 r, 85 r.

²⁾ VAnd., 95 ; *PF*, I, 47-51 ; *BaxH*, II, 171-4 ; *BaxF*, I, 121-3.

³⁾ Moeller, 86-7, gives as initial date 1512 ; still Margaret of Austria called him already *pedagogus nepotis nostre* in 1510, and sent him on embassies in 1511 : VAnd., 96 ; Bergh, I, 226, 315, 320, 329, 341.

⁴⁾ VAnd., 95.

⁵⁾ Moeller, 86-88 ; Bergh, II, 92 ; Walther, 65 ; BuslOp., 47-48.

⁶⁾ In 1512 he was sent as *Commissarius* by Margaret to induce the University to contribute to the expenses of repairing the town-wall, which had suffered from the recent floods, by means of a tax on wine and beer ; he came to plead his case personally to the Faculty of Arts, who had proved refractory ; in 1513 he negotiated a loan for the costs of defence of the country : *AFAInd.*, 6, 7, 8.

⁷⁾ He gave his full support to the Faculty of Arts for the obtention of the *Privilegium Nominationis*, with the help of Charles of Austria, and of his own former pupil William of Enckenvoirt ; in return, the Faculty granted some dispensation to two Averbode monks in 1515 : *Cran.*, 141, a-e ; *AFAInd.*, 11, 12. In 1517 he advised the Faculty to make regulations for the nominations so as to avoid bad use : *AFAInd.*, 15.

⁸⁾ VAnd., 55, sq ; Vern., 36, sq ; ReusDoc., I, 370, sq.

⁹⁾ Mol., 136.

provost of that chapter, and only in his absence to the dean ; but the provosts of that period were regularly absent ¹⁾. Although Adrian was always ready to exercise his prerogative of conferring degrees ²⁾, his presence at the academical functions was not always compatible with his duties as preceptor, and councillor, and occasional ambassador ³⁾ ; at such junctures he delegated his friend John Briart, who came to be considered as *vice-cancellarius* ⁴⁾, especially since Adrian did not resign his deanery on his leave from Belgium, on October 1, 1515 ⁵⁾. For though the plurality of benefices may have been bitterly criticized in those times, and held up since as one of the horrors of the past, here is an instance of an upright man, one of the noblest hearts and loftiest minds of his and of all other times ⁶⁾, who largely availed himself of that incriminated privilege ⁷⁾, not for his own enjoyment,

¹⁾ From June 10, 1487 that dignity was invested on Nicolas le Ruistre, Rutherius, bishop of Arras, founder of Arras College : Mol., 130 ; VAnd., 301-2 ; ReusDoc., III, 155 ; Cran., x, sq ; FUL, 2237-40, 2391-3 ; &c. At his death, Nov. 15, 1509, he was succeeded by Conrad Renner von Ghingen, of the family of the Dukes of Brunswick, Doctor of Canon Law and Imperial Councillor, who was continually absent from Louvain ; he died in 1532 : VAnd., 59 ; ReusDoc., I, 390-1.

²⁾ He was present at the promotion of licenciates in Arts in 1511 : AFAInd., 2.

³⁾ Bergh, I, 315-20, 329-31 ; Walther, 65 ; DocPLiège, I, 232-7.

⁴⁾ The Vice-chancellor naturally replaced him at the promotions in Arts after 1515 : AFAInd., 12, 13.

⁵⁾ De Jongh, 9* ; Walther, 87, 101, 149. In August 1520, a controversy had arisen (and even quarrels during functions, at one of which Meinard Man was present) about the right which a vice-chancellor had to the chancellor's place in other functions than the promotions ; moreover Gabriel de Mera had obtained from the provost Renner the permission to replace him, and thus had contested to Adrian's deputy his right and power. At the University meeting of Aug. 11, a committee was appointed to examine the question ; meanwhile Adrian obtained on Nov. 7, 1520 from Leo X. a *motu proprio*, declaring that only the dean had a right to subdelegate. It was further stipulated that vice-chancellors took the chancellor's place only in an *actum cancellariatus* : Mol., 482-492 ; de Jongh, 21*-24* ; ReusDoc., I, 410-13.

⁶⁾ Höfler, 552-558 ; Pastor, II, 156-7 ; Pasolini, 128, sq.

⁷⁾ Hoyneck, III, I, 198-205 ; Bergh, I, 226, 342, II, 136 ; CorrAdrVI., 234-5 ; LibNoml., 85 v (his nomination by the Faculty of Arts to the Bishop of Liège, on Aug. 9, 1515, at his own house, in presence of John Helcheux de Fraxinis and Thierry Adriani de Heeze, which in 1516 he claimed, and requested to be transferred to his *familiares* Joannes de Fraxinis & Thierry of Heeze) : AFAInd., 15-16 ; Cran., 141, a-e, 228, a ; Diercxsens, III, 371 ; ReusAdrVI., xi.

but for the sustenance and the education of young men, to be made into efficient workers for the benefit of Church and State, in a series which after four centuries, is still developing ¹⁾. In the midst of a generation ready to break down ruthlessly whatever had given occasion to a perverse use, he stands as an unimpeachable proof that man's intention and discretion makes good or bad the things of this world, of which not one is either unexceptionally good or downright bad in itself. And that it was not a want of clear-sightedness that made him plod on, and keep far away from the broad way of rebellion and destruction, is apodictically proved by the famous instruction for the Nuremberg Diet to his legate Chieregati, November 25, 1522, than which no crueller statement of the corruption in the Church was ever written ²⁾. That document, compared to which the *Moria* is a child's joke, testifies to a courage which is almost more than human ³⁾, and which cannot but be founded on the keenest insight of truth. And again, this dedication with its unconditional praise of Adrian, and also of John Briart, as erudites, brought out in public by one who, to say the least, was progressing in erudition himself, shows that those who were not in complete sympathy with the movements of the day, cannot on that account be set down as backward and insignificant. In the forward movement of humanity the cautious slowness in the rear is often at least as efficient as the head-long audacity in the van ⁴⁾.

This dedicatory letter was not reprinted in the later editions of Adrian's *Quodlibeticæ* : ReusAdrVI., xxvi, sq ⁵⁾ ; it has been reproduced from the copy belonging to the Royal Library, Brussels (press mark : B 1550), according to the method used for the other documents in this book (cp. pp. 74-75) ; it takes up the entire reverse of the title-page ; its compactness and extraordinary amount of abbreviations suggests

¹⁾ Mol., 625 ; Vern., 206 ; VAnd., 303 ; PF, I, 544, II, 42 ; ReusDoc, III, 197 ; FUL, 2471-80, 2731 ; Cran., 76, a-c, &c.

²⁾ ReichstAkt., III, 390-404 ; ReusMarck, 76 ; Pasolini, 77-80, 128.

³⁾ Höfler, 273-5.

⁴⁾ Höfler, 557.

⁵⁾ It is already wanting in the 2nd issue ; Martens, July 1518 : Iseghem, 284.

that the rather lengthy letter had to be crammed into that small space, probably because the rest of the text had already been set, and subsequent quires had been printed off.

Louvain, March 24, 1515.

¶ REUERENDO IN CHRISTO PATRI : D. MENARDOVIRO :
ABBATI INSIGNIS MONASTERII HÆGMUNDENSIS : PATRONO
SUO BENEFICENTISSIMO : MARTINUS DORPIUS THEOLO-
GUS .S.

Multis iam annis, Religiosissime Pater, studiosi meis
auribus quotidie pene dixerim opplorauerunt, ‘Ecquando,
Dorpi, fructuosissimæ Quæstiones præclarissimi D. Can-
cellarii Louaniensis prodibunt ? Quoad, quesumus, miseri
5 desyderio fraudabimur nostro ? Ecquid, iis posthabitis,
ethnica etiam ac prophana prælum occupent ?’ Hiis
precibus, nec vlla allectus spe lucri, seria mea studia,
mihi quidem auro gemmisque chariora, seposui tantisper,
dum summo labore & acri iudicio hunc librum casti-
10 garem, adhibitis vno & altero laborum sociis, qui primas

(Title :) VIRO] a rare instance in which Dorp translated Man’s name into Latin. 1. studiosi &c.] More criticizes Dorp in his *Apologia pro Moria Erasmi* for being contradictory in this letter, praising the excellence of Adrian of Utrecht’s work, and implying that it has little value, since it was only through *precibus* and *opplorationibus* of others that he edited it : *MoreLuc.*, 386.

3. Quæstiones] evidently Quodlibeticæ : *ReusAdrVI.*, xxii to xxviii.

3. Cancellarii] Adrian of Utrecht, in virtue of his deanship of St. Peter’s : *Mol.*, 482. 6. ethnica] probably referring to the works of Lucian, Seneca, Aesopus and Plutarch, which Th. Martens had published since he settled in Louvain : *Iseghem*, 234-44, s 15-8.

7. seria mea studia &c.] this statement of Dorp’s is also shown as injurious to Adrian of Utrecht, as if his book was not to be considered amongst the *seria studia* ; also to John Briart, who, as is said further, sacrificed several nights even to midwife this book — although it was not worth his serious studies : *MoreLuc.*, 386-7.

9. summo labore &c.] Dorp’s edition proves excellent on a comparison with the autograph originals, which still exist in the *Codex Adriani VI.*, once belonging to his College in Louvain, now kept in the Higher Seminary of Mechlin : *ReusAdrVI.*, xli, sq ; de Jongh, 10, 66, 67, 97-99.

adhuc rudes schedas repurgarent, vt quas illi forte præ-
 teriissent latentes vepres, ego resecarem. Sed neque
 mihi sum vni innixus; quin vbi exemplaria, quotquot
 erant, deprehenderem mendis scatere, adii præsidium
 15 meum, ac huius celeberrimæ Academiæ ornamentum &
 Vicecancellarium M. Ioannem Athensem, Artium & Sacræ
 Theologiæ professorem ingeniosissimum dixerim an
 humanissimum? Qui & ipse precibus & qua valet gratia
 a D. Cancellario obtinuit, vt has tam raras merces patere-
 20 tur publicari; meque identidem adhortatus est & impulit
 (quid enim negem præceptori?) vt earum castigandi
 prouinciam susciperem, quo tam excellens tanti doctoris
 opus in manus hominum exiret quam emendatissime.
 Hunc itaque adii, hunc consului, huius sententiam, sicubi
 25 nodus incidit (quod quidem contigit persæpe) sum secu-
 tus. Ipse vero non est grauatus quouis tempore, vel
 intempesta nocte, suam operam simul atque expeteretur
 accommodare.

Porro eius quoque hortatu ac iussu, hanc preciosam
 30 margaritam, quibusuis vnionibus potiolem, tuo nomini
 dico ac nuncupo, Pater Ornatissime, qui te vnum videam

16. Ioannem Athensem] John Briart, a native of Belœil, near Ath, promoted doctor of divinity in Louvain on February 11, 1500, on which occasion Adrian of Utrecht made an oration: *ReusAdrVI.*, 164-170. He was Adrian's deputy for the deanery and consequently for the Vice-chancellorship of the University: de Jongh, 149-152, 21*; *Cran.*, 152, 2; &c. 19. obtinuit] the Faculty of Arts had made a similar request in 1512: *Facultas petit a D^o Adriano Florentii ut concedere dignetur sua quotlibet ut Facultas ea imprimi curet, et ei promittitur gratiosa propina: AFAInd.*, 7; no result seems to have been reached, except perhaps that Adrian allowed copies to be written out, which were probably Dorp's starting point. 31. te vnum &c.] this passage is similar to the one he had written before, when dedicating his *Oratio de Laudibus Disciplinarum* to Man: Proinde magna laus tua præstantissime pater, qui non illud arbitraris abbatem esse, ruri in principali arce deliciari, mulos atque equos deserto christi grege pascere, cœnobii cepta cane peius & angui odisse, quicquid est voluptatis ventri atque genio dicare, monachos procul e sublimi despicere, tamque raro in conspectum admittere, vt solo nutu dignari, plane sit beare, &c.: Dorp/*Disc.*, [A i] v-A ii r. It gave Morus the right to accuse him of what he carped at in Erasmus: qui dum illum <Abbatem> laudas, alios hoc pacto deploras: *MoreLuc.*, 420.

mus in hiis regionibus, inter tam multos opulentissimosque Ecclesiæ primores, qui inuiolatae religioni amorem copulaueris diuinæ legis; quique theologorum studiis,
 35 vti ab omnibus (sint modo synceri Christiani) longe saluberrima censentur, ita multo quoque candidissime faueas: neque id verbis tantum, sed re ipsa: quod equidem iterum atque iterum persensi: senserunt & alii theologi complures, ac plurimi posthac, auspice Deo,
 40 sunt foeliciter sensuri. Cuius rei argumentum est quod, annos abhinc duos, prudentissime dixisti, te nulli vnquam dominici gregis curam commissurum, qui non sit doctrina idoneus: vt vel Sacræ Theologiæ, vel Iuris Canonici Licentiatum fiat. O vocem auream, & salutarem, ac Hol-
 45 landicæ religionis antistite dignissimam! Hanc ego quum audirem, gestiebam læticia: cor in pectore saliebat! Hanc ego plausibiliter passim, vti præco, promulgo, vt videant homines opera bona, & Deum glorificent. Ergo in te vnum, Beneficentissime Patrone, Sacræ Theologiæ
 50 studiosorum oculi respiciunt; in te sua vota conuertunt; te sibi pollicentur eum fore qui quum Dei benignitate possis, etiam velis sacrarum literarum studia beneficiis fouere, & nutantia alioqui in fastigium erigere. Et o! si te emulentur aliquot in hac regione Ecclesiæ antistites,
 55 atque præ canibus & accipitribus, præcones sancti Euan- gelii, ac Christi ad populum legatos enutrient! Sed heu me! heu miseros eos, qui non religiosos agunt, sed cabal-

38. persensi] *DorpLDisc.*, A ii v; *DorpApol.*, 5-11; *DorpVita*, 371 n. 48. vt videant &c.] *Маттн.*, v, 16. 53. si te emulentur &c.] this passage is especially taken exception to by More; it shows that Dorp has no right to find fault with Erasmus' criticism in the *Moria*, since he does the same. — Is it *edentulum prorsus*, More asks, what is said here of prelates? — for by praising one, the others are blamed. He quotes the passage: *Heu me ... to peruenire* (ll. 56-60), and then adds: Hæc mihi Dorpi tam mordax facietia usqueadeo tibi blandita uidetur, ut ideo de equis potissimum locutus uideare, ne tam bonum dictum perderes: alioqui opinor uides, non usqueadeo magnum facinus esse, si abbates equitent, & bestiis in quos creati sunt usus utantur. Audiui etiam, nec alios Antistites equitare semper, & illum tuum <Menardum> interim, ut in illum etiam ipsum pene iocus tuus recidat, a quo eum cupis in alios auertere: *MoreLuc.*, 420.

lis stipati Cæsaris triumphos nobis referunt ! Quos satius foret humi repere, quam ad inferos equites properare :

60 ni pedites timeant serius illuc peruenire !

Cæterum hiis valere iussis, tu, Clarissime Pater, hunc librum gratanter accipe, quo multis sæculis nullus editus est singularissimæ eruditionis plenior ; id quod facile credes, si auctorem eius perpendas ; primum illud : non
 65 dico nugacis poeticæ, sed Philosophiæ, sed Sacrosanctæ Theologiæ, sed Iuris, Canonici dicam an Ciuilis, certe vtriusque lumen, M. Hadrianum Florentii, Cancellarium nostræ Academiæ ! Ecquis enim in syncera & philosopho digna dialectica hoc vno argutior ? Quis naturæ miracula
 70 nouit exploratius ? Porro, vt theologiam interim subtileam, in qua nemo herbam ei (vti prouerbio dicitur) non porrigit, quis quæso vtriusque iuris consultior ? quis moralis philosophiæ tenacior ! quis æquitatis (vt ita dicam) Lesbiæ perspicacior ? Hiis rebus videlicet factum
 75 est vt quum supremum dignitatis fastigium eius virtutibus Academia nostra asseruisset, neque haberet illa quod amplius conferret, cui amplius multo esset debitum, tum demum preciosissimus ille tot regnorum, tot prouinciarum thesaurus eius fidei atque institutioni creditus sit,
 80 Carolus Austrius, Hispaniarum princeps, quo nihil sol videt illustrius, nihil augustius, nihil ditionum opulentius. Idque factum citra vllam vel leuissimam ambitionis

71. nemo herbam &c.] Erasmus has the adage *Herbam dare* : EOO, II, 360, F ; cp. DorpApol., 47. 72 vtriusque iuris] several of the questions treated by Adrian of Utrecht belonged to jurisprudence : cp. ReusAdrVI., 235, 239, 243, &c. 73. æquitatis] evidently a reference to Aristoteles' *Λεσβία οὐροδομή* (*Moralia* to Nicomaches, v, 10, 7) ; this, as Erasmus explains in his adage *Lesbia regula*, was a leaden ruler, which, instead of remaining straight, adapted itself to the object on which it was placed : EOO, II, 217, c. More, later on, showed the preposterousness of that compliment : Quid quod eiusdem Hadriani dum æquitatem laudas, æquitatem ei Lesbiam uideris attribuere, ad Lesbiam nimirum regulam alludens, quam plumbeam fuisse meminit Aristoteles, non æquam semper, sed ad rerum inæqualitates flexibilem : MoreLuc., 387. In his *Oratio de Laudibus Disciplinarum*, 1513, Dorp had used the same proverb, and made a similar mistake about its meaning : DorpLDisc., D iii v ; cp. EOO, VI, ***2 r.

notam, decernentibus nobilissimis principibus diuo Max-
 miliano Augusto atque huius filia clarissima heroina
 85 Margareta, approbante nobilitate, postulantibus optima-
 tibus, acclamante plæbe : vt a quo principe tam innume-
 rabilis populi salus pendet, is a tali viro institutus,
 dignus euaderet maiorum imaginibus, tot imperatoribus,
 tot regibus, tot fortissimis ducibus, ac tantarum rerum
 90 successionem ; hoc est, vt Alexandro Magno ditionibus
 maior, non minori Aristotele vteretur præceptore.

Sed quid tam multis laudo, quem vno ore omnes probi
 absentem laudant, præsentem omnes stupentes suspi-
 ciunt. Huius itaque extra omnem ingeniorum aleam viri,
 95 hoc diuinum opus, Beneficentissime Patrone, singularis
 loco muneris accipe, & theologos tuos (nam eos commendo,
 non me) liberalitate, auxilio, beneficiis foue. Vale.

Louanii, ex Lilianorum Gymnasio, IX. Kalendas Apri-
 les Anno a partu Virginis M. D. XV.

85. Margareta] Margaret of Austria, the Regent. 86. plæbe]
 prob. read *plebe*. 88. imperatoribus] viz., of the house of
 Austria. 89. regibus] viz., his Spanish ancestors. 89. duci-
 bus] viz., the Dukes of Burgundy, and amongst them, his great-
 grandfather Charles the Bold, and the latter's grandfather, John
 the Fearless.

GERARD MORINCK'S

LIFE OF

MARTIN VAN DORP

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Occasion of Morinck's *Vita*.

When, on May 31, 1525, the Louvain professor of divinity Martin van Dorp was ravished before his time from a life of study, at the very moment when his manifold talents had reached ripeness, he left a feeling of bereavement amongst his students and friends, in so much that one of the latter, Adrian Barlandus, treated his decease as an event in the history of the world ¹⁾. Yet, after one year, his admiring pupil, and, at least for a time, his *convictor*, Gerard Morinck, of Kampen ²⁾, was appalled by the oblivion descending over the brilliant professor; wishing to save for posterity the figure of a well-beloved master and the recognition of his many accomplishments, he wrote a life intended to be only a first sketch to incite, and help, more qualified authors to compose a biography worthy of his value. The *Vita*, dedicated to Thierry Persyn, prior of the Louvain Carthusians ³⁾, one of the executors of the will, was also submitted to Erasmus, who must have been disappointed at the complete absence of any reference to Dorp's standing towards him and the New Studies, as, far from mentioning their quarrel and reconciliation, it barely hints at a casual acquaintance ⁴⁾.

¹⁾ Barlandus devoted to Dorp's decease a chapter of his *Rerum Gestarum a Brabantiae Ducibus Historia*: Antwerp, 1526: f r 3, reproduced in a collection entitled *Memorabilis Obsidio Ticini siue Papiae*: Antwerp, 1526: BB, v, 274, 2-3, 275, 3. The chapter has as title: *Mors clarissimi viri Martini Dorpij. Caput CLXXXIII*: BarlHist., 231.

²⁾ Cp. his biography in *Morinck and his Friends*, further in this book.

³⁾ Cp. note to the title of *Dorp Vita*.

⁴⁾ *Dorp Vita*, 246, 422.

Apparently he did not want to suggest any change, as, at that time, he was aggravated by the criticisms of some Louvain divines, and rather than kindling one more controversy by recalling old differences, he applied to Clement VII.'s authority to silence his detractors ¹). And yet apart from that dispute with Erasmus and from the difficulties with his colleagues, which were the result of their reconciliation, Dorp's life is singularly devoid of that which makes a biography interesting : it can be summarized in birth and childhood, in a natural development of his academical career in Louvain, and a premature death ²). Still as Morinck's *Vita* is rather the description of Dorp's zeal and activity as theologian — an aspect which is not so well known — it serves as a foil to the history of his disputes with Erasmus and with the Louvain divines, — which is added here, so as to provide a vivid and true picture of the struggle between the old spirit and the new, between Tradition and Renaissance, between poets and theologians, between the Church and Humanism — typified in a man, who, if not a genius, was

¹) Aggravated by the obloquy of Nicolas Baechem, whom Adrian VI. had already enjoined to desist from his attacks (Allen, v, 1359, 2), Erasmus complained incidentally to his friend the Datary John Matthew Giberti, Sept. 2, 1524 (Allen, v, 1481, 57-66). Since things went worse after the publication of the *Apologia in... Librum <Erasmii> ... de Confessione ... per Godefridum Ruysium, Taxandrum*, March 21, 1525, when Vincent Dierckx and his friends started their violent criticisms (*Cran.*, 148, a-h), Erasmus and his protectors finally brought Clement VII. to interfere : he entrusted Thierry of Heeze, returning home, with the confidential mission of silencing especially Baechem and Dierckx. As matters did not seem to improve, the Datary wrote to Hezius on July 21, 1525, urging him to interfere, whilst on July 12, 1525, Albert Pigge sent his famous letter in favour of Erasmus to the Louvain divines : *Recueil*, 48-51 ; Allen, vi, 1589, 1589a. Hezius caused the two friars to abstain from telling names and calling Erasmus a heretic, but he justified their criticisms in a report to Giberti, Oct. 26/7, 1525 : BalanR, 552-563. Cp. *Cran.*, 148, h, 97, c, 228, c, d ; de Jongh, 221, 227, 257 ; KalkAnfGeg., i, 76 ; Brom, i, 158, 843, ii, 351 ; *Aléandre*, 246 ; Allen, vi, 1717, 6, sq.

²) Biographical notices — with more or less details — appear in many histories or dictionaries : Mol., 513 ; Vern., 272 ; VAnd., 101 ; *BibBelg.*, 648-9 ; Opmeer, i, 460 b ; *BatSac.*, 247 ; *HEpU*, 424 ; Foppens, ii, 852-3 ; *PF*, i, 62-4 ; BaxH, ii, 184-5 ; BaxF, i, 129 ; *RamDisquis.*, 22-3 ; *NèveMém.*, 113-130, 398, sq ; *NèveRen.*, 174, sq ; *ULAnn.*, 1873, 391, sq ; *ReusDoc.*, ii, 16, iv, 245 ; Seebohm, 313, sq ; FG, 338 ; Allen, ii, 304 ; de Jongh, 162, sq ; *Cran.*, 24, a, b, 152, a, b ; BW ; BN ; Enders, ii, 368 ; Renaudet, 651.

at any rate remarkable as the possessor of most contradictory gifts : for his erudition in the classic authors was as sound as his insight in things of faith and theology ; and his accomplishments as interpreter and imitator of Plautus brought him no less celebrity than his extraordinary proficiency in the art of sophistical debating, denounced by all humanists as one of the chief causes of that intellectual and moral decadence which was threatening Church and Society with utter ruin in those days when mediaeval conceptions were struggling with the dawning ideals of modern times.

Dorp's Training and Teaching.

The Pedagogy or College of the Lily, where Dorp received his University training, was already alive at the time of his entrance with the spirit of humanism : it was the *primum apud Lovanienses politioris literaturæ domicilium* ¹⁾ : its halls, which had dozed so long under the halting and common-place phraseology of Charles Viruli's *Epistolares Formulæ* ²⁾, were roused to an ever growing excitement by the pure and graceful diction of his successors Leo Outers ³⁾ and

¹⁾ Dorp *Vita*, 155 n.

²⁾ That collection of model letters was published in Louvain first by John Veldener, April 1476 ; then by John of Westphalia, in an undated edition : Lambinet, 251, 271-3 ; it was reprinted in Paris (Will. Regis), 1482, 1490, Deventer (Rich. Pafraet), 1501, 1503 and Cologne (H. Quentel), 1498 : *BibBelg.*, 128. Erasmus (*De Conscribendis Epistolis* : EOO, I, 390, 6) testifies to their popularity in past years, but denies them any lasting interest ; John de Spouter thought that they were too bad to be Viruli's work : *Syntaxis* : Strassburg, Matth. Schürer, 1515 : cxviii v ; cp. *BB*, D, 267, 5 ; *EpObsVir.*, I, 18 ; *PF*, I, 397 ; *NèveMém.*, 9-10.

³⁾ Leo Outers, or Wouters, *Gualterus*, of Hondschoote, promoted M. A. (Oct. 20) 1485, being classed sixth : *LibArtActV.*, 28 r, 31 v ; *PromRs.*, 60 ; whilst continuing his studies and gaining the degree of Licencié in Canon Law, he taught in the Lily, and was an efficient help to the regent Carolus Viruli in his last years. At his death, May 13, 1493, Outers shared the management of the college with his son Nicolas Viruli, and greatly contributed to its prosperity. He transferred that direction partly to Cornelius Heymans, of Axel, and to John de Neve, which gave rise to contestations afterwards : *Cran.*, 26, b, c, 186, a, and further, pp. 180, sq. He was elected University Rector in August 1499 and 1502. About 1505 he left the Lily to take care of his several benefices :

John de Neve ¹⁾ : their eloquence and erudition gained them the esteem of Erasmus, who counted them amongst his oldest and staunchest friends in Belgium ²⁾. Strenuous work was further carried out by a group of erudite and zealous students : amongst them Gerard Cannyf, *Cannifus*, of Meuwen, near Bree ³⁾, John Becker, of Borssele, *Borsalus* ⁴⁾, John Ceusters, *Custodis*, of Brecht, near Hoogstraeten ⁵⁾, and John de Spou-

amongst them the parish of Dunkirk, a prebend in St. Lambert's and the provostry of St. Paul's in Liège; in that town, where he had become chancellor, he died June 6, 1532; by a deed of Aug. 8, 1528, and his wills of May 8, 1529 and July 2, 1530, he founded several scholarships in the college to the welfare of which he had devoted his best powers : Mol., 298, 476, 617-9, 631-2; Vand., 40, 261-2; FUL, 1138, 1224-5; ReusDoc., I, 261, IV, 176-7, 244-5; he probably is the *Leo* delegated by the bishop of Liège to make an agreement with the duke of Brabant : Nov. 1511 : *DocPLiège*, I, 235-7.

¹⁾ John de Neve : cp. *Cran.*, IV, 26, a-f; *MélMoell.*, II, 82-6.

²⁾ Erasmus made their acquaintance during his stay in 1502-3 : Allen, II, 298, III, 735, 8.

³⁾ Gerard Cannyf was the first of the promotion of M. A. in 1494 : *PromRs.*, 63; he became Bachelor of Divinity, whilst he worked and taught in the Lily; afterwards he became headmaster of the Hertogenbosch *Fraterschool*, as results from de Spouter's grateful reference to him and his erudite eloquence in the dedicatory letter of his *Grammaticæ Prima Pars*, Aug., 16, 1512 : *BB*, V, 247, 2, 249, 3. He died a canon and vice-decanus of St. Lambert's, Liège, having founded by his will of May 14, 1543, two scholarships to be erected either in the Lily or the *Bursa Laurentiana* of Cologne : his executors decided in favour of the Lily : Mol., 632; FUL, 1226; Paquot, IX, 170; *BB*, V, 247, 2; *Cran.*, 288, c, d; Coppens, II, 219; ReusDoc., IV, 244; Tarlier, 154-5. The 'Gerard de Mewen', who matriculated in Cologne Aug. 25, 1462 (Keussen, I, 686), was probably an uncle, which explains the sympathy shown to that University; the favours granted in his will to the students of Bree leave no doubt as to his native village Meuwen, situated 7 kms. to the south-west of that town, where he may have possessed some benefice.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, IV, 12, e.

⁵⁾ John Ceusters, or de Coster, matriculated on Nov. 2, 1493 : *Excerpts*, 91; he obtained the first place in the promotion of M. A., April 16, 1496 : *PromRs.*, 64; and became one of the cleverest teachers of his time. After having been active for some years in the Lily, possibly also in the Castle (ReusDoc., IV, 31), he took the lead of Groningen school, from where he was appointed head of that of Our Lady's Chapter in Antwerp. Peter Gilles dedicated to him his edition of Angelo Politiano's *Epistolæ Lepidissimæ*, dated on May 4, 1510 (Iseghem, 229), and the group of Antwerp humanists found in him a most sympathetic collaborator and an excellent preceptor. In 1517 he helped Cornelius Batt, one of Erasmus' friends, to a good post in Groningen : Allen, II, 545, 14; about 1518 he abandoned public teaching, and, retiring to his native Campine,

ter, *Despauterius*, of Ninove ¹). On the advice of their masters John de Neve and the much older John Maerschallck, of Racour ²), especially Cannyf and Ceusters corrected Alexander of Villedieu's metrical grammar, the *Doctrinale Puerorum* ³), comparing its rules with the actual language in the various literary documents, and adapting the secular book to the requirements of the developing literary study ⁴). It resulted in the *Grammatica Latina* which became classic in the Lily ⁵); it was the starting point of their grateful pupil de Spouter ⁶), who, omitting all the unnecessary precepts and prolix explanations, brought light and clearness in the chaos, and composed the *Commentaria Grammatica*, on which throughout Europe humanistic instruction was based during several centuries ⁷).

When after enjoying that training with congenial fellow-students like Josse Vroeye, of Gavere ⁸), and probably James

devoted his time to private instruction until his death in 1526 : *LibAct-ArtV.*, 111 r, 136 v ; *Mol.*, 601 ; *BibBelg.*, 488 ; *Diercxsens*, iv, 18 ; *BB*, v, 247, 2, 249, 3 ; *Cran.*, iv, 288, c ; *Allen*, iii, p. xxxi ; *BN*.

¹) *Cran.*, iv, 288, c-d.

²) John Maerschallck, of Raetshoven or Racour, was already teaching in the Lily in 1484 : *ReusDoc.*, iv, 244 ; de Spouter gratefully mentions him and his lessons in the dedication of the second book of the *Ars Versificatoria*, December 23, 1509, whereas in that of the fifth book, dated May 7, 1511, he expresses his sadness at hearing of his decease : *LibActArtV.*, 13 v-103 r, 162 r ; *BB*, v, 294, 3, 4.

³) Renaudet, 28 ; *BrüdGemLeb.*, 154 ; *Wimpf.*, 88 ; Zarncke, 346, sq ; &c.

⁴) Similar work was done by several erudites : de Spouter (*BB*, v, 247, 2, 249, 3) praises as the most efficient, besides Custos, the Groningen teacher Hermann Torrentinus : *BibBelg.*, 384 ; *BrüdGemLeb.*, 55, 120 ; *Ullmann*, ii, 319.

⁵) That book went under Custos' name and was several times reprinted : a last time by Plantin under the care of Martin Lipsius — probably as a manual for the Latin school of St. Martin's : *BibBelg.*, 488 ; *Allen*, iii, 750, *pr.*

⁶) *BB*, v, 214, 7, 247, 2, 249, 3, 294, 3.

⁷) *BB*, v, 214, 4-15.

⁸) Josse Vroeye, *Lætus*, of Gavere, matriculated on February 28, 1499 : *Excerpts*, 92 ; *LibIntIV.*, 13 r, and promoted M. A. in 1505, being second to Francis de Cranevelt : *PromRs.*, 67 ; *Cran.*, iii, &c. He turned to the study of law, whilst teaching Latin and philosophy in the Lily : he wrote verses for de Spouter's *Syntaxis* (Strassburg, Schürer, 1515 : *BB*, v, 267), and was gratefully mentioned by Adrian Amerot in the preface to his *Compendium Græcæ Grammatices* : *Cran.*, 257, a. He seconded de Neve in the contestation about the regency in 1516 :

of Hasebroeck ¹⁾, Dorp was called on to ascend to the desk, and to continue the tradition both as teacher of Latin and as 'legens' of philosophy, he set to work with enthusiasm ²⁾. Improving on his own masters ³⁾, he based his lectures on literary texts instead of on extracts or on mediaeval treatises; as he was necessarily handicapped by the scarcity of editions, he made as much as he could out of those which were within his reach, explaining them with such a thoroughness that he could produce in the reality of performances by the 'Grege Lilianus', the *Aulularia*, the *Miles*, and probably other plays of the Latin 'Comicus' ⁴⁾. Those successful exhibitions incited imitation: another Latin teacher of Louvain, Adrian Barlandus, had comedies acted in the Porc and the College of

AFAExc., 57-60; FUL, 727; and took up some offices in the Faculty of Arts; in return he was appointed, being a priest, to several collators in Flanders: *LibNomI.*, 72 v, 90 r, 111 v, 112 v, 122 v, 125 v, 136 r, 141 r, 160 v, 164 r, 174 r, 175 v, 198 v (which proves the supposition of his marriage to be wrong: BaxH, iv, 581); AFAExc., 60, 90. On May 22, 1520 he promoted *Doctor Vtriusque Juris*, and was elected rector in February 1521; during his rectorate his nephew and homonym matriculated as his servant: *Excerpts*, 102; *LibIntIV.*, 14 v. On April 30, 1521, he was appointed president of St. Ivo's College (FUL, 1875); on Nov. 16, 1524, professor of Civil, on Oct. 16, 1526, of Canon Law: *Analectes*, xxxix, 294-304. On account of his literary abilities he succeeded John de Palude as *Dictator Universitatis*, Feb. 28, 1526, and was again rector in Febr. 1529; his health having been precarious for several years (FG, 6, 3), he died on February 10, 1533: *ULExTest.*, 168, 237; Mol., 545; VAnd., 182, 41-2, 50, 156-7, 296; Vern., 98; PF, i, 262; ReusDoc., i, 263-4, 315, III, 107, iv, 246. Vroeye was one of Erasmus' staunchest friends; at Neve's death he saw to his property, which had been left in the Lily: FG, 6, 357; Allen, III, 717, 21, 932, 53, v, 1347, 1355; EOO, i, 749, A.

¹⁾ James van Castere, of Hasebroeck, studied medicine, and taught philosophy in the Lily from 1511 to 1519 (ReusDoc., iv, 246); he was '*procurator nat. Fland.*' from June 2, 1516 and Sept. 30, 1518; he was one of Erasmus' friends, and is without doubt the '*Iacobum medicum*' whom John Becker wishes to be greeted along with Vroeye and the other *convictores* of the Lily on March 28, 1519: Allen, III, 932, 54 (it is hardly probable that James Bogaert should have been an inmate of the Lily at his age and in his circumstances); *LibNomI.*, 125 v, 140 v.

²⁾ Dorp promoted master of Arts on April 2, 1504, and soon afterwards, at latest in 1505, he was entrusted with the teaching of philosophy in the Lily; most probably he had not waited for that appointment to lecture in Latin: *DorpVita*, 158 n; *DorpDial.*, A i v.

³⁾ *DorpVita*, 238 n.

⁴⁾ *Aulularia* was acted on Sept. 3, 1508, *Miles* probably on Shrove Tuesday, February 20, 1509: *DorpVita*, 239 n, 423 n.

Arras ¹⁾), and throughout the country the *ludimagistri* came to consider it as part of their programme to give a public representation of the play read during the year ²⁾). On the other hand these representations naturally raised the question whether the boys' minds and morals would be improved by that brooding over the licentious dialogues and by that impersonating of the rather dubious personages of Plautus' plays. Probably on that account Dorp counteracted the Latin 'Comicus', and composed a '*Dialogus : in quo Venus & Cupido omnes adhibent versutias : vt Herculem animi ancipitem in suam Militiam inuita Virtute perpellât*'. This dialogue, which was also acted in the Lily 'coram doctissimorum corona' ³⁾), may have been conceived as Christian : yet it was undoubtedly pagan in expression and representation, and even in inspiration, since the victory of virtue is due to no higher motive than the commonplace wish of avoiding any prejudice against health and property ⁴⁾).

Dorp's erudition and enthusiasm made a great impression on his students : several distinguished themselves by their ability and later success in life — amongst them Alexander Aython, 'ex Adincho' ⁵⁾); George de Backere of Ghent ⁶⁾ and the great professor of Canon Law, Michael Drieus, *Driutius* ⁷⁾).

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 62, a.

²⁾ In his dedicace of the *Tomus Aululariæ* to Jerome de Busleyden, Dorp wrote that his dramatic work so pleased the learned 'vt & crebris litteris & in celeberrimis etiam oppidis actionis calculo comprobaue-rint' : Dorp *Dial.*, D ii v. As instances of plays acted in schools may be pointed out those performed in the St. Donatian's Chapter school, Bruges, by the pupils of Gerard Bachusius, Leonard Clodius and Adrian Chilius, 1523-1533 : Schrevel, I, 134-5 ; *Cran.*, 39, a, 55, b, 99, d.

³⁾ Dorp *Dial.*, A ii v.

⁴⁾ Dorp *Vita*, 426 n.

⁵⁾ He was the first M. A. in 1510 : *LibActArtV.*, 293 v, 294 v ; *PromRs.*, 69.

⁶⁾ Morinck points him out as one of the cleverest of Dorp's pupils : cp. Dorp *Vita*, 177 n.

⁷⁾ Michael Drieus, or Drieux, *Driutius*, of Volckerinchove, near Cassel, was classed 10th on becoming M. A. in 1516 : *PromLv.*, 6 (not, as in *PromBr.*, 26 v, *PromRs.*, 73, the 2nd of 1521, who was 'Nicasius Wineel de Casleto') ; he taught in the Lily, entering the University Council on that account on Oct. 2, 1525 ; he promoted *Doctor Utriusque Juris* on September 13, 1530, and was professor of Canon Law until his death, Sept. 16, 1559. He was Dean of St. Peter's, and consequently Chancellor of the University : also Official of the Bishop of Liège and Inquisitor of the Faith. Having been a most influential personage, he perpetuated

He contributed even more to the intellectual development of his staunch friend throughout life P  ter de Corte ¹⁾, who whole-heartedly favoured study and research in every direction ²⁾; also of the great professor of Greek, Adrian Amerot ³⁾, and of the zealous John van den Cruyce, *Crucius*, or *Gutius*, of Bergues ⁴⁾, all of whom continued in the Lily the work which had given him the lead of the Louvain humanists.

If his proficiency in the knowledge of the Latin language and literature, and his accomplishments as teacher and trainer of students, made of Dorp one of the chief promoters of the new movement, he was in complete ignorance of, if not in decided opposition with, its principles in several other respects. He had been appointed *legens*, or lecturer, of philosophy soon after he took his degree of M. A., probably as early as the end of 1504 ⁵⁾; and for several years he equally divided his time between the study of dialectics, of metaphysics, and of physics, in the wide sense as it was then accepted, on the one hand ⁶⁾, — and that of classic literature, on the other ⁷⁾. Yet favourer of humanism though he was, he seemed unconscious of the great disturbance brought about in the world of thinkers by the closer study of Plato, resulting from the controversy between the idealistic Platonists and the realistic Peripatetics; having originated in the decadent

the good which he did during his life by founding one of the finest Colleges of Louvain : Mol., 137, 478, 546, 643; Vern., 97-8, 107, 228-9; VAnd., 185-6, 311-2, 403, &c.; PF, I, 265, II, 60; BaxH, IV, 587, IX, 149; BaxF, II, 74, III, 169; ReusDoc., III, 258, IV, 246; FUL, 2933-50, 3052-4; LibNomI., 170 r, 177 v (1522); Schrevel, I, 268; SchrevRDri., 4-6.

¹⁾ *DorpVita.*, 176 n; *Cran.*, 83, a-h, 152, 4-14.

²⁾ Peter de Corte favoured Erasmus and humanistic studies : Ent., 16, 54; *Cran.*, 213, c, 9-21; he introduced public teaching of Greek in the Lily : Ent., 17; *Cran.*, 257, a, 8-14; he shielded Gerard Mercator in his trouble with the inquisitors : Henne, IX, 59; and proved a real patron to Livinus Lemnius : Paquot, I, 361.

³⁾ *Cran.*, xxii, 257, a, &c.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 257, b; *LatCont.*, 392-3; Allen, VII, 1932.

⁵⁾ In his dedicatory letter of the *Dialogus* to John de Neve, probably written in the last months of 1513, he refers to his past work as teacher as « Superiori nouennio ... quo in tuo ... gymnasio philosophiam docui » : *DorpDial.*, [A i] v; cp. note to *DorpVita*, 426.

⁶⁾ *DorpVita*, 160, sq, 163-172; *DorpDial.*, [A i] v; *CollectGeld.*, 151.

⁷⁾ *DorpDial.*, [Ai] v, Aii r.

Byzantine East, it had flared up in the nascent West ¹⁾, where Gemistos Plethon, Marsilio Ficino and Bessarion took up the struggle against George of Trapezunt, against Theodore Gaza and George Gennadios, until the contention calmed down under the efforts of men like John Pico della Mirandola, who tried to conciliate the heterogeneous elements of those systems with each other and with the Christian dogmas ²⁾. Apparently ignoring even the disparity between the Aristotle of tradition and the Aristotle revealed in his moral and economic writings by Leonardo Bruni's translations ³⁾, Dorp stood up as the great Stagirite's champion, not on account of an intimate knowledge, but in obedience to the statute of the Faculty of Arts ⁴⁾; he vindicated him and his adepts, the Scholastics, against the attacks of the great Italian humanist Lorenzo Valla ⁵⁾ in his lectures and in an oration pronounced before the University on December 3, 1510 ⁶⁾. The membership of the Academic Senate bestowed upon him through his Faculty ⁷⁾, might account for that recantation, if the description of his own lectures did not prove it to be his own opinion: no man in Louvain was more proficient in dialectics and in the bitterly criticized sophistry than this paragon of humanistic *ludimagistri* ⁸⁾. That ambiguous glory caused him deep regrets later on, when he burnt what he had idolized ⁹⁾, and deplored the complete loss of time and efforts which might have been devoted to the study of the Bible or of Cicero ¹⁰⁾. Still at the

¹⁾ Riekel, 31-50; Sandys, II, 58-63.

²⁾ Renaudet, 80, sq; Sandys, II, 60, 71, 74, sq; Symonds, 200, sq.

³⁾ Sandys, II, 46; Renaudet, 80-81; Symonds, 184.

⁴⁾ The *Statuta Facultatis Artium* stipulated: 'Magistri et scholares defendere teneantur doctrinam Aristotelis, nisi ubi ea fidei nostrae repugnauerit': *StatFacArt.*, 19 v; *LibActArtV.*, 42 v; Mol., 1096. Using Aristoteles' books, and adhering to his doctrines, was also compulsory in Paris, and in many other Universities: Renaudet, 366, sq.

⁵⁾ W. Schwahn, *Lorenzo Valla. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Humanismus*: Berlin, 1896: 13, 28; Renaudet, 81; Sandys, II, 67; &c.

⁶⁾ That oration was printed with the *Concio de Assumptione*: Louvain 1514: DorpConc., C iiii-[C 6] r; Iseghem, 245-6; DorpVita, 158 n, 420 n.

⁷⁾ On February 28, 1510, he had entered the University Council as a member of the Faculty of Arts: VAnd., 102.

⁸⁾ DorpVita, 185-192. Cp. pp. 136, n 4, 137, n 1.

⁹⁾ In his later writings he condemns sophistry: DorpLPaul., 594-792; DorpApol., 297, sq; Cran., 85, 114-135, 258.

¹⁰⁾ DorpVita, 193-204.

time he seems to have revelled in it; it appears that in his search for truth, and in his pursuit of ideal teaching and learning, he was handicapped by vanity; that a desire to outshine all others kept this herald of the new spirit in literature, under the influence of the old tradition in studies and methods. And yet that tradition had, for several centuries, stopped all progress of knowledge by making the University, not a beneficent home for unselfish research, but an idle arena for vainglorious tilting.

M. v. Dorp, Theological Student.

The partisans of the old-spirit University were still numerous and powerful enough in Louvain to make it worth while courting their approbation. Nor had Dorp broken off at all with them. He had taken up the study of theology after his promotion of Master of Arts, probably starting in October 1504; and, for several years, he attended some of the lectures, apparently perfunctorily, as his mind was engrossed with the teaching of Latin and of philosophy. His great friend and protector, the Benedictine monk Meinard Man, of Egmond Abbey, may have advised him to that effect; afterwards, probably about 1509, he even induced him to abandon the *scholares tumultus* for a thorough study of theology, probably so that he might have been able to provide him with some benefice ¹⁾, to which his election as abbot, Nov. 10, 1509, gave him more facilities ²⁾. Consequently Dorp returned him thanks

¹⁾ In the dedication of the *Oratio de Laudibus Disciplinarum*, Dorp addressing Man declared: 'Tu siquidem vnus amplo sacerdocio ocium mihi ad studia tranquillum suppeditasti, tu me scholaribus tumultibus eripuisti': Dorp *LDisc.*, A ii v; on one hand, degrees in divinity were often required for the ampler and richer benefices; on the other, the new kind of study soon released Dorp from the necessity of lecturing in the schools, which in those days must have been crowded, unruly and noisy, to say the least: the meek Vives wrote from Louvain to Erasmus on Aug. 15, 1522: 'Me tenet tantum scholarum taedium, vt quiduis facturus sim citius quam ad has redire sordes et inter pueros versari': Allen, v, 1306, 43-45.

²⁾ Cp. above p. 68.

repeatedly in his writings ¹⁾; — which, however, did not prevent him from expressing his gratitude to John Briart, one of the chief professors of divinity at that period ²⁾, for nearly the same service, namely for causing him to pursue divinity instead of the *poetica blandimenta* ³⁾. Still these words may have to be taken in a more special sense than 'literature', and Dorp had in mind a particular occasion in which Briart's advice was decisive.

Indeed it was about 1509 that he stood at the cross-ways; the Louvain town authorities, evidently impressed with the excellence and the results of his teaching, offered him the succession of Balthasar Hockema for the lesson of Latin Poetry connected with the Faculty of Civil Law; in their desire of securing his able services, they even proposed to pay him higher wages than to any of his predecessors ⁴⁾ — although men like Lodovico Bruno and Francis of Crema had filled that chair ⁵⁾. If Dorp had accepted, he would have had to spend his life in humanistic work, and would have been lost for ever to theology. No wonder that a zealous and earnest promoter of that study, like Briart, should have tried to acquire for the good of his Faculty and of divinity in general, a young man who had already attained such brilliant success in teaching and in dialectics. He may even have approached the abbot Man with the request to indemnify his protégé as soon as possible with an *amplum sacerdotium* ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ Dorp *LDisc.*, A ii v; Dorp *DedQuotl.*, 34-38; Dorp *Apol.*, 5-11; Dorp *Vita*, 371 n.

²⁾ De Jongh, 149-152; *Cran.*, 152, 2, &c.; Allen, III, 670, *pr.*, 675, 21; Dorp *Vita*, 268 n; Dorp *DedQuotl.*, 16.

³⁾ Dorp *Dial.*, A ii r; 'per hec ... vitam totam consumpsisset, nisi ... Joannes Briardus ... ad theologiam euocasset': Dorp *Vita*, 266-9. The same feelings are expressed by Dorp to Briart in the dedicatory letter of his *Concio de diue virginis ... assumptione*: Dorp *Conc.*, [A i] v.

⁴⁾ On September 22, 1519, Dorp wrote that this offer had been made to him 'annos abhinc decem': Dorp *LPaul.*, 45-50; RE, 175.

⁵⁾ Cp. note to Dorp *Vita*, 238, for the history of 'de lesse jn poeterien'.

⁶⁾ It is more than probable that an upright churchman like Meinard Man had a substantial reason to entrust the parish of Overschie (cp. note to Dorp *Vita*, 371) to a student who, whatever were his abilities, was hardly twenty-six in 1511. On the other hand, he evidently showed great favour to students of theology and canon law, as results

At any rate he made Dorp refuse the offer and induced him to become a *baccalaureus biblicus* ¹⁾ : in accordance with the Statutes, he introduced him to the Faculty, and, in view of the past five or six previous years of study, he got him admitted, and empowered to teach provisorily or *pro forma*, reading and explaining cursorily two books of the Bible. Besides other duties prescribed, there was a Latin oration to be delivered before the University at one of the chief feasts ²⁾ : Dorp did so on that of the Assumption, 1510, when he pronounced his *Concio de diue virginis in coelum assumptione* ³⁾. It was greatly admired for its eloquence ; three years afterwards Jerome de Busleyden still insisted in several letters on having it published ⁴⁾.

Dorp, who passed the three degrees of the Bachelorship and fulfilled all the prescriptions ⁵⁾, could not possibly have continued all his lectures in the Lily ; most apparently he followed the advice of the abbot Man and of John Briart, keeping those on philosophy ⁶⁾, and abandoning those of Latin language and literature. The teaching of the new bache-

from Dorp's statement that he would only appoint licentiates as parish-priests : Dorp*DedQuotl.*, 38-44 ; it is also recorded that he attended an academic function in connection with a doctorate, May 1520, at which happened a most disappointing contention about precedence : Reus*Doc.*, 1, 374 ; de Jongh, 22*.

¹⁾ The *baccalaurei biblici*, or *cursores*, were those, who after having attended some lectures of theology for 5 or 6 years — changes were made in that stipulation at various periods — were introduced to the Faculty «a magistro presente et actu regente», and admitted ; they were to read and explain according to the 'glosas' one book of the Old and one of the New Testament : UL*Ann.*, 1882, 384-7 ; Mol., 1016-7 ; de Jongh, 63-5.

²⁾ UL*Ann.*, 1882, 386 ; Mol., 1019 ; de Jongh, 64 ; note to Dorp*Vita*, 297.

³⁾ The *Concio*, dedicated to John Briart, Lily, Febr. 11, 1514, was published with his *Oratio in laudem Aristotelis* (Dec. 3, 1510) by Thierry Martens, Louvain, February 18, 1514 : Iseghem, 245.

⁴⁾ Busl*Op.*, 214-5, 250-2.

⁵⁾ Having been *baccalaureus biblicus* from 1509 to after August 15, 1510, he promoted *sententiarius* ; on Aug. 9, 1511 he is recorded as *formatus* : Dorp*Vita*, 371 n ; UL*Ann.*, 1882, 387-91, Mol., 1018-19 ; de Jongh, 64-65. — He became Licenciate between October 14, 1513 and February 18, 1514 : Dorp*Vita*, 295 n.

⁶⁾ When on June 14, 1515, he requested a nomination from the Faculty of Arts, he is styled in the register as : 'plusquam sex annis legit de concilio facultatis existens' : Lib*Noml.*, 81 v.

lor was without doubt greatly appreciated by fellow-students and masters on account of his proficiency in eloquence and dialectics. Still that new success did not entail a complete rupture of his old attachment : for, as he owed to his friend Gerard Geldenhouwer, on January 24, 1512, he had only turned to theology, because it provided preferment and benefices ¹⁾, the alternative being a life of continual drudgery as *ludimagister*, or as private teacher, such as had fallen to the lot of most of his fellow-workers in the humanistic direction.

With some of those, especially with John de Spouter, John Becker and Adrian Barlandus, he had kept closely connected ; he took a vivid interest in their work, and encouraged their publications with letters of recommendation or with laudatory verses ²⁾, especially after he had been drawn, about the beginning of 1512, into the circle of which Thierry Martens' printing-press was the centre ³⁾. Probably he made there the acquaintance of Gerard Geldenhouwer ⁴⁾, whose *Satyræ* he praised as early as January 24, 1512 ⁵⁾; of Nicolas van Broeckhoven ⁶⁾; of Peter le Barbier, *Barbirius* ⁷⁾; probably also that of Cornelius Grapheus ⁸⁾ and Peter Gilles, *Aegidii* ⁹⁾. That connection with Martens and the knot of his decidedly humanistic correctors, became even more intimate after his removal to Louvain, in so much that Dorp became his zealous collaborator as well for literary as for theological publications. That did not spoil his good understanding with the professors of divinity and their leader John Briart, to whom he and at least one other member of Martens' group dedicated their

¹⁾ 'Fui fateor', he wrote, 'avidus mundioris literaturæ cultor. Verum simulatque persuasum habui, nusquam ullum esse mæcenatem : relictis Musarum sacris, ad theologiam me contuli' : *CollectGeld.*, 151.

²⁾ Cp. notes to *Dorp Vita*, 420, 430.

³⁾ Iseghem, 29, 90, 100, 115, 118, 125, 129-32, 142, 151, 251.

⁴⁾ Iseghem, 90, 118, 138-9, &c. ; *Cran.*, 179, a, 240, a-i.

⁵⁾ *CollectGeld.*, 151-2 : in that letter Dorp mentions that Geldenhouwer had just asked that the *fores amicitiae* should be opened to his knocking.

⁶⁾ Iseghem, 90, 141, &c. ; *LatCont.*, 382-3 ; *Cran.*, ix, 24, b, &c. ; *Goch*, 276-82 ; Allen, III, 616, 14 ; &c.

⁷⁾ Iseghem, 90, 113, 115, &c. ; *Cran.*, 89, a-d.

⁸⁾ Iseghem, 23, 139-40, 170, &c. ; *Cran.*, 179, b-d.

⁹⁾ Iseghem, 90, 100, 116-8, 126, 135-6, &c. ; *Cran.*, 159, a-f.

works ¹⁾; nor with the Faculty of Arts either; for in her name he pronounced on October 1, 1513 ²⁾, before the assembled Academy the so-called *collatio* or oration which opened the *ordinarium* ³⁾. The choice of the subject, 'in *Laudem Omnium Artium*', is quite characteristic of the duality of interests in the brilliant lecturer.

Indeed he praises the various disciplines in the order of their importance : of the first, *Grammatica*, the parent and nourisher of all sciences, he is pleased to state that she is now 'mundior, ornatior, decentior, venustior' than she used to be; yet she wants more pains since up to that time 'omnes chartas foeda barbaries obsederit'. As to the second, the *Dialectica*, which Aristoteles called *Logica*, he deplores that this cultural discipline is contaminated by the trifles, absurdities and dotage which some 'scioli, & argutiarum fabri' ⁴⁾ advocate in the numberless manuals, which were then coming over from France ⁵⁾. The third, Rhetoric, of which Æneas Sylvius ⁶⁾, John Antony Campanus ⁷⁾ and Rudolph Agricola ⁸⁾ had lately given magnificent examples, he wished to be quite different

¹⁾ Dorp dedicated to Briart his *Concio*, published February 18, 1514; Nicolas van Broeckhoven inscribed to him his editions of treatises by Hughes, and by Richard, of St. Victor, 1512-13 : Iseghem, 233, 237, 245-6.

²⁾ '1513' Ipso die Remigii et Bavonis post collationem latinam nomine et ex parte facultatis artium per <Mgr. M.> Dorpium de Naeldwyck factam, et statutorum Universitatis publicationem, tenta fuit Congregatio Universitatis : copied from *LibActUnV.*, 250 v, by de Jongh, 52.

³⁾ According to the Statutes, that *Collatio* was pronounced in the refectory of the Austin Friars, or wherever the University gathered : after that were proclaimed the names of those who intended lecturing during the opening year, and the statutes were read out; then the assembly went to attend the University-mass in St. Peter's : *ULStat.*, 604; Mol., 894; de Jongh, 48, 52.

⁴⁾ Possibly an allusion, after all, to James Faber Stapulensis' edition of Aristoteles' *Libri Logicorum ad archetypos recogniti, cum novis ... commentariis*, printed in Paris 1503 and 1510 : Renaudet, 414, sq; if so, it shows the lack of consistency in Dorp's sympathy with humanism.

⁵⁾ Some of these are described by Renaudet, 64, 95, 101, sq, 366, sq. — Dorp *LDisc.*, [A 6] v.

⁶⁾ Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini : *PastPäpste*, II, 1432, &c.; Weiss, 24, sq, 50, sq; Sandys, II, 73, 220, 251, sq, 273, &c.; Symonds, 358.

⁷⁾ Gian Antonio Campano (c 1427-1477) : Sandys, II, 72, &c.; Symonds, 249; Iseghem, 243, 306, s 14, s 18.

⁸⁾ Rodolphus Agricola (1444-1485) : Allen, I, 23, 57; Sandys, II, 253, 258, &c.; Symonds, 544; &c.

from the garrulous philology ¹⁾. Then follows the praise of the mathematical arts, arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy; of physics and of medicine; of metaphysics, ethics and of jurisprudence; whereas, highest amongst all sciences, Divinity is celebrated in an enthusiastic encomium as the crown and end of all sciences. In conclusion all the hearers, young and old, rich and poor, are invited to a strenuous study of all those branches of learning comprised in one term, *philosophia*. To the attainment of that end contributes in a great part the felicitous aspect and the atmosphere of Louvain, and the excellence of her University, of which both the staff and the students are duly celebrated.

Dorp's *Collatio* cannot but have been warmly appreciated: it was published by Th. Martens already on October 14, and again reprinted in Nov. 1513, with a letter — quite humanistic in spirit — dated from the Lily, October 5, which dedicated it to the Abbot Meinard Man ²⁾. The success which greeted this publication brought Dorp again in close contact with the humanistic group, and without doubt led him to bring out the works he had composed when he was still devoting all his time and efforts to his literary lecturing. In quick succession Martens printed his *Tomus Aululariæ* and his *Dialogus* about Hercules' temptation; having appeared first by themselves, they were again issued together, with other matter, in February 1514 ³⁾; in that same month was brought out the *Concio de Virgine* with the *Oratio in Laudem Aristotelis* ⁴⁾. The high favour which welcomed each of these books and evidently caused their quick succession, revived in Dorp the enthusiasm which had animated his Latin lectures at the Lily; he turned again to his old pursuits and devoted all his care to an accurate edition of a translation from Isocrates ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ Dorp reproaches those who practise philology for their complete lack of inventive power: 'postquam decem vuculas, non omnibus vsitatas, e putribus chartis, vel mutilo saxo eruerint: non aliter gestiunt, ac triumphant, quam si gallias subegissent': it sounds as if he jeered at humanists searching for old documents or digging for old Roman inscriptions: Dorp *LDisc.*, B ii v.

²⁾ Dorp *Vita*, 420 n; Iseghem, 240-41.

³⁾ Dorp *Vita*, 239 n, 423 n, 426 n; Iseghem, 246-7.

⁴⁾ Dorp *Vita*, 420 n; Iseghem, 245-6.

⁵⁾ Allen, II, 298, *pr*; Iseghem, 254-5.

and of the *Dialectica* by Rodolph Agricola ¹⁾. His growing interest for humanistic studies was so evident that it caused uneasiness : even as broadminded a churchman as Jerome de Busleyden took him to task, and reminded him of his *uirilis toga*, of his *prouectior ætas*, and of his recent *theologica Laurea* ²⁾ to urge him to *alia studia, id est, maiora, grauiora, sanctiora, pientiora* ³⁾ !

On the other hand it brought the pleasing favour of the most famous scholar of his time, Erasmus. When that great man spent some months in Louvain in 1502 and 1503, staying at the house of John des Marais, *Paludanus*, the University Rhetor ⁴⁾, he most certainly made the acquaintance of the full-grown humanists in the Lily, Leo Outers, John Becker, and John de Neve ; but also that of the young and brilliant Dorp, who, addressing him in his letter of September 1514, calls himself ' *primum olim tibi familiarissimus* ' ⁵⁾. When on his way from Cambridge to Basle, Erasmus passed through Louvain, on the last days of July and the first of August 1514, that old connection was renewed with such heartiness that Dorp could glorify himself for having been one of the rare acquaintances, almost the only one, who had been sent for, and had enjoyed a most intimate interview ⁶⁾ ; although highly sensitive and most jealous of his renown as erudite and editor, the great scholar had left the proof of his complete confidence in his young friend, by entrusting to his care the publishing of the text of some ethic writings by Cato, Mimus Publianus and the ' *Septem Sapientes* ' revised by him, as well as of his own poem *Institutum Christiani Hominis* ; he had prepared them for publication during his short visit ⁷⁾,

¹⁾ Iseghem, 248 ; MutRufE, 566.

²⁾ Between October 14, 1513 and February 18, 1514 : cp. note on *Dorp-Vita*, 295.

³⁾ BuslOp., 215.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 1, c.

⁵⁾ Allen, II, 304, 6.

⁶⁾ In his letter of September 1514, Dorp wrote to Erasmus : ' *nuper qum hic esses, humanissime abs te iussus accersi pene solus* ' : Allen, II, 304, 7.

⁷⁾ They were published under the general title *Opuscula aliquot Erasmo Roterodamo castigatore* : Louvain, Thierry Martens, September

and left to Dorp the responsibility of seeing them through Martens' press ¹⁾).

Dorp's Admonition to Erasmus.

In the calm of that serene atmosphere fell like a bolide Dorp's admonitory letter to Erasmus, in the latter half of September 1514.

Along with the finish of the printing of the *Opuscula* the Louvain professor announces the displeasure caused to several friends by the reading of the *Moria*, which ill-treats the theologians, whereas for the sake of the general welfare, their authority on the ordinary people should be kept unimpaired ²⁾). Consequently, with repeated protestations of his affection and of his right intentions, Dorp advises Erasmus to counteract that bad impression by writing a *Laus Sapientiae* ³⁾). He further praises the design of providing a corrected edition of St. Jerome's correspondence ⁴⁾), but expresses his diffidence in the plan of publishing castigations of the New Testament by comparing the Vulgate with the Greek texts, to which he emphatically denies any pre-eminence; he enjoins extreme caution and strongly dissuades every attempt at a change, as the very possibility of a discussion or a doubt about the authority of the Latin text is ruinous to faith ⁵⁾).

That unmistakable challenge of Dorp's remained unanswered for several months: Erasmus was in Basle at the time, and the provoking letter, of which the text meanwhile was freely communicated to friends and acquaintances ⁶⁾), may not

1514; the book was dedicated to John de Neve, by letter of August 1, 1514, and also contained Rudolph Agricola's translation of Isocrates' *Parænesis ad Demonicum*: Allen, II, 298, *pr*; Iseghem, 254-5.

¹⁾ Allen, II, 304, 156-60.

²⁾ Allen, II, 304, 25-27.

³⁾ Allen, II, 304, 74-5.

⁴⁾ Allen, II, 304, 81-86.

⁵⁾ Allen, II, 304, 86-146.

⁶⁾ On that account Dorp was taken to task by More later on for having allowed his letter to circulate in copies before Erasmus had seen it: *MoreLuc.*, 367-8.

have reached him. On the other hand he may have been set aghast at the unwarranted veering of an outspoken partisan, whom he had favoured with his intimacy only a few weeks before. In the uncertainty of the real meaning of that attack, and in his fear of rousing against him and his forthcoming *Novum Instrumentum* the animosity of a powerful University, he possibly waited for information, which he failed to obtain. When in March 1515, he came to Antwerp on his way to England, he may have requested some of his confidants — a Peter Gilles or a Nicolas van Broeckhoven, — to inquire into the matter; on his return from Britain, about the end of May, he finally drew up the answer, declaring that Dorp's letter had been shown to him by a friend in Antwerp — which after all may have been the case ¹⁾.

Although there is no necessity to suspect Dorp of having lent his help to a mean manœuvre ²⁾, it is more than probable that the change in his feelings towards Erasmus was due to the influence of his surroundings. On the threshold of the doctorate of Divinity, he could not but have shared the excitement which was felt amongst his elders and masters on account of the turn which the controversy had taken between John Reuchlin and their former student and friend, the Cologne professor and inquisitor James of Hoogstraeten, in the struggle started by Pfeffercorn as to whether Jewish books were to be kept or destroyed: one party, the « theologians », standing for tradition, the other, the poets, comprising the innovating humanists and jurists. Summoned by Hoogstraeten to appear before his inquisition Court of Mayence on account of his *Augenspiegel*, Reuchlin had appealed to the Pope, and had been favoured by the sentence given on March 29, 1514, by Thomas Truchsess, acting as deputy of the papal legate at Speyer, according to which the book in dispute

¹⁾ Allen, II, 337, 1-2 : Non fuit reddita nobis epistola tua, sed tamen exemplar, haud scio quo modo exceptum, amicus quidam exhibuit Antuuerpiae.

²⁾ Erasmus suspected it; cp. Allen, II, 337, 23 : siue hanc <opinionem> ex teipso conceperis, siue instillauerint alii, qui te ad eam epistolam scribendam subornarunt, quo sub aliena persona suam agerent fabulam.

was declared free of all heresy, and his contradictor was condemned to silence and to the payment of all the expenses ¹⁾).

Although several universities had disapproved of the *Augenspiegel* ²⁾), they had, up to then, considered the quarrel merely as personal; Hoogstraeten's unexpected condemnation caused a general alarm; in so much that the calm Adrian of Utrecht wrote on April 21, 1514, from Mechlin to Cardinal Bernardino Lopez de Carvajal ³⁾ to advise him of the gravity of the event, and to beseech him so to influence the Pope 'ut huic morbo cancro sine mora litiumque ac processus dispendio, conveniens medicina paretur seu remedium' ⁴⁾).

Until about the end of July 1514, when he passed through Louvain, Erasmus had kept entirely out of the controversy. To be true, he had received a letter from Reuchlin whilst he was in England ⁵⁾, and probably had answered it ⁶⁾; also, though he disapproved of Reuchlin's vehemence, there was hardly any doubt as to which side had his sympathy. His opinions became much more decided on his way to Basle: when staying at Mayence in the first half of August, he secured a copy of the incriminated *Augenspiegel* ⁷⁾, and even met its author, if we have to take as exact Hutten's statement quoted by John Crotus in a letter to Conrad Mutianus Rufus, dated from Fulda, June 11, <1515> ⁸⁾.

¹⁾ Paulus DD, 94-102, 119, sq; Janssen, II, 43, sq; Hutten, 131-190; Pastor, I, 219-222; Celtis, 31-32; MutRufE, 404-411, &c.; Friedlaender, 14-18; Geiger, 290-305.

²⁾ Viz., Cologne, Mayence, Erfurt, Paris; the University of Louvain had declared it suspect and not to be read by the people: Friedlaender, 102, 111; Geiger, 282-4.

³⁾ Legate *a latere* of Jules II. in the Netherlands: AléaJo., 10, 13; Moeller, 41; Pastor, I, 220, 37-40, &c.; PastPäpste, III, 290, 551, 626, 694, sq, &c.

⁴⁾ The letter was taken from Mechlin to the Cardinal Bernardino by one of Adrian's pupils, then 'in sacris litteris professor': Friedlaender, 101-2, 111-12; Geiger, 305.

⁵⁾ The letter is dated from the Francfort Fair, April 1514: Allen, I, 290.

⁶⁾ Allen, II, 300, 37.

⁷⁾ Allen, II, 300, 8-14; Janssen, II, 54, sq.

⁸⁾ MutRufE, 597-99: that letter certainly belongs to 1515, as it mentions Erasmus' passing through Mayence in the very beginning of the month, which agrees with the information provided by his correspondence, according to which, between May 21 and June 30, 1515, he had

Without doubt a messenger was sent from Basle to Belgium on the last days of August or the first of September with a letter to William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, dated Basle, August 30, 1514 ¹⁾, and probably with others. Apparently some of these letters — maybe one to Dorp, — or at least, the word of mouth of the carrier, announced in Louvain the startling news that Erasmus was in full sympathy with Reuchlin; that he admired the *Augenspiegel* almost unconditionally, and that he was working at St. Jerome ²⁾ and at an annotated edition of the New Testament according to the Greek ³⁾.

That information retailed by Dorp ⁴⁾ must have alarmed his masters, who probably feared that Erasmus should turn out a second Reuchlin. For if he had not studied Hebrew yet, he was going to compare the Vulgate with the Greek, and to propose emendations for places deemed incorrect. That piece of news could not but cause a great perturbation, as the

journeyed from London to Basle: Allen, II, 335, 337, *pr*, 341. Referring to Erasmus, Crotus writes: 'Reuchlinus et Buschius obmutuerunt illo loquente anno praecedente Moguntiae teste Hutheno meo': MutRufE, 599. If the meeting of Erasmus with Ulrich von Hutten and Herman van den Busch is founded on reality (*Hutten*, 152-53; *KalkHutVag.*, 175; *KalkUlHut.*, 66-7), that with Reuchlin seems to be a mistaken or wrong statement, for the letter which Erasmus wrote to him on June 30, 1514, although mentioning his stay at Mayence, gives the impression as if they had not met as yet: for Erasmus acknowledges the receipt of his letter in Britain and relates the effect caused by its news on Fisher and Colet; he asks a copy of the *Augenspiegel* for them, and expresses a doubt whether his reply reached Reuchlin: these and several more pieces of news can hardly have been communicated to a man with whom he had had a personal interview since they had happened; nor would Erasmus have written: 'Magnopere cupiebam tecum coram colloqui, verum, vt video, non licebit', — if he had met Reuchlin a few days before: ReuchlE, 224-5; Allen, II, 300, 1-4, 37-40; — unless this letter should have to be taken as fictitious, and merely made up in confirmation of an actual conversation, with a view to publication: it is indeed included in the collection of *Illustrium Virorum Epistolae*: Hagenau, May 1519; in that case Erasmus' judgment of his friend would impress the reader much more effectively as impartial and impersonal, if their first interview was ignored. Cp. Geiger, 337.

¹⁾ Allen, II, 301, 44-51.

²⁾ Allen, I, 296, 152-4, II, 305, 224.

³⁾ In most of his letters of that period Erasmus mentions his *Novum Testamentum*: Allen, I, 296, 155, *sq*, II, 300, 31, 305, 222, *sq*.

⁴⁾ Allen, II, 304, 82, 86-7.

Vulgate had since long been taken as the only authentic text, and admission of incorrect readings might be subversive for some doctrines; it was sure to shake faith in general, if ever it came to be known by the average Christian ¹⁾. Moreover that correcting was going to be based on texts in the language that was generally considered as the very source of heresy ²⁾. And finally the man who was to propose those emendations, far from giving due honour to the theologians, with whom the welfare of Church and State rested, had criticized them as bitterly, and had covered them with as much scorn and derision as ever Reuchlin had done, in a pamphlet which was even going to be reprinted in Basle with the annotations of Gerard Lister ³⁾.

The hope of sparing the Church and the body of divines, to whom he already belonged, the scandal and the jeopardy of a controversy as irksome as that between Hoogstraeten and Reuchlin, may have prompted the impulsively generous young man to run the risk of offending the big erudite by telling him his duty. Still it is also possible that on account of the partiality which Erasmus had shown him, his masters incited him to write that admonitory letter, without any worse intention, however, than staving off a serious danger of which the great Humanist himself, in their opinion, might have been in the first victim. It certainly would explain the unexpected change in Dorp's tone towards his friend and the three points of his letter, as well as the repeated wish to let Erasmus know what people, and even his best friends, think about him in his absence ⁴⁾.

¹⁾ Allen, II, 304, 135-140; Seebohm, 314, *sq.*

²⁾ Allen, II, 304, 111-116; *Cran.*, 213, c, 9-21.

³⁾ The *Moria*, illustrated by Lister's commentary, was reprinted three times by John Froben between the end of 1514 and that of 1516: one edition has no date; a second appeared 'Mense Martio 1515' and a third, also without date, closes with Erasmus' reply to Dorp's admonitory letter, dated Antwerp, <May,> 1515: *BB*, E, 846, 847, 848. Gerard Lister, of Rhenen, was an old student of John Paludanus, to whom he gratefully dedicated the Commentary on the *Moria*: Allen, II, 495, *pr.*

⁴⁾ Allen, II, 304, 13-16, 38-55. On account of a few words 'supra mille locos annotasse <or loca annotavi>, non sine fructu theologorum', which are found both in Dorp's letter, and in that of Erasmus to the

At any rate in May 1515 Erasmus thought that he was justified in suspecting the prompting of three ¹⁾, or certainly of one ²⁾, of Dorp's masters, who by flattering his vanity made the licenciado take up already the part of a theological censor of a much older man. That opinion was also More's, who, a few months later, points out that Dorp is goaded onward by men whom he would more fittingly command than obey ³⁾, and that he betrays his vanity ⁴⁾ by remarking that it is better to be praised than blamed by the *rustici*, and that even a dog wagging its tail gives satisfaction ⁵⁾. It thus appears that Erasmus and his friends considered Dorp as a cat's paw, and even a rumour to that effect seems to have circulated in the latter months of 1514; probably it was to that rumour that Reuchlin referred, when, on November 21, 1514, he announced to his friend James Questenberg, the papal *cubicularius*: 'Lovanii fertur, hoc adversariis esse constitutum, ut si me oppresserint, Erasmum Roterodamum sint aggressuri, et ita singillatim omnes se velle poetas (sic enim bonarum literarum studiosos appellant) eradicare; sed dii meliora' ⁶⁾.

prior of Steyn, Servatius Rogerus, July 8, 1514 (Allen, I, 296, 156, II, 304, 87), it has been suggested that Rogerus was amongst Dorp's instigators: Seebohm, 314. Still the occurrence of the same sentence in those letters does not imply that instigation — it would have required an interview, of which there is not the least trace nor appearance. It merely suggests that those documents belong to the same period; for it is a well-known fact that Erasmus frequently repeats the same phrases in letters written or dictated in the same frame of mind; and naturally so. The remark in question is so typical that Dorp may have heard it from Erasmus' lips during his visit; or from the messenger's, who must have passed through Louvain about the time when he wrote his admonition; possibly he took it from a letter which was brought on the same occasion: cp. above p. 142.

¹⁾ Allen, II, 337, 24, 348-50, 359-60, 876-92.

²⁾ Allen, II, 337, 373-4: 'imo vnum duntaxat esse puto apud vos istius auctorem tragoediae'. It is venturesome to identify that 'vnum'; still, considering the various professors of theology and their feelings towards humanism, it seems as if Erasmus had in mind his antagonist John Briart, of Belœil, near Ath, whom he, later on, often called *Ατ7*, *Noxa*: cp. note to *Dorp Vita*, 268.

³⁾ Allen, II, 304, 57-59.

⁴⁾ *MoreLuc.*, 384; also 414, 418, 427-8.

⁵⁾ *MoreLuc.*, 419.

⁶⁾ Friedlaender, 47.

The existence of such a preconcerted plan, according to which the theologians were to attack Erasmus, although it may never have gone beyond the fancies of hot-headed adversaries, seemed implied by the fact that Dorp's letter circulated widely amongst foes and friends long before it reached its addressee ¹⁾, and also by the lack of real conviction of which its author gave an evident proof when he edited, in March 1515, the *Questiones Quotlibetice* of his master Adrian of Utrecht ²⁾: dedicating the book to his patron Meinard Man by a letter dated March 24, 1515 ³⁾, he bitterly criticized the luxury and the pomp of abbots and prelates, thus strangely contradicting his own admonition to the author of the *Moria*.

Erasmus' *Apologia*.

When, in May 1515, Erasmus returned from England, he wrote in Antwerp a reply to Dorp's letter ⁴⁾. By a repeated expression of thanks for the advice imparted, and by his calm and considerate plea, he evidently tried to secure Dorp's goodwill; whereas the praise of his accomplishments ⁵⁾ and the recurring suspicion about the influence and incitement of others in the writing of the admonitory epistle ⁶⁾, was without doubt intended to draw the brilliant, but impulsive, scholar from his new Mentors back to his former friend.

He argued that the *Moria* had been designed to do good both as advice and as warning ⁷⁾; that only vice and abuse

¹⁾ Allen, II, 337, 1-2; *MoreLuc.*, 367-68.

²⁾ *Questiones quotlibetice ... Hadriani Florentii de Traiecto*: Iseghem, 249-51.

³⁾ The text of that letter, which was already omitted in the second edition, 1518 (Iseghem, 284), is reproduced here p. 116, sq.

⁴⁾ Allen, II, 337, 24, 348-9, 359-60, 373-4, 876.
in the editions it was enlarged and arranged as a proper 'apologia'; Seebohm, 316-319.

⁵⁾ Allen, II, 337, 5-7, 611-615.

⁶⁾ Allen, II, 337, 24, 348-9, 359-60, 373-4, 876.

⁷⁾ Allen, II, 337, 41, 92 (:Admonere voluimus, non mordere; prodesse, non laedere; consulere moribus hominum, non officere), 358.

were attacked, and no persons ¹⁾; and that he had not insisted more on the divines than on any other dignity or profession. He had, he said, only criticized the wrong conception about the study of that mistress of all sciences, which makes it consist chiefly of idle debates, *ociosæ disceptatiunculæ* or *logomachicæ*, and not of the thorough understanding of the Bible and of the teaching of the Fathers of the Church ²⁾ by means of an adequate familiarity with those languages in which they had originally been written ³⁾. Referring to Dorp's excellent style and erudition, Erasmus strongly advises him to start learning Greek literature : it would add the *colophon* to his *præclaris initiis*, and secure for him such accomplishments in the study of theology as nobody amongst the recent divines had ever attained ⁴⁾.

As to the second point, Erasmus feels sure that those who condemn the *Moria*, will also disapprove of the edition of St. Jerome's works, for in his exegetic studies, he refers to the Greek and Hebrew texts ⁵⁾. That brings in the third point, which vindicates the edition of the New Testament, based on the Greek text ⁶⁾, since the Fathers of the Church considered it as the purest and the best, whereas the Vulgate, although generally accepted, had never been approved of as such by any Council. Erasmus adds that he is the eagerer to bring out his text and notes, as of the two similar works which Dorp seems to judge sufficient, the one, by Lorenzo Valla, which

¹⁾ Allen, II, 337, 160, *sq* ; considering that vice and corrupt habits had become so general that they were practised quite openly, it would have been useless to attack their votaries straightway : the criticism would have been left unheeded, or would have caused its author to be utterly crushed. Ridicule and irony forced themselves upon everybody's attention and disarmed the most vindictive susceptibilities.

²⁾ Allen, II, 337, 386, *sq*.

³⁾ Erasmus praises the knowledge of the three languages and accounts it impudence for a divine to glory in ignoring them : Allen, II, 337, 603-8.

⁴⁾ Allen, II, 337, 609-648 : he finishes his urging exhortation by assuring that he knows several *cani* who started studying Greek, 'quod tandem animaduertissent sine his mancum ac caecum esse litterarum studium' : he himself was about thirty when he took up that language : Allen, p. 7, I, 19-20 ; Pennington, 64.

⁵⁾ Allen, II, 337, 660, *sq*.

⁶⁾ Allen, II, 337, 713, *sq*.

he himself had edited, is too rhetorical, and the other, by James Lefèvre, of Etaples, is not exact enough in many an instance ¹⁾. The long letter closes with an urgent request to his friend not to let himself be turned away by others from what is right, and with the assurance, which he offers to all his detractors, that he only aims in all that he does at the *publicam omnium utilitatem* ²⁾).

Erasmus published this reply with three other letters, also dated May 1515, in *Iani Damiani Senensis ad Leonem X. Pont. Max. de Expeditione in Turcas Elegeia* : Basle, John Froben, August 1515. The text, however, as it is published there, does neither agree with what is quoted from it in Dorp's reply, nor in More's apology. It follows that, as he did on other occasions, he enlarged and touched up the text of the letter which was actually sent, and which is probably lost ³⁾. Apparently that original letter was very short and condensed, being written during the fatigues and distractions of the journey ⁴⁾; and it brought the promise of a more copious answer as soon as he would have arrived in Basle. That copious answer — evidently the text published in August, — had not yet reached Dorp when he wrote his rejoinder ⁵⁾, nor More either when he made up his admonitory letter ⁶⁾. When, however, Froben's issue did arrive in Louvain, Martens at once reproduced it : he had just reprinted the *Opuscula* or *Lucubrationes* of September 1514 ⁷⁾), which would

¹⁾ Allen, II, 337, 835, *sq.*, 326, 90, *sq.*; *BB*, E, 298, 3-8.

²⁾ Allen, II, 337, 875-892.

³⁾ Allen, II, 337, *pr.* Still the fact that Dorp in his rejoinder does not refer to that enlargement of the letter actually sent, proves that Erasmus did not change any of his assertions, but merely made them more readable to the non-initiated. On Oct. 30, 1517, Charles Ofhuys wrote from Paris, referring to this apology : 'Quid luculentissime responderis perspexi, probavi etiam', praising further the *Novum Instrumentum* and Erasmus' other works : Allen, III, 692, 1-12.

⁴⁾ Allen, II, 337, 20-23.

⁵⁾ Allen, II, 347, 8-9 : non miror, cum pollicearis ex Basilea copiosius te responsurum.

⁶⁾ More *Luc.*, 367 : Alteræ <literæ> ... quibus tibi breuiter, utpote fessus ex itinere, atque adeo in eodem adhuc itinere occupatus, satisfacit, copiosius idem se facturum professus cum Basileam delatus esset.

⁷⁾ Iseghem, 254-5 ; Allen, II, 298, *pr.*

have been a suitable means to bring it out ; now instead he joins it ($=\gamma$), in one volume, to (α) a reprint of Erasmus' *Enarratio in Primum Psalmum*, first published in the Strassburg edition of the *Lucubrationes* of September 1515 ¹⁾, also (β) to Dorp's first letter ; and he corrects some of the misprints in the Basle edition ²⁾. Judging by that text, the apology of the great Humanist was most friendly and considerate ; it offers a fair and full exposition of his views ³⁾, and quite justifies the statement he made, later on, to Peter le Barbier : ' Seis me nihil non tum fecisse tum passum fuisse, ne cum Dorpio conflictarer ' ⁴⁾.

Meanwhile Dorp's humanistic friends were heaping live coals on his head. On June 13, 1515, Thierry Martens published a small volume containing, first, Cornelius Grapheus' *Exprobratio in Diocletianum Cæsarem pro diuo Pancratio*, and moreover Gerard Geldenhouwer's *Satyræ Octo ad Verae Religionis Cultores* ⁵⁾, to which were prefixed two letters. In the one, dated January 24, 1512, Martin van Dorp declares to Geldenhouwer, that he left the cult of the Muses for theology merely because he was persuaded that otherwise ' nusquam ullum esse mecenatem ' ; also that notwithstanding he has lost all practice of literature, he is certain to be right when he advises the printing of those *Satyræ* ⁶⁾. By the second letter, dated Louvain, December 18, 1514, Geldenhouwer offers to his friend Conrad Vecerius ⁷⁾ the manuscript of the *Satyræ*, with which he can do his pleasure. Still if he ever wants to edit them, he is urgently requested to prefix Dorp's

¹⁾ *BibErasm.*, I, 119, 161 ; Allen, II, 327, *pr.*

²⁾ Iseghem, 255-256. Erasmus' reply to Dorp was referred to as *apologia tua* by More (Feb. 1516), and was taken also as such : it was never published amongst the *Epistolæ*, but it appeared from 1516 on, in all the editions of the *Moria* : RE, 602 ; BB, E, 848, 2 ; Allen, II, 337, *pr.* More for a time was in the opinion that Dorp himself had caused his own letter to be printed before that of Erasmus : Allen, II, 388, 154-5.

³⁾ Bludau, 36-37.

⁴⁾ About Sept. 7, 1517 : Allen, III, 652, 10-11.

⁵⁾ Iseghem, 248, 251-2 ; *CollectGeld.*, xxix, sq, 149, sq.

⁶⁾ *CollectGeld.*, 151-2.

⁷⁾ Conrad Vecker, or Veicker, *Vecerius* or *Vegerius*, of Luxemburg, a Court secretary, was intimately connected with several of the Louvain humanists : *Gran.*, 12, a-d, 225, a-b.

letter : in his opinion, it must give more confidence to learned readers about the satires, which he did not level at persons, but only at vices, and which he is ready to recant ¹⁾. Without doubt the passage in Dorp's letter of which Geldenhouwer wanted particularly to avail himself, is the one in which, in answer to his apologizing for his criticisms on the monks and priests of their native country, the theologian assures him that no apologizing is needed : for whereas he himself hates all vices, he loves all men : ' si quidem nullius vitia non odi, qui mortales omnes amo ' ²⁾.

The publication of the book with that letter is quite significant under the circumstances : if it was not a mischievous reminder from Geldenhouwer or Vecerius or Martens, it is, at least, a plea for the principles dear to the humanists, which Dorp seems to have lost sight of. Still it is always possible that the latter knew of the coming edition, and that far from objecting to his friends' publishing that old letter, he felt that it was much more like him and his inner sympathies than the constrained attack on Erasmus ³⁾.

The calm and prudent reasoning of Erasmus must have made a deep impression on Dorp : it was as the voicing of truth and common sense, to which the after centuries have given their full approval, with perhaps the exception of the authority of the Vulgate, — if it is an exception. For at the Council of Trent it was declared that the *vetus et vulgata editio* is an authentic edition, and that, having been used by the Church for her dogmatic and moral teaching, it partakes of her infallible authority ; still it is not said that it does not contain any faults or imperfections, and at the close of the session the revision of its text was warmly recommended to the pope ⁴⁾. Looking back on the past, it is saddening to notice

¹⁾ *CollectGeld.*, 152-3 : the letter to Vecerius is dated ' xv. Kalendis Januariis m. d. xv. ', which is evidently meant for Dec. 1514, as the book was published by Martens ' anno m. d. xv. idibus Junii '.

²⁾ *CollectGeld.*, 152.

³⁾ A few weeks before, on March 24, 1515, he had criticized the ' ecclesiæ antistites ' and their luxurious living in his letter to Meinard Man : Dorp *DedQuotl.*, 153-160.

⁴⁾ *DogmGeschNZ.*, 263-4.

how the clear-sighted were prevented from taking the lead of study and teaching on account of the susceptibilities of those whose mission it is to live for, and be directed by, the eternal truth; for by obstinacy, by prejudice and even by childish pride, was delayed for centuries the influence of humanism, which wished theology to move forward instead of staying on what was wrongly taken as tradition, instead of losing time and opportunities in the trituration of *summulae* and *sententiae*. Indeed Erasmus, with all his imperfections, sincerely wanted that science of sciences at once to widen and deepen its knowledge by the investigation and the immediate study of sources. *Post Occasio calva* : a few years later all the activity of the theologians was abruptly diverted from the secular curriculum and forced into polemics and controversies with the rising errors and heresies.

Dorp's Rejoinder.

Circumstances unfortunately prevented the seed of common sense thrown out by Erasmus to grow and prosper in Dorp's mind. The apparent disfavour with which James of Hoogstraeten's appeal against the Speyer sentence was treated in Rome, and the dishonour which was incessantly brought upon the Cologne divines by pamphlets ¹⁾ like the *Triumphus Doctoris Reuchlini* ²⁾ or the *Clarorum Virorum Epistolæ* ³⁾, made the strife flare up wilder and bitterer. The dread of a similar danger cannot but have haunted most of the Louvain theologians : on May 23, 1515, they protested in Rome against the Speyer judgment, whilst Adrian wrote again to Carvajal, from Middelburg, on May 16 ⁴⁾. As, on the other hand, Erasmus' reply to Dorp was unmistakably meek and conciliatory,

¹⁾ Cp. MutRufE, I, sq.

²⁾ The poem, entitled *In Triumphum Ioannis Reuchlin alias Capnionis ex devictis Theologistis Coloniensibus et Prædicatorum Ordinis Fratribus Encomion Eleutherii Byzeni*, circulated freely in manuscript from 1514 to 1518, when it was printed; it is very bitter against divines and friars, e. g., ll. 228-473 : HutO, III, 413-448; cp. Hutten, 153-160; MutRufE, lii.

³⁾ Tübingen, March 1514 : ReuchlE, 2-3.

⁴⁾ Cp pp. 140-141; Geiger, 312.

they probably thought they saw an opportunity of cutting short all further attempts at satirical criticisms, and especially of nipping in the bud the contemplated correcting of the Vulgate. Evidently Dorp felt their wishes, and he was the eagerer in giving them satisfaction as he was preparing to stand the test of the final honour in divinity. He actually promoted Doctor and became *Magister Noster* before August 30, 1515 ¹⁾, when the Faculty of Theology admitted him as such to her Council ²⁾. A few days before, on Aug. 27, he had finished and dated a rejoinder to Erasmus' reply of May ³⁾.

In that rejoinder Dorp is evidently influenced by the Reuchlin controversy : it is not without intention that, in several places, he represents the theologians as being opposed to the poets ⁴⁾, and identifies them with the sophists ⁵⁾. Maybe his pride was offended at Erasmus' refusal to accept the rebuke ; maybe he was impulsive and overhasty in drawing up his reply, possibly being worked up by his advisers ; certain it is that the tone of the second letter lacks that deference toward the great Humanist which in the first letter almost sounded as an apology. Now Dorp argues with sneers and jokes ⁶⁾ ; from the height of his theological authority he lectures the low-placed grammarian ⁷⁾ ; he belittles his friend's understanding as unable to master divinity ⁸⁾ ; he does not even consider him worthy of a fair argument : indeed what Erasmus blames in some bad theologians, is taken as if it was levelled at all the Louvain professors ⁹⁾ ; what he assumes as an hypothesis, is accounted as his conviction, and what he praises as advisable, is considered as if it was represented as a necessary condition ¹⁰⁾.

That peculiar way of arguing is all in favour of the theologians, who, if we believe Dorp, are much more important

¹⁾ VAnd., 101-102.

²⁾ de Jongh, 39*.

³⁾ Allen, II, 347.

⁴⁾ Allen, II, 347, 44-47, 103, 245, 267, 271-2 ; on l. 82 he mentions that a Christian is less liked by the *Grammatici* than a *Iudeus, modo non sit... amusus*.

⁵⁾ Allen, II, 347, 302.

⁶⁾ Allen, II, 347, 282, 309, sq, 358-64 ; *MoreLuc.*, 369-70, 387-8.

⁷⁾ Allen, II, 347, 151-168 ; *MoreLuc.*, 372-5.

⁸⁾ Allen, II, 347, 323-7 ; *MoreLuc.*, 393-4.

⁹⁾ Allen, II, 347, 238 ; *MoreLuc.*, 385-6.

¹⁰⁾ Allen, II, 347, 267, 337, &c. ; *MoreLuc.*, 387-8.

in the Church than the very bishops ¹⁾; he denies the necessity for them to know languages and literature, which were unfamiliar to St. Thomas and St. Bonaventura ²⁾; their sophistry is vindicated, not only as quite harmless, but even as useful to theology, which comprises many more subjects than just the study of the Bible ³⁾. He only mentions the *Moria* incidentally ⁴⁾, but he insists so much the more on the superiority of the Vulgate over the Greek text: although the latter is the original, and was in the beginning the norm on which the Latin translation was rectified, it has lost all authority since the Greeks became heretics ⁵⁾; the Vulgate, which is faulty in the language ⁶⁾, may contain mistakes, but certainly neither error, nor lie ⁷⁾; it is approved of by the use of the Church ⁸⁾, and consequently it does not require for its better understanding any knowledge of Greek, which so many great divines ignored ⁹⁾.

Without doubt this second attack on Erasmus procured to Dorp the full approval of those amongst the theologians who were most addicted to the traditional order of things. Favour on favour was granted to him. When on September 4, 1515, the professor of theology Lucas Walters, *Walteri*, died ¹⁰⁾,

¹⁾ Allen, II, 347, 24-29, 42-46.

²⁾ Allen, II, 347, 57, *sq.*

³⁾ Allen, II, 347, 285, *sq.* 309, *sq.* 323, *sq.*

⁴⁾ Allen, II, 337, 151, *sq.*

⁵⁾ Allen, II, 347, 179-180.

⁶⁾ Allen, II, 347, 169, *sq.* 197, *sq.*

⁷⁾ Allen, II, 347, 172.

⁸⁾ Allen, II, 347, 209, *sq.*

⁹⁾ Allen, II, 347, 337, *sq.*

¹⁰⁾ Lucas Walters, *Gualteri*, was a native of Konitz, in Pomerellen, S. W. of Danzig, in the diocese of Gnesen, 'Sarmata', or 'Sauromata' as Erasmus called him. Having been a long time an indifferent teacher of Latin, probably at Paris (Renaudet, 273), he promoted Bachelor of Theology in Louvain and as such entered the University Council on Oct. 2, 1497; in 1499 he became professor and canon (of the 2nd foundation) of St. Peter's. In 1503 he was entrusted with the lecture on Scotus. He became Doctor of Theology on July 6, 1512, and President of the Holy Ghost College by the wish of Catherine Pynnock, widow of Libert de Meldert, who bequeathed her house to the College as a residence for the president at her death, March 11, 1513; FUL, 1795-6, 1835. He was elected Rector in Febr. 1513: Mol., 513, 799; VAnd., 99, 288; ReusDoc., I, 262, III, 12, 16; de Jongh, 6, 148. Walters had taught theology at the

the presidency of the College of the Holy Ghost was entrusted to Dorp ¹⁾. He also succeeded Walters in one of the two prebends of the second foundation of Pope Eugene IV., 1443, in St. Peter's, which were destined to professors of Theology ²⁾, and in consequence he was allowed to lecture : the Faculty admitted him *ad regentiam* on September 30, according to the prescriptions of the Statutes ³⁾ : and from that date he started his teaching as ordinary professor in the Halls according to his turn, as was the custom ⁴⁾.

Dorp's rejoinder had the same fate as his first letter for the celerity in which it reached — or was acknowledged by — its addressee. Erasmus was then working away at his *Novum Instrumentum* at Basle ⁵⁾ ; either the message went astray and was lost, or he again pretended not to have received a distasteful piece of literature : no mention is made of it in the correspondence which has been preserved. Yet it is hardly believable that he should have ignored its existence, for friends, like Peter Gilles ⁶⁾, who kept Thomas More informed of what was published on the subject, probably also advised him of what new documents had come forth ⁷⁾. More himself had sent his memoir to Basle, in which Dorp's rejoinder is specially mentioned and frequently referred to ; still Erasmus never alludes to it before the first days of June 1516, in his

Franciscan Convent during six years ; he had been a good companion to Erasmus on his visit of 1502-3, although not greatly in favour with humanism : Allen, II, 531, 415-420, IV, 1175, 40. His will of Nov. 21, 1514 bequeathing books and sums to friends and students, also to St. Martin's, reposes in the Brussels Archives : FUL, 1486.

¹⁾ VAnd., 288 ; ReusDoc., III, 16 ; de Jongh, 162.

²⁾ VAnd., 78.

³⁾ De Jongh, 40*.

⁴⁾ VAnd., 78-81.

⁵⁾ Erasmus, who had arrived in Basle at the end of July 1515, remained there until soon after May 12, 1516, when he returned to Belgium : on June 1, 1515 he is at Antwerp : Allen, II, 341, 407, 408, 410, &c.

⁶⁾ Allen, II, 388, 148, *sq.*

⁷⁾ Gilles sent to More — evidently after he had left for Britain, as for his own memoir he had not the long text of Erasmus' reply — the book in which Martens reprinted, at the end of September or in the first half of October, 1515, the Commentary on the first Psalm with the text of Dorp's first letter and that of Erasmus' reply as it had been printed by Froben, May-June 1515 : Iseghem, 255-56.

letter to More, dated from Brussels, in which he states that he has read part of his memoir from which he learns what Dorp had written in his rejoinder, and he adds, disconsolately : ' Admiror quid homini venerit in mentem. Sed tales reddit hæc theologia ' ¹⁾ !

Thomas More's Interference.

Meanwhile Dorp's rejoinder was no more kept a secret than had been his first letter against Erasmus ; it was freely communicated in manuscript amongst theologians and their friends. Thierry Martens, who evidently knew of it when, late in September, or in October 1515, he published the collection starting with the *Enarratio in Primum Psalmum* ²⁾, did not judge it worthy being added to the two other documents of that same controversy. Other readers probably were quite as disappointed, if not indignant. Thomas More, who from May to October 1515, was in Belgium on embassy ³⁾, was informed by chance acquaintances at Bruges, about the end of his stay, of the controversy ⁴⁾ : it interested and

¹⁾ About June 3, 1516 : Allen, II, 412, 48-50. More communicated to Erasmus (possibly already in his reply dated London, c June 21, 1516) the text of Dorp's rejoinder. If so, that copy must have been so badly written that it was nearly illegible — which made him request for a second and better copy on March 8, 1517 : Allen, II, 424, 81-82, 545, 6-8.

²⁾ Iseghem, 255-56.

³⁾ More was sent on embassy on May 7, 1515 ; he arrived in Bruges about May 18 ; a few days later, he met there Erasmus who, returning from England, was on his way to Antwerp, where he wrote the short reply to Dorp before leaving for Basle : Allen, II, 362, 44, 388, 47, 337, *pr*. More then repaired to Tournai, and, one matter being finished, he was entrusted with another, so that instead of being absent from England only for two months, he did not return before the last days of October. During his stay in Belgium he made the acquaintance of Jerome de Busleyden, whose artistic home and interesting collections he celebrated in his poems and also in his letter to Erasmus, about February 17, 1516, in which he imparted some of the impressions of his embassy : *MoreLuc.*, 258-60, 460-61 ; Allen, II, 388, 47, *sq*, 94, *sq*, 137-152 ; Brewer, II, 422, 473, 474, 678, 1059, 1067.

⁴⁾ More writes : ' dum hic uersor, incidi forte in quosdam, qui mihi non alieni a literis uidebantur ' : possibly some of the Bruges canons, Marc Laurin or John de Fevyn, who evidently were interested in the question : *MoreLuc.*, 366-7 ; *Gran.*, xxxvi, *sq*, 6, *a*.

touched him as much as it did Erasmus, as the ideals and theories which he had tenderly fostered for twenty years were at stake ¹⁾. He probably expressed his disbelief that such an attack could come from an author whose writings he appreciated ; still, on the next day, copies were handed to him of Dorp's first letter, of the short form of Erasmus' answer, and of Dorp's rejoinder ²⁾. In his zeal for their common cause, and in his affection to Erasmus, he wrote a defence for his friend and for the opinions they shared, with so much the more eagerness as the difference was occasioned by the *Moria* with whose genesis and name he was so intimately connected.

Although knowing Dorp only from Erasmus' praise and from his published writings, More took him to task for attacking the great erudite and the ideals of humanism in general. He blames him for allowing his first letter to be known all over the country long before the one to whom it is addressed, and whom it concerns, had seen it ³⁾ ; as to the second, he pronounces it so disrespectful to the famous Master, whom it tries to belittle, and so disgraceful for the author himself ⁴⁾, that he cannot but suppose that it got out of his hands against his will : which he requests him to assert in public : 'potes ... mutando efficere, ut hanc omnes (id quod ipse facio) non emissam tibi, sed elapsam iudicent' ⁵⁾.

More's refutation is not aimed directly at Dorp's assertions ; his memoir does not provide any apodictical arguments for his and Erasmus' opinions, which would only have led to fresh contradictions. It rather confutes the adversary by what he asserts himself in the two letters, or in the writings he published before. Thus More does not only prove indirectly what he considers to be right : he also precludes all rejoinders, and, pointing out Dorp's numerous inconsistencies, he even

¹⁾ Delcourt, 18-22.

²⁾ *MoreLuc.*, 367.

³⁾ *MoreLuc.*, 367-8.

⁴⁾ More accuses Dorp of lacking in respect towards Erasmus, in treating him not only as his inferior, but even as a somewhat dull being ; in joking and jesting rather than arguing with him, and at the same time in being unfair in his attacks : cp. p. 151 ; *MoreLuc.*, 369-70, 387-8.

⁵⁾ *MoreLuc.*, 369-70.

suggests that they were inspired merely by childish vanity and by a fractious temper.

A minute examination of his two letters, shows that what Dorp criticizes in Erasmus, he does and professes himself. He cannot but agree to Erasmus' innovations and changes in Dialectics, Rhetorics and Grammar, which adapt them again to the aim prescribed by Aristotle; which free them from the tyrannical codification of the sophists, and submit them to the laws of truth and common sense ¹⁾; thus are prevented the absurdities taught under the name of philosophy, of which abundant examples are given ²⁾. Divinity is not immune against that evil: in the opinion of many theologians it consists in sophistry ³⁾; instead of the study of the Bible and of its most authoritative commentators the Fathers of the Church ⁴⁾, the *summulae* and the *sententiae* are considered by many as the most perfect expression of what is worth knowing on the subject ⁵⁾. Dorp resents Erasmus' criticism of those preposterous theologians, because his words might be taken as if they applied to all divines ⁶⁾; and yet, as More shows, he himself lays a similar blame — evidently unintentionally — on the man whom he rightly considers as the greatest theologian then living, the future Adrian VI. ⁷⁾

Referring to the problem of the fidelity of the Vulgate, More argues that if Dorp admits that once it had to be corrected by St. Jerome, it may still be capable of rectifications after having been copied and recopied through the several centuries that elapsed since ⁸⁾; that the Greeck text, from which the New Testament was originally translated, and on which it was corrected long ago, must still enjoy a great authority; and that it has kept faithfully even those passages which condemn the divergencies between the creed of the Greek Church and that

¹⁾ More*Luc.*, 373-9.

²⁾ More*Luc.*, 379-84.

³⁾ More*Luc.*, 384.

⁴⁾ More*Luc.*, 389-96.

⁵⁾ More*Luc.*, 397-405.

⁶⁾ More*Luc.*, 384-5.

⁷⁾ More*Luc.*, 386-7.

⁸⁾ More*Luc.*, 405-8.

of our own ¹⁾). As to the larger number of difficulties in the orthography of Greek, which Dorp considers as a danger to the exactitude in the copies, it makes the transcriber, in More's opinion, far more attentive for such documents than for a very plain text; so that it becomes as a safeguard against all errors ²⁾). Such an argument, he admits, has only a real value for those who know Greek; and, on that head, he reproaches the Louvain professor with depriving himself obstinately of a wider erudition and of a greater perfection. Through his fault he irremediably forgoes all the advantages offered by, and besides, the knowledge of the famous language, namely the reading, in the original, of the Bible, of Aristotle's writings, of the various Greek commentators, literators and authors of all kinds; and that translations are untrustworthy, appears from men like Albert the Great, who makes Aristotle say the contrary of what he meant ³⁾). To be true, it is possible to gather some learning without knowing Greek, but what an advance is given by the acquaintance with that language: 'quam multa desunt ei cui Græca desunt' ⁴⁾! Dorp, who has no right to despise what he does not know, would thus outstrip himself! Nor can More admit that he is convinced of what he writes ⁵⁾, and he consequently beseeches him to turn his back on those men who keep him away from a greater erudition, if he cannot induce them to study Greek too ⁶⁾).

Those same theologians, More continues, who find fault with the criticism on divines in Erasmus' *Moria*, either do not understand the incriminated passage, or see more in it than there actually is, and that seven years after it was written, and after the seventh edition is published ⁷⁾. If Dorp himself understands it rightly, he only pretends at being offended, just because he is childishly keen on popularity

¹⁾ MoreLuc., 409-411.

²⁾ MoreLuc., 411-413.

³⁾ MoreLuc., 413-417.

⁴⁾ MoreLuc., 417-18.

⁵⁾ MoreLuc., 414: 'mihi profecto non persuades, ea te sentire quæ scribis'.

⁶⁾ MoreLuc., 414.

⁷⁾ MoreLuc., 418.

and general flattering. At any rate, the *Moria* criticizes far more prudently and with less acerbity than Dorp himself ¹⁾. In his dedication to the abbot of Egmond ²⁾, he blames all prelates, even including this own patron, as worthy of rebuke where Erasmus only says that some are ³⁾. He bitterly sneers at theologians in his prologues (e. g., *Pyrgopolites*) as being *amusi* and *agrarii* ⁴⁾, whereas he praises his friend Gerard Geldenhouwer for his most sarcastic *Satyræ Octo* ⁵⁾. To be true, the *Miles* and the *Satyræ* date from the days when Dorp was not yet a 'theologian': still they were published about the time when he promoted licentiate in that science ⁶⁾. He should then have applied to himself the golden advice which he now gives, instead of blaming in others what he made free to do himself ⁷⁾. That unfair treatment of Erasmus — not unlike that of Reuchlin ⁸⁾ — was not of Dorp's own choice, but had been apparently forced upon him by his advisers; and it is also to those advisers that, in conclusion, More addresses all the criticism contained in his letter ⁹⁾.

If More had not been recalled by the King, he might have added to this argumentation *ad hominem*, a more constructive portion, in order to prove his theories about the necessity, for all studies, of having recourse to the proper sources through the most efficient of means; perhaps he even draughted that part: that may have been the long reply to Dorp which in a letter to Edward Lee, May 20, 1519, he declares to have destroyed ¹⁰⁾. Comparative with what it might have become, the piece finished and dated on October 21, 1515 ¹¹⁾, was an

¹⁾ *MoreLuc.*, 419.

²⁾ Namely of the *Questiones Quotlibetice* of Adrian of Utrecht: Dorp-*DedQuotl.*, 31-60.

³⁾ *MoreLuc.*, 420-2.

⁴⁾ Dorp *Dial.*, E iii v; *MoreLuc.*, 422-4; Creizenach, II, 56.

⁵⁾ *CollectGeld.*, 151-176; *MoreLuc.*, 419, 424.

⁶⁾ *MoreLuc.*, 424.

⁷⁾ *MoreLuc.*, 424.

⁸⁾ *MoreLuc.*, 425.

⁹⁾ *MoreLuc.*, 426-8.

¹⁰⁾ *EpErVir.*, 67; Allen, II, 347, *pr*; *MoreCorr.*, 552.

¹¹⁾ *MoreCorr.*, 548; the date appears on the Paris Ms. Lat. 8703 (National Library). Three days later, on October 24, More returning to England, met Pace, who had left Calais, 'in the highway': Brewer, II, 1059, 1067.

epistolum Laconicum ¹⁾); it was sent in all haste ²⁾ to Martin van Dorp, whom he would have preferred meeting in person ³⁾. He also sent a copy to Erasmus along with a letter which is lost ⁴⁾. About February 17, 1516, writing again to Erasmus, he refers to that *epistolum*, and expresses the pleasure which Dorp's attack had afforded in the opportunity of composing an apology for the *Moria* ⁵⁾. He had expected to hear of Erasmus on the subject, but having waited in vain for his opinion, he made, about June 25, a formal request: 'De epistolio nostro ad Dorpium percipio scire quid sentias' ⁶⁾. Meanwhile Erasmus had written to him from Brussels in the first days of June, announcing that he had read part of the *epistolum*, and that through his refutation he had learned what Dorp had replied ⁷⁾. Apparently he then tried to secure a complete copy, or at least full information, for he drew up a hasty answer. That answer never came to light, for, as More informs us, he repressed it in a cooler mood ⁸⁾ — probably since the cause of his anger had unexpectedly showed resipiscence.

Dorp's Recantation.

The first signs came in a letter from Alard of Amsterdam, who on July 1, 1516 applied to Erasmus for the source of the

¹⁾ Allen, II, 388, 187-8: 'per epistolam ... <Dorpium> salutaui, imo per epistolum quoddam Laconicum, nam longiori non suppetebat tempus'.

²⁾ MoreLuc., 427: More says that he had not had the time to re-read it; nor had he had any books to compose his memoir, for which he had to rely solely on his memory.

³⁾ Allen, II, 388, 156, sq. The letter actually sent is probably the one that reposes in the National Library, Ms. Lat. 8703; it is written by a secretary and has the date: MoreCorr., 548.

⁴⁾ It was probably the copy now forming with the *Institutio Christiani Matrimonii* (Basle, 1526) and other manuscripts, the n° 176 of the Beatus Rhenanus Books in the Schlettstadt Library: it has no date; probably it was used for the edition in MoreLuc., 365-428, also EE, 1892, sq, and Stapleton, 260; and may have served as model for the Ms. copy Wood F. 22 in the Bodleian Library: MoreCorr., 548; Allen, II, 388, 157, 545, 6-8.

⁵⁾ Allen, II, 388, 154-161.

⁶⁾ Allen, II, 424, 81-82.

⁷⁾ Allen, II, 412, 48-50.

⁸⁾ Letter to Lee, May 20. 1519: EpErVir., 67.

history of the child who said that he would sooner pour the whole sea into a little hole in the sand than that St. Augustine should fully understand the mystery of Holy Trinity. He had, he wrote, asked in vain the doctors of divinity, and before all *Dorpium illum tuum, virum ingeniosissimum et omni rerum copia instructissimum* ¹⁾. As he was intimate with Dorp, Alard must have known of the quarrel and also of the complete revulsion in his friend's attitude, now that he was not any longer under the influence of his former masters the divines. Indeed, when about July 6, he started the explanation of the Epistles of St. Paul ²⁾, during the *extra-ordinarium* ³⁾, he spoke out his mind in a solemn oration delivered to a great number of auditors — *in celebri auditorio*; they may have been attracted by the inaugural lecture, possibly also by the expectation of some event in the academic world, of which Alard's remark probably was a prognostic. Their expectation was certainly not disappointed, for the *Oratio* was a recantation of what Dorp had advanced in his two letters to Erasmus : it was a public confession of humanistic faith from the mouth of the brilliant professor of theology.

Having praised eloquence and the right studies, Dorp proposes as their chief subjects the Gospels and the letters of St. Paul, regretting that so little attention is bestowed on the latter, whilst years and years of one's life are spent on the writings of Aristotle. And yet in the Bible so many places are difficult, and the examples of eloquence given by the sacred authors are so excellent that all study and all efforts should converge to the Sacred Books. Unfortunately eloquence is despised on account of the wrong use it is accidentally put

¹⁾ Allen, II, 433, 14-16.

²⁾ The *ordinarium* or academic year began on October 1, and ended on June 29; since most of the students of theology, especially those who enjoyed scholarships, stayed in Louvain during the holidays, lectures were organized, from July 6 on, called *extra-ordinem*; they were delivered by the *prior vacantiarum*, in after years by the 'extra-ordinary' professors; they generally terminated by special examinations, the *Responsiones Vacatiales*: FUL, 503, 506, 510; Mol., 935, 1015; de Jongh, 132; ULAnn., 1882, 424, 428; RHE, 1911, 115.

³⁾ DorpLPaul., 880-81 : Hunc <Paulum> ergo his feriis æstivis... enarrabimus.

to, and sophistry, with its frivolous and absurd quibbles, absorbs all the time and all the interest which should be devoted to effective learning. For it is chiefly from Holy Scripture that we are to derive knowledge, not from mere human tradition ; more eminent than all the doctors is St. Paul, who by his life and letters teaches us the sublimity of the love of God and of our neighbours in God.

Announcing as subject of the *extra-ordinarium* lectures the Epistles of St. Paul, Dorp also states his shortcomings : for such lectures are required a thorough acquaintance with Greek, and an authentic text ; it gives him the occasion to prove the necessity of the knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, which has been asserted by St. Augustine and other great erudites. He further states that eminent theologians, from St. Jerome down to Adrian of Utrecht, have often found the text of the Vulgate less correct than the Hebrew or the Greek, which implies the necessity of investigating the true reading. He strongly denies the danger of heresy which is said to result from languages : Councils prescribe the study of Greek, which was used in the first centuries of the Church. He finally closes his oration by regretting his own inexperience in that tongue, which he is glad to remedy by the learned works on the subject by Valla and James Lefèvre ; most of all, by that of Erasmus who leaves the others far behind : ‘ *Diuino uir ingenio, iudicio felicissimo, mira tum rerum tum uerborum ubertate, incredibili iuuandi recta studia ardore, candore mirifico, ut quam est omnium bonarum artium ditissimus, tam liberalissime omnibus impartiat* ’ ¹⁾ !

Even granting that when Dorp published his oration in September 1519, he added several passages (like the one just quoted) highly laudatory for Erasmus, yet the whole spirit of the introductory speech is so totally different from the two admonitory letters that it is hard to conceive that they originate from one and the same man. Apart from the criticisms in the *Moria* — which are now no longer mentioned, as they probably were merely an occasion to bring forward

¹⁾ Dorp *LPaul.*, 1267-71.

the censure on Erasmus' theories — the opinions expressed about the languages and the study of the Bible are just diametrically opposite. That complete revulsion is ascribed by Dorp himself to study and to the letter of Thomas More ¹⁾; three years later, after the *Oratio* had been published, the latter warmly congratulates Dorp for preferring truth to outward show, *veritatis quam fuci cupidior*, by owning his mistake; he praises him for thus giving a proof of almost incredible probity and absolute modesty ²⁾. The conviction of that sound and prudent man, who knew thoroughly Erasmus and his principles, and his experience, from intimate acquaintance, in Church matters and learning, must have acted as a wholesome antidote against the prepossession of some of the masters of theology, and their uneasiness and apprehension about the new methods of studying. Perhaps the application of those methods in the *Novum Testamentum* ³⁾ showed the inanity of that fear. Possibly the impulsive young man had returned again to his former opinions on account of the absence of all the excitement resulting from his courting the good opinion of his masters the chief theologians; even the fear of becoming the butt of a series of *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, like those that were harassing the Cologne divines ⁴⁾, most likely had its share in prompting the decision.

Whatever may have been the case, the Oration came like a thunderclap from a serene sky. Erasmus heard about it in Brussels, where he had gone on John le Sauvage's invitation about the Tournai pension ⁵⁾. On July 10, 1516 he met there his friend John Paludanus ⁶⁾, who apparently rejoiced him with

¹⁾ Dorp *LPaul.*, 964-971.

²⁾ Stapleton, 69-71 : the letter, from which this extract is quoted, is certainly posterior to the publication of the *Oratio* (Sept. 1519), to which it refers : *MoreCorr.*, 548.

³⁾ That work had meanwhile appeared : Basle, J. Froben, February 1516 : *BibEr.*, II, 57.

⁴⁾ The first series of those *Epistolæ*, pretendingly printed by Minutius in Venice, were published in Hagenau by Henry Gran, just before October 19, 1515 : *Hutten*, 512.

⁵⁾ Letter of July 8, 1516 : Allen, II, 436, 1-2 ; Erasmus probably went from Antwerp to Brussels on July 9 or 10.

⁶⁾ Erasmus' host, the Louvain Rhetor : *Cran.*, I, c.

an account of the lecture ¹⁾; he related the good news to his friend the English legate Tunstall ²⁾, and wrote down an enthusiastic little letter, which Paludanus took with him to Louvain ³⁾. If that oration, by the restored peace and the joining of hands with Dorp, caused great joy to Erasmus and all his friends, it must have had a different effect on many of the theological students and professors; especially those who had induced him either directly or indirectly to admonish Erasmus and to frighten him from correcting the Vulgate, must have been disconsolate that the easy tool between their hands had turned against them, and become a danger in his turn. Instead of silencing Erasmus, they had now one of their own men proclaiming loudly his principles: for the *Oratio* plainly advocated the theory of the incorrectness of the text of the Vulgate, which called forth a castigated edition of the New Testament.

The mere doubt about the Latin text and the bare possibility of a correcting seemed to imply the ruin of faith, at least to timorous men. On account of its emendations derived from the Greek, from older Latin texts and from the quotations of the Fathers of the Church, Erasmus' *Novum Instrumentum* ⁴⁾ was for them both a threatening danger and a sinful audacity: for how well-founded the changes proposed may have been, the secular tradition of the Church was attacked, and the very foundation on which Councils, Acade-

¹⁾ Allen, II, 438, 1-5: it is not necessary to suppose that Erasmus saw a manuscript copy of the oration; as he was in Antwerp from the middle of June to July 9, and as he was back there on July 13, being only invited to Brussels by a letter of July 8: Allen, II, 421-441, it is not likely that Paludanus should have carried with him that manuscript — provided he had it — on a trip to Brussels, where he could hardly have expected to meet Erasmus. Still he certainly must have heard of Dorp's volte-face, if he had not been himself one of the audience, and thus could inform his friend about the general ideas developed in that introductory lecture: Allen, II, 438, 3, n.

²⁾ He was in Brussels at the time: Brewer, II, 2150.

³⁾ Brussels, July 10, 1516; it was published in September 1519 with the *Oratio*: Dorp *LPaul.*, 1-25; Allen, II, 438.

⁴⁾ The final colophon is dated February 1516; the colophon of the notes on March 1, 1516; the book was offered for sale in Paris on April 27: Allen, II, 384, *pr.*, 403, 25-28.

mies and theologians had based their teaching, was impeached. The publishing of that book caused a great distrust of the biblico-humanistic movement, and of its chief representative, who already laboured under a heavy suspicion on account of his criticism of Church discipline and religious customs ¹⁾. Nor was there any lack of things to carp at in his work. The time had not come when Erasmus' efforts to create a reliable text for the Bible, and gather the materials for the scientific exegesis, could be appreciated at their right value ²⁾; and although the insufficiency of the means at his disposal, and the failings in the method he introduced ³⁾, were only to be gauged after more than a century, yet some of his shortcomings were felt at once ⁴⁾, and first of all by himself ⁵⁾. He was cruelly attacked for those mistakes, whereas the changes he proposed to the text hallowed by the use of centuries, were almost considered as a sacrilege ⁶⁾; in vain he repeated that instead of obtruding those emendations, he merely suggested them to exegetists ⁷⁾: all the theologians were roused to contradiction ⁸⁾. Most of all were criticized his *annotationes*; for subject to the decision of the Church, he set forth opinions about the authorship of some books or letters, and about the authenticity of some passages, which in after times occasioned as many controversies ⁹⁾; at the least opportunity he expresses his dissatisfaction at abusive customs in the Church, at the lives and teachings of monks and theologians, with the same freedom and acrimony as he had done in the *Laus Stultitiae* ¹⁰⁾. He showed even more earnestness and, consequently, more acerbity and bitterness in style and thought, which exasperated his assailants, whereas he precluded all sanctions by the two declarations which he inserted

¹⁾ Bludau, 59-60.

²⁾ Bludau, 33, 43-48, 51, 144-5.

³⁾ Bludau, 47, 144.

⁴⁾ Bludau, 51.

⁵⁾ Allen, II, 384, *pr*, 402, 1-2, 417, 421, 67, *sq*.

⁶⁾ Bludau, 40, *sq*.

⁷⁾ Bludau, 41, *sq*.

⁸⁾ Bludau, 58-145.

⁹⁾ Bludau, 49-51.

¹⁰⁾ Bludau, 51-58.

in the preface *contra Morosos quosdam ac Indoctos* of later editions : one, that he never wanted to depart a hair's breadth from the judgment of the Church ; and the other, that his book leaves everybody free, since it offers annotations, not laws, and proposes opinions, not infallible statements ¹⁾).

On account of that disappointment caused to the Louvain theologians by Erasmus' book, Dorp placed himself in a doubly unpleasant position by his oration about St. Paul's Epistles. Most likely those who had incited him to write against Erasmus, did not lose an opportunity to show what dangerous opinions and distasteful criticisms were as the natural outcome of the principles which he himself had enounced in his oration. He evidently did not take his word back ; apparently he boldly repeated it, and insisted during his lectures on the principles heralded in the opening speech. At any rate matters went so far that the Faculty, wishing to give a public expression of their suspicion, refused him, on the last day of September, the permission to lecture during the following academical year ²⁾ : in his place they admitted Godschalk Rosemond, of Eindhoven ³⁾. That decision must have touched the proud professor to the quick, the more so since he was at the head of the College of the Holy Ghost, and had to face its inmates, all of whom were students of theology, with that most unpleasant public reproof branded on him by his Faculty.

¹⁾ D. Erasmus Pio Lectori : Primum illud testamur ... nos nusquam a iudicio Ecclesiae Catholicae vel unguem aut digitum latum velle discedere ... Manet incolume suum cuique iudicium. Annotationes scribimus, non leges : & expendenda proponimus, non protinus habenda pro compertis : EOO, vi, ** 3 v.

²⁾ In the Faculty of Arts it was a rule that the *regentes* of the four pedagogies resigned their own functions and those of their *legentes*, on Oct. 2 or on Sept. 30 ; they requested them again, and, except in cases of conflict, were anew invested : *StatFacArt.*, 6 v ; Mol., 1092 ; for the Faculty of Divinity no such regulation appears in the *Statuta* : Mol., 1022 ; *ULAnn.*, 1882, 398 ; yet it seems as if it was the custom.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 213, d. J. F. van de Velde (who wrote out a synopsis of the *Acta Facultatis S. Theologiae*, 1515-1534, which have been lost since the end of the xviiith century) added to the report of the meeting of September 30, 1516 : ' *Nota. Martinus de Naeltwyck non recipitur* ' : de Jongh, 40*.

Dorp and the *Novum Instrumentum*.

If Dorp had caused surprise by turning an ardent protagonist from a seemingly irreducible opponent, in the first days of July 1516, he actually amazed Erasmus and his friends by almost a complete revulsion back to his old standing in the first days of October. Indeed already on October 2, 1516 Erasmus wrote to More from Antwerp : ‘ Stolidissimus ille N. egregias tragoedias mihi excitavit Louanii, etiam post iunctas dextras ; de quo breui scribam copiosius ’ ¹⁾. There is hardly any doubt as to the identity of that N. : from the letters of October and November it is clear that Dorp is meant ²⁾. It is also evident that this is quite a different incident from that about the letters of Sept. 1514 and August 1515, which was concluded satisfactorily, and upon which the hands had been joined, « post iunctas dextras » ³⁾. There is consequently a new incident, a fresh disagreement between the two men — which in all probability is not older than September 30, 1516 ; if it had occurred before the meeting of the Faculty held on that day, Dorp certainly would have managed to avert the ominous rebuke. Apparently the new disagreement was a consequence of that rebuke, which must have taken Dorp unawares, and caused such an excitement that he thought less of the principles expressed so boldly three months before, than of his own material advantage ; less of his reconciliation with Erasmus and of placating the satirizing humanists, than of the means of softening down the animosity of those on whom his position and reputation in Louvain depended.

As Erasmus was about that time trying to obtain the dispensation of his monastic vows and of the duty of residence in his convent ⁴⁾ through the King and Queen of England ⁵⁾,

¹⁾ Allen, II, 474, 17-18.

²⁾ Since a formal reconciliation was concluded in Febr. 1517, Erasmus crossed off the name in the letters, replacing it by N. in the edition of the *Farrago*.

³⁾ Cp. note to Allen, II, 477, 11.

⁴⁾ He had been lately recalled to his duty by the prior of Steyn Servatius Rogerus, as results from his answer to that reminder, July 8, 1514 : Allen, I, 296, 65, *sq.*, 205, *sq.*

⁵⁾ Allen, II, 518, 5-7, 519, 5-7.

and through his friend the papal legate in London, Andrew Ammonius ¹⁾; as moreover one of the great causes of the dissension between him and Dorp was the showing by the latter of some epistles from and to Erasmus, it has been suggested that the quarrel was caused by the revelation of his irregularity of birth, which was referred to at least in one of the pieces submitted to obtain that dispensation ²⁾. Still there seems hardly any reason for the Louvain divines to interfere with Erasmus on account of his *defectus natalium*, which had since long been cured, at least virtually ³⁾, or of his *irregularitas*, which only concerned the superiors of his order, or the collators of benefices which he might have wished to secure ⁴⁾.

From the various allusions in the correspondence of the last months of 1516, it appears that this second disagreement was connected with the *Novum Testamentum* and some places which had not been treated satisfactorily. No doubt Dorp had compared the texts of the Epistles of St. Paul, which he had been explaining, with Erasmus' renderings and his notes; apparently he had found some inexact statements or wrong suggestions, which could hardly be avoided in a work of that kind; he naturally wrote about them to Erasmus, who, no doubt, answered encouragingly and conciliatingly. Still when at the meeting of Sept. 30 the right to teach in the Faculty was withdrawn, Dorp's disappointment may have suggested

¹⁾ Allen, II, 466, 479, 498.

²⁾ The *defectus natalium* of Erasmus had already been the object of a dispensation by Julius II., Jan. 4, 1505/6; he had perhaps learned more details about the circumstances of his birth, which caused him to apply for a second dispensation; it was granted on Jan. 26, 1517, to such an effect that he was never to mention that blemish again in any act or deed: Vischer, 16-30; Allen, II, 517, 7-9, 50-60.

³⁾ Allen, II, 517, 7-9.

⁴⁾ The dispensations granted by Leo X. on January 26, 1517 were especially intended for English benefices: Allen, II, 517, 60, *sq.*, 518, 30, *sq.* As, however, he grew more and more diffident of the possibility of ever finding a satisfactory settlement in England, Erasmus tried to obtain some benefices in Belgium; but for those dispensations he could not have definitely accepted any prebend, nor even the position of Imperial Councillor which the Chancellor John Sylvagius was then offering: Allen, II, 436, 5, 443, 19, 475, 1, *sq.*

him that correspondence as a proof, not so much of the defects of the *Novum Instrumentum*, as of his own independent and free judgment; knowing from experience the dislike of some of his colleagues for Erasmus and his opinions, he may have expressed that discrepancy perhaps with more animosity than discretion. Instead of mollifying his censors by his too sudden recantation, he apparently did more harm to his own reputation than to that of Erasmus ¹⁾, whose staunch friends must have been indignant at his foolish, childish shift. That information imparted at once through some of the numerous wayfarers between the University town and Antwerp, caused Erasmus to write to More already on October 2: 'Stolidissimus ille N. egregias tragoedias mihi excitavit Louanii etiam post iunctas dextas' ²⁾ !

If that announcement to More sounded as an alarm, Erasmus must have concluded on second thoughts that an attack under the circumstances could not but turn against its author. After a few days his fears of a 'tragoedia' with the Louvain Faculty had vanished ³⁾; but he felt the more disgusted at Dorp's move, since he had been courting his favour and affection for several weeks. He bitterly complained on October 6 to his friend Andrew Ammonius ⁴⁾ about one amongst the Louvain divines, « genus omnium insuauissimum », namely the 'egregius ille N.', who had nearly excited a tragedy: he flatters when present, bites when absent; he

¹⁾ That may explain why Erasmus wrote a few days later, on Oct. 6, to Ammonius: 'egregius ille N. mihi propemodum tragoediam excitavit': Allen, II, 475, 20.

²⁾ Allen, II, 474, 17-18.

³⁾ He does not seem to be incensed particularly against the theologians: if he does not decide on spending the coming winter in Louvain, it is chiefly because he wants to be left in peace; and if the theologians have anything to do with that decision, it is not on account of an actual difference, but only of possible remarks: 'audiendum esset nonnumquam quid obganniant theologi, genus omnium insuauissimum'. He thus expresses his misgivings about residing in Louvain: 'Illic mihi meo sumptu obseruiendum foret scholasticis. Obgannirent assidue iuuenes, 'Castiga hoc carmen, emenda hanc epistolam'; alius hunc autorem flagitaret, alius alium: neque quisquam est illic qui mihi vel ornamento vel subsidio possit esse': Allen, II, 475, 14-18, 478, 16-22.

⁴⁾ Andreas de Arena, Ammonius: cp. Allen, I, 218; Lupton, 205, 224.

promises to be a friend and proves a foe ; he writes letters full of honey, but mixes lots of gall to it, so that he is a wolf held by the ears whom one can neither keep nor let go ¹). And yet he liked the man's character and his elegant style, and had already tried every means to cure him from his 'ebrietas' ²). A few days later, on October 17, he sent from Brussels to Peter Gilles more news about the matter : he had written to Dorp, and the latter had answered in such a way that Tunstall, to whom he showed that reply, felt so indignant that he could not any longer bear the mentioning of his name ³). To that reply Erasmus had sent a rejoinder by which he declared that he was not going to lose his time and his work in answering such trifling criticisms ⁴). ' In a few days ', he declares in conclusion to Gilles, ' I shall communicate to you those *Dorpianas nugas* : I have never seen a man being a friend in a more hostile way ' ⁵) !

In his reply of October 20, Ammonius boldly advises Erasmus to let the wolf slip : " there is, he says, no danger for you, and him the *Euripideus exitus* surely awaits " ; insinuating probably that Dorp, too, was sure to be torn to pieces, sooner or later, by his patron's watchdogs, the other members of the Faculty. He also adds that vainglory, and nothing else, prompts the man to that controversy : like the itch it gets worse by touching ⁶) ! Before that advice reached him, Eras-

¹) Erasmus, alluding to the proverb quoted in Terence's *Phormio* and by Donatus (EOO, II, 190, f), writes ' plane ἀπ' ὧτων τὸν λύκον ἔχω, οὔτε κρατεῖν δυνάμενος οὔτε ἀρτεῖναι.

²) Brussels, October 6, 1516 : Allen, II, 475, 20-27.

³) ' Tunstallus lectis illius ad me ineptiis <probably the letters preceding the incident, referring to the discrepancies,> et ad me responso sic execratur hominem vt vix nomen ferre possit : Allen, II, 477, 12-13.

⁴) ' Respondi et ego vicissim illi, sed testatus me posthac non insumpturum operam in huiusmodi naeniis ' : Allen, II, 475, 14-15.

⁵) ' Dorpianas nugas propediem impartiam tibi. Nunquam vidi hominem inimicium amicum ' : Brussels, October 17, 1516 : Allen, II, 477, 11-12.

⁶) Westminster, October 20 <, 1516> : Lupum istum si dimiseris, quod citra vllum periculum meo iudicio facere potes, Euripideus omnino exitus eum manet : quaeritat hanc famam, vt dicatur cum Erasmo contendisse. Sed tu ab ea scabie vngues abstineto, quam hoc magis foueris quo magis scalpseris. Βάλλε τουτονὶ τὸν λύκον ἐς κόρακας ἢ πρὸς τοὺς κύνας : Allen, II, 478, 23-27.

mus had slipped the wolf : as kindness only seemed to make his contradictor more mettlesome ¹⁾, he had sent him two most severe letters, which proved effective. On November 11, Alard of Amsterdam still regrets that Dorp persists ‘in illa sua heresi, scis qua’, since ‘pariter et Musas et Musis amicos

Laudat amatque domi, premit extra limen iniquus’;

he is very sorry that the professor of divinity refuses to acknowledge his wrong, which proves that he aims merely at securing the honour of having striven with Erasmus ²⁾. On November 12 the change had come : the opponent, Geldenhouwer announced, owned his mistake and was ready to call on Erasmus, unless the latter should intend coming to Louvain himself ; he wished to declare under oath to have shown only to one or two persons some missive or missives — evidently their letters of June-September, about the proposed corrections in the *Novum Instrumentum* ; he had not spread any rumour amongst the divines about his works, the fault of which he threw on God knows whom ; so Geldenhouwer hopes that Dorp will soon be brought to acquiesce for ever after in Erasmus’ excellent counsel ³⁾.

That resipiscence in Dorp which Erasmus, probably on the strength of Geldenhouwer’s letter, announced to Peter Gilles on Nov. 18 ⁴⁾, and, about the same time, to Thomas More ⁵⁾,

¹⁾ Brussels, November 9, 1516 : Τὸν λύχον iam reliqueram, sed duabus epistolis seuerius acceptum, poste<a>quam sensi hominem humanitate nostra reddi ferociorem : Allen, II, 483, 24-25. On Dec. 15, 1516, More rejoices ‘Dorpium resipuisse, videlicet delinitum conuiciis quem blandiciae reddiderant ferociorem : Allen, II, 502, 3-4.

²⁾ Louvain, November 11, 1516 : Allen, II, 485, 55-66.

³⁾ Louvain, November 12, 1516 : Persancte iurat <Dorpium> se nemini mortalium præter vnum aut alterum ostendisse litteras tuas aut suas, neque se sparsisse aliquem rumorem apud theologos de tuis operibus, sed culpam nescio in quos reicit. Spero rem eo peruenturam vt Dorpius Erasmi posthac consiliis non poenitendis acquiescat : Allen, II, 487, 8-13.

⁴⁾ Brussels, Nov. 18 <, 1516> : Audio Dorpium tandem resipuisse : Allen, II, 491, 12.

⁵⁾ More replying to Erasmus, London, Dec. 15 <, 1516>, says that he hears with pleasure the news of Dorp’s recognizing his error ; he ascribes it to the harsher treatment, which prevents some people from becoming insolent through obsequiousness ; he also wishes the letters written on either side to be sent to him to read : Allen, II, 502, 2-8.

was formally made known to him by the same John Paludanus who in the first days of July had brought the news of the introductory oration to St. Paul's Epistles ¹). Again Erasmus wrote a letter ; it is lost, but the reply to it is extant ²) : Dorp assures by it that he is not different from what Paludanus has depicted ³). He hopes not to be charged any more with spreading calumny or suspicion, and promises full explanations at Erasmus' most welcome arrival in Louvain ⁴) ; he also declares that he earnestly wishes to remove all obstacles in the way of their sincere friendship : he suggests that in the next edition Erasmus should satisfy all, if there still should be any weaker brethren unable to digest anything but milk, according to St. Paul's prescription ; and he himself will always show true Christian amity, the only thing that had ever been in his mind ⁵).

The correcting of some statements in a following edition, 'proxima editio', suggested as a means to end a difference between Dorp and Erasmus, Oct.-Nov. 1516, proves clearly that the new breach had been caused by the proposing of some audacious changes, by risky assertions, possibly by some wrong statements, in the *Novum Testamentum* — as the preceding letters imply. It is a certain fact that Dorp was at least considered to have several difficulties about places

More's letter to Dorp partly quoted in the *Vita Thomæ Mori* (Stapleton, 69-71), does not belong to 1516, but to 1519, as it refers to his *edita quoque in id ornatissima oratione* (published Sept. 27, 1519) : Stapleton, 69 ; that also results from Erasmus' letter to Dorp, Febr. 21, 1517 : Allen, II, 536, 14-17 ; *MoreCorr.*, 548.

¹) Cp. *supra*, pp. 162-3 ; Allen, II, 438, 1-5.

²) That reply, only dated '1517', certainly belongs, for the reasons indicated by P. S. Allen, to the latter half of November : Allen, II, 496.

³) 'Animum illum vere praestabo quem ille <Paludanus> tibi praedicavit, et suspendam sententiam <evidently about Erasmus' New Testament> ac Academicum agam : Allen, II, 496, 4-5.

⁴) Allen, II, 496, 5-9.

⁵) Quicquid inter nos interuenit, cupio ut amoueamus et pure colamus amicitiam. Si quid est, proxima editio omnibus satisfaciet, si qui sint adhuc infirmiores, quibus lacte sit opus ; nam cum Paulo necesse est ut omnibus omnia fias et infirmis infirmus. Ego me Christianum amicum tibi exhibebo, nec alia mens mea fuit : Allen, II, 496, 18-22.

and commentaries of Erasmus' book, and it was even suspected that in 1519 he passed them on to Lee, as he could not produce them himself without offending Erasmus ¹).

That the changes proposed for the text of the Vulgate and some of the displeasing criticisms uttered on that occasion, were the *causa belli* of the second controversy is also indicated by Dorp's remark stating that he had considered it his duty as friend, to make Erasmus aware of having hurt some weaker brethren. That remark provides one more proof of his impulsive rashness : for by defending the Louvain theologians he represents them, not as grown-ups, but as infants needing milk instead of the ordinary food. That rashness also led Dorp to contradictory and absurd statements : he implies that St. Paul's prescription about minding the weaker brethren could influence the teaching of faith and truth, and that the onward march of research and study should be checked by the limping of the *infirmiores*. It appears, moreover, that if he recognized his wrong to a certain extent, it was not because he saw that his opponent was right, but because he feared that continual wrangling with Erasmus and his party might, in the end, prove as ruinous to himself and the divines as the quarrel with Reuchlin to the Cologne Faculty. It is not a mere chance that in the letter in which Geldenhouwer announces the unequivocal symptoms of the change ²), he also relates that Dorp had shown him Pfefferkorn's reply to the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, accusing them of Bohemian heresies. He also remarks that the theologians had better treat those trifles with silence, than prolong the controversy indefinitely by writing and arguing ³). Nothing indicates that this remark was made by Dorp; still he is associated with it, having provided the occasion : most probably Geldenhouwer expresses an opinion on which both agreed after comparing notes. At any rate it suggests that the sad experience of the Cologne divines again warned Dorp to put an

¹) Albert Bûrer to Beatus Rhenanus : Basle, March 19, 1520 : Sunt qui existiment Dorpii reliquias inesse Leei libello, utpote qui per hunc dediderit, quod per se ipsum absque infamia non potuerit : RE, 215.

²) Allen, II, 487, 8-13.

³) Allen, II, 487, 20-25.

end to a quibble, of which he cannot have been very enthusiastic after the recent lesson, and of which he might never see the end and the use. He probably communicated those views to other theologians, or at least to their leader, which may have led to the offer of a reconciliation to be made at the next visit of Erasmus to Louvain : the latter is therefore urgently requested to approach some of the divines, and especially their '*primarius*' and eldest, John Briart ¹⁾, '*qui vir est humanissimus doctissimusque ac rerum humanarum longa experientia callentissimus* ²⁾).

If Erasmus had conceived from Paludanus' information the pleasing impression of Dorp's sincerity in his resipiscence, he must have been disappointed by his letter. It can hardly be called an apology, let alone a generous recognition of a mistake. For, after all, it only regrets the vexation of a public disagreement, not that disagreement itself, which is attributed for a great extent to Erasmus' ready belief that Dorp could ever do anything against him. Sentences like : '*Quicquid inter nos interuenit, cupio vt amoueamus et pure colamus amicitiam*' ³⁾, do not convey the impression of a humble craving for forgiveness, but the haughty obstinacy in refusing to acknowledge one's wrong, notwithstanding the wish to put an end to an annoying quarrel. Hence the rather impudent suggestion that Erasmus should take his share in the blame by a statement in the second edition, and by making up for the past in an interview with the Louvain professors or their leader John Briart ⁴⁾, evidently through his intermediary. Taken all in all, it seems even as if the whole letter, announced as it was by Geldenhouwer and Paludanus, with all its outward show of reconciliation and good will, was merely a means of satisfying Dorp's vanity, who wanted to give the impression to a Bavarian acquaintance, John Longi-

¹⁾ See note to *Dorp Vita*, 268.

²⁾ Allen, II, 496, 23-25. Dorp's letter mentions *Petrus Atrebas*, evidently Peter Barbirius (cp. p. 135), who was ready to offer more information on the subject : possibly he went to Brussels along with John Longicampanus.

³⁾ Allen, II, 496, 18-19.

⁴⁾ Allen, II, 496, 19-24.

campanus ¹⁾), who took the message to Brussels, that he was on excellent terms with the great erudite; for it was this Langenfeld's highest wish to see and address him, and to enjoy his talk. The paragraph serving as his recommendation is the only part in the whole letter that sounds straightforward and natural.

The unsatisfactory impression made by Dorp's letter was not improved by reports of later date, according to which he was again courting the favour of the Faculty. It was rumoured that, probably owing to his criticism, some theologians contemplated having the Louvain *Alma Mater* and her Cologne '*germana*' delegated by authority to examine Erasmus' books: it made the latter humorously remark that thus they should have something to keep them occupied for a couple of years, and that moreover they should be ordered officially to study Greek, with which both of them were far behindhand. And even then, he added, it might be ἀνεμώλιον, as some of the best theologians in the country were in his favour ²⁾; which suggests that Erasmus was personally in touch with them, or that, at any rate, he knew of their opinion from his own friends. Those plottings, and especially Dorp's share in them, completely disheartened him; on December 29, 1516 he wrote to Andrew Ammonius that the affair was turning into a comedy of which Dorp was the actor;

¹⁾ John Longicampanus, Langenfeld, had taught for some time — probably privately — in Louvain, when Dorp introduced him to Erasmus; with the latter's recommendation he left for Zwolle, where under Gerard Lister, he studied Greek and mathematics. He met Erasmus again at Mayence in Sept. 1518; afterwards he went to Wittenberg where, through Melancthon's intercession, he became professor of mathematics: he died there on March 10, 1529 after a painful trouble: Allen, II, 496, 10-17, 500, 1-5, 504, 10-11, III, 867, 42, 881, *pr*; Wette, III, 431; Enders, VII, 72-3.

²⁾ Allen, II, 505, 8-13; although Erasmus speaks light-heartedly of that scheme of submitting his writings to the judgment of the two Faculties, he must have apprehended such an eventuality, which placed him at the mercy of the Louvain divines, whose convictions he felt behind Dorp's attacks, not to mention the opponents of Reuchlin. He did not belittle the danger which he had escaped, when on Febr. 24, 1517 he wrote to Ammonius: Vix credas ... quam pene hic theologorum invidia conflagrarim. Louanii gladiatorio animo ad me affectabant viam, idque conjurati, Atensi duce, &c. : Allen, II, 539, 1-9.

and yet that busy-bee, who, before, was hardly known — evidently as theologian — even in his own University, now manages to secure the advantage of renown ¹⁾).

A few days later Erasmus, to arrange matters in a friendly way, repaired to Louvain ²⁾, and called at once on Dorp; the latter, disrespectfully enough, did not return the visit of so famous a man ³⁾, but pretexted occupations, and prayed him not to ascribe his staying away to haughtiness or to neglect. He promised to make up for it by frequent calls, and he invited him, together with his host Paludanus, to dinner on the next Sunday, January 11, 1517, in the College of the Holy Ghost, where he would then meet John Briart and a few others who greatly admired Erasmus and his erudition ⁴⁾. It was probably at that meeting that Erasmus was most friendly and flatter-

¹⁾ 'N. incipit esse fabula; et tamen ardelio ille famae interim lucrum aufert, antehac vix satis Louanii notus': Allen, II, 505, 14-16.

²⁾ Erasmus was in Brussels on January 1, 1517 and had returned from Louvain on January 13: Allen, II, 507, 510, 512.

³⁾ No doubt Dorp's letter merely dated '*Ex collegio Theologorum*', which Reich and Allen place in January 1517 (Reich, 201-2; Allen, II, 509), was written any day between January 4 and 9, 1517, as is implied by the circumstances, also by the reference to *opera Hieronymi*, which Dorp had just bought, *dudum* (Allen, II, 509, 8), having been offered for sale in the Netherlands since October 1516 (Allen, II, 475, 31). The opening sentence: '*Quod hactenus non inuiserim te, &c.*' does not imply at all a very long stay of Erasmus in Louvain: RHE, 1911, 116; it has to be taken, not as an apology for a long delay, but for a breach of politeness in not returning the call of a superior. Erasmus arrived in Louvain some time after Thursday, January 1; he paid a visit to Dorp, which was not answered; a few days elapsed, and about Wednesday or Thursday, Jan. 7 or 8, Dorp wrote to apologize, and to invite him to dinner for the next Sunday, without doubt January 11. The Sunday Jan. 4 cannot be meant, for most probably Erasmus did not travel on the bacchanal New-Year's Day: if he arrived on Friday 2, and called at once on Dorp, the latter would not have had to apologize for not repaying the visit, '*vt et ego sepe volui*', if he wrote on Saturday 3; he then also would have referred to the Sunday 4, as *cras*, or *crastino die*, instead of *die Dominico*: Allen, II, 509, 1-5.

⁴⁾ That the invitation was written in January 1517 also results from the mention of the purchase of the *opera Hieronymi compaginata* which Dorp had just bought — probably in consequence of reference made during Erasmus' call; it suggests a date as near as can be to that of their arrival in the Netherlands (end of September, or beginning of October 1516): Allen, II, 474, 27, 475, 31, 509, *pr.* 539, 15-17; Reich, 201-2.

ingly received by the professors of Theology ¹⁾, and was completely restored to their favour ²⁾; for, as he explained to Andrew Ammonius, they had decided to attack him jointly under the lead of Briard, who had been the more dangerous as he had simulated friendship; they had agreed to undo him through the authority of Charles of Austria, to which they would have tried to add that of the Pope; fortunately his advent saved him from ruin; it dispelled all ill-feeling, and friendship was concluded with all the greater and lesser theologians ³⁾. That readiness of the Louvain divines to come to terms with Erasmus may be partly due to the little encouragement they had found at Court for their scheme of making Louvain and Cologne examine the orthodoxy of Erasmus writings ⁴⁾; for their plan had been hindered both by the noblemen, to whom theologians were not sympathetic, and by the learned, foremost amongst whom was the co-founder of the Theatines, the bishop of Chieti, John Peter Caraffa, then papal legate at the Brussels Court ⁵⁾. The mention of the future pope Paul IV. ⁶⁾ in this controversy, makes it evident that the trouble was caused on account of the *Novum Instrumentum*, for which work Erasmus had found in him a most zealous promoter ⁷⁾. That the *irregularitas* and the *defectus natalium* of the great Humanist had no bearing at all on the dissension ⁸⁾, is amply proved by his letter of March 11, 1517,

¹⁾ Peter Gilles wrote from Antwerp, January 18 <, 1517>: Narravit mihi Theodoricus <Martens> quam amice et blande te acceperint theologi Louanienses; quae res peperit mihi multum gaudii: Allen, II, 515, 5-7.

²⁾ Erasmus announced, on January 20, 1517, to Peter Gilles that he thought of leaving Brussels: still 'Louanium, tametsi cum theologis vtcunque reditum est in gratiam, durius ... nos acciperet in quadragesima: Allen, II, 516, 6-7.

³⁾ Antwerp, Febr. 24, 1517: Allen, II, 539, 1-9.

⁴⁾ Allen, II, 505, 8-12, 539, 1-7.

⁵⁾ Allen, II, 539, 7-9.

⁶⁾ Allen, I, 287, 7; Pastor, II, 594, sq; PastPäpst., v, 138, sq, VI, 361, sq.

⁷⁾ Letter to Leo X., London, May 21, 1515: Allen, II, 335, 248-265.

⁸⁾ Vischer, who published the text of the various dispensations from the original documents found amongst Erasmus' papers (Vischer, 16-30; Brewer, II, 2895), opines that the difficulties with the Louvain theologians were only an accessory reason for the hurried request of these protective documents: Vischer, 22-3; whilst Reich considers that the only and decisive motive of that request was that his opponents had

to Andrew Ammonius, in which he announces that the Louvain divines are doing what they can to make him come and reside in Louvain; that one of them — possibly Dorp — offers to that effect one hundred florins of his own, and that More will relate to Ammonius, if he wants, the whole comedy ¹). Indeed, it is evident that if the personal deficiencies which were to be covered by papal dispensation, had been the warp and woof of the quarrel with the Louvain divines, Ammonius had not needed any information, since, besides Erasmus, nobody was better acquainted with the circumstances than he through whom the dispensations had been requested ²); whereas Thomas More could supply ample information about Dorp's versatility and the principles and methods of some of his colleagues, having been a party in a former stage of the contention ³). That the incentive of Erasmus' insistent request for a regularized situation was the foundering of his scheme of securing a satisfactory living in England, — which compelled him to provide somehow or other for the advancing old age, — and not his difference with the Louvain divines, results moreover from the subsequent events, and most of all

already availed themselves of his irregular standing towards his order: Reich, 215. Still there is not the least proof that, up to then, that irregularity should have been mentioned, and the similar sentence in Dorp's letter and in that to Servatius Rogerus (Reich, 216; Vischer, 23; Allen, I, 296, 155-7, II, 304, 86-8) is not at all decisive: cp. above p. 166, *sq.* The letters which Dorp had shown to colleagues much to Erasmus' displeasure (Reich, 217), referred most certainly to criticisms on the *Novum Instrumentum* and to the replies thereto: cp. p. 167. Nor was the controversy brought to an end by the Papal documents (Reich, 218); on the contrary, it flared up again in Lee's wild attack of 1519, when several of Erasmus' partisans suspected Dorp of handing or of having handed to him arguments of his former discussion, or criticisms which he durst not produce himself: cp. *supra*, p. 172, n. 1.

¹) 'Theologi nunc ambiunt etiam vt Louanium commigrem, quorum vnus offert de suo centum florenos. Ex Moro totam hanc fabulam melius cognosces: Allen, II, 551, 12-15.

²) Vischer, 16-30; Reich, 213-224; Allen, II, 447, 451, &c., 517, 518, 519.

³) Three days before he wrote to Ammonius, Erasmus had applied to More himself for a document referring to the controversy, namely a better written copy of Dorp's letter to which he had replied: March 8, 1517: Allen, II, 545, 6-8.

from a reply to Dorp, — who meanwhile had apparently become reconciled with his colleagues ¹⁾).

After Erasmus had returned to Brussels, about Jan. 12, 1517, Dorp evidently apologized for having disagreed with him, pleading the advantage which one takes from an argument ; he received the polite, but firm, reply of Feb. 21, that if a discussion on general matters is beneficent, it is not at all so when it refers to faith and religion ; in such controversies the contradictor cannot try to vanquish his opponent without also proving that he is not even a Christian, and without exposing him as such to the scorn of the unlettered, and as a prey to the most perverse kind of men, who feed on the evil of others ²⁾). ‘I never doubted your intentions’, he finally declares to Dorp, whom, apparently, he still suspects of being edged on by his colleagues, ‘but I know the minds of the people about you. If they are tortured by the fact that we agree, let us make them fret more and more : for those who rejoice in the distress of others, do not deserve to be happy’ ³⁾! There can hardly be any doubt as to the purport of the past discussion, which was certainly theological ; it seems even as if Dorp expressed a fear that, even if he should break off with his colleagues, there should always be the danger of being satirized by the humanists ignoring his actual sympathies ; it also appears that he had heard rumours of such an attack — which was not the first, nor the last time, that the vainglorious divine was influenced in his opinions by the dread of pamphlets ⁴⁾). It is evident that, on that account Erasmus in his letter tries to inspire confidence and assurance : ‘Let rumours frighten you no more than they do me ; those who favour Erasmus, will also favour my Dorp, in case they feel that you are my friend’. The letter further mentions Dorp’s messages to More, which Erasmus will send on, and closes with greetings to John Briart, ‘D. Atensem, ab omnibus laudatissimum et tamen nunquam satis laudatum’ ⁵⁾).

¹⁾ On Febr. 19, 1517, he represented, with Briart and others, the Faculty at the foundation of the scholarships of Antony Wilhelmi of Poortvliet : FUL, 1837.

²⁾ Allen, II, 536, 1-6 : the abrupt beginning suggests that the opening lines were lost or suppressed when published in the *Farrago Epistolarum* of October 1519.

³⁾ Allen, II, 536, 7-11.

⁴⁾ Cp. above pp. 162, 172.

⁵⁾ Allen, II, 536, 11-24, III, 670, 675, 21-2.

Dorp and de Neve.

As results from that and the other letters of the first months of 1517, Erasmus was on excellent terms with Briart and all the Louvain divines, in so much that on May 30, 1517, he announced to More that he contemplated spending the summer in Louvain, 'theologis etiam id magnopere flagitantibus'. There was only one, the famous 'N.', who out of vanity still whispered goodness knew what, thus proving himself a most inconstant man ¹). That he referred to Dorp, appears from a similar remark made on Aug. 28 following, when, writing to Gilles, he said that Dorp was as inconstant as a woman, although quite friendly and devoted, as also was John Briart ²). When in the first days of July 1517 Archduke Charles, on his way to Spain, went to Middelburg to take the sea ³), Erasmus, instead of accompanying him as councillor ⁴), repaired, with his royal master's pleasure ⁵) to Louvain ⁶). John Briart and, through him, the other theologians, offered peace and friendship, which he accepted *simpliciter*, as he said, in all sincerity and honesty ⁷). Dorp, instead of rejoicing, seemed rather annoyed at this understanding, in which he himself had hardly had a hand and which completely turned to the credit of John Briart.

At any rate it does not seem as if, during the first months of that stay, the relations were very cordial between Erasmus and Dorp. There must have been some ill-will, and even some frictions on account of their different opinions on men and things; one, mentioned in the former's correspondence, referred to their attitude towards the Reuchlin question. It

¹) 'Solus N. murmurat adhuc nescio quid, gloriae causa, vt ne parum vir constans videatur': Allen, II, 584, 40-42.

²) Atensis totus est meus, et item Dorpius; verum is quauis muliere inconstantior: Allen, III, 637, 10-11.

³) Charles was in Zeeland from July 4 to September 7, 1517, when he embarked: Gachard, II, 20-21, 57-58.

⁴) EOO, IX, 17, A; Allen, III, 694, 4-5, 809, 127-8, 853, 2-3.

⁵) Commigraui ... Louanium; sic enim tum visum est Caesari: Allen, IV, 1225, 27.

⁶) Allen, III, 596, 1, 597, 25.

⁷) Atensis opera prouocatus sum a theologis ad amicitiam. Eam simpliciter amplexus sum, oblitus omnium quae prius in me facta dictae fuerant: Allen, IV, 1225, 29-31, also III, 597, 25-26.

appears that Erasmus had expostulated with Dorp and asked why the Louvain University, whose name and views had been mentioned by Pfefferkorn ¹⁾, had mixed at all in the case. The latter had replied that only Adrian of Utrecht had interfered ; still Reuchlin's writings had never been accused of any heresy, but merely of some errors. That is what Erasmus wrote to Reuchlin on November 15, 1517 ²⁾.

An indirect cause of discontent between the Humanist and the young professor of divinity was the question about the right to the regency and the property of the Lily. At the death of the founder Charles Viruli, May 13, 1493, the pedagogy had passed to his son Nicolas for one half, and to his chief assistant Leo Outers, of Hondschoote, for the other. On Oct. 8, 1493, the Faculty admitted these two regents, but already in 1494 Outers was by himself, since Viruli had sold him his rights against a pension ³⁾. From 1500 he administered the Lily, which now virtually belonged to him, with the help of a co-regent Cornelius Heymans, of Axel ⁴⁾, who from about 1503 was left to do the work, as Outers attended to the lucrative benefices which he had secured ⁵⁾; the Faculty meanwhile recognizing only the one regent who was the actual head of the Lily, without interfering in any agreement between Outers and his successor ⁶⁾. On September 12, 1509, John de Neve is mentioned for the first time as Regent,

¹⁾ ReuchlE, 266 ; Allen, III, 713, 14-15 : *Expostulaui cum Dorpio quare haec Academia se miscuisset tuo negotio : nam huius stylo et stultitia abusi sunt ad hoc negotii*. — Adrian of Utrecht wrote to Card. Carvajal against Reuchlin from Middelburg, May 16, 1515, and induced Prince Charles to write to the Pope ; he prob. sent his messenger with the two letters by Louvain, with a request to the University also to apply to Leo X., which was done on May 23, 1515. These three documents were published by Pfefferkorn (Cologne, 1516) in his *Beschyrmung* (L r, sq) and *Defensio* (p. 146, sq). Probably Adrian was also responsible for the censure of the *Augenspiegel* by the University on July 28, 1513 : Geiger, 282-3, 305, 311-2, 378-9 ; Friedlaender, 101-3, 111-2 ; *supra*, p. 141.

²⁾ Allen, III, 713, 14-19 : the year is evidently exact as it mentions that Adrian has just received the cardinalate, 'cui nunc contigit cardinalatus', which happened on July 1, 1517 : *Reus Adr VI.*, xvii ; Höfler, 68-71.

³⁾ *LibActArtV.*, 109 v, 121 r.

⁴⁾ *LibActArtV.*, 170 r, 178 v.

⁵⁾ He was parish-priest of Dunkirk, canon of St. Lambert's, provost of St. Paul's and Chancellor of Liège diocese : cp. above p. 125.

⁶⁾ *LibActArtV.*, 264 v, 280 v (28 July 1509) : Mgr Cornelius Heymans is the only *regens Lili*.

probably having secured the right of Heymans, who died on December 22 of that year ¹⁾). That right was contested by Nicolas Viruli ²⁾), backed by John des Marais, *Paludanus*, the executor of the founder's will ³⁾). Viruli's claims were recognized by the Faculty in May 1512 ⁴⁾), and subsequently an agreement was made with de Neve, who on October 8, 1512, obtained the regency ⁵⁾). Possibly the sentence given against de Neve about the property of the College excited Leo Outers' appetite : at any rate he introduced a law-suit against Cornelius Heymans' heirs and against his successor, on account of the pension he had reserved ⁶⁾); in 1514 he transferred his rights to Thomas Zegers, of Ardenburg ⁷⁾), and appointed him co-regent of the College, with the consent of some of its *legentes*, but without the approval of the Faculty. Two years later, on October 10, 1516, when de Neve requested the renewal of his regency, his demand was taken exception to by Zegers ; the dean asked the latter whether he wanted to continue, or to begin the regency, and as he tried to vindicate his appointment by Outers and by the *legentes* of the pedagogy ⁸⁾), the greater part of the Faculty denied that he had ever been invested with that office. An altercation arose, to which one of the *legentes* Josse Vroeye, of Gavere ⁹⁾), made a diversion by requesting that same post from the Faculty, on whom the appointment of the *Regentes* actually depended ; he argued that with the exception of the claims of Outers and others to the premises of the Lily, he had far more right to it

¹⁾ ReusDoc., iv, 176 ; on Oct. 10, 1510 de Neve was accepted as only *Regens Lilii* : *LibActArtV.*, 201 v.

²⁾ ReusDoc., iv, 173, 176, 189.

³⁾ FUL, 1136.

⁴⁾ *AFAInd.*, 3.

⁵⁾ *AFAInd.*, 7 ; *AFAExc.*, 51-2 ; FUL, 727.

⁶⁾ *AFAExc.*, 58 ; *AFAInd.*, 9, 10, 11, 12.

⁷⁾ This Thomas Zegers is without doubt identical with the 'Thomas Sigeri, Aerdenburgensis' who in the promotion of Arts of 1510 was the 4th on 148 competitors : *PromRs.*, 69 ; *LibActArtV.*, 293 v ; *LibNomI.*, 76 r.

⁸⁾ A certain right — at least that of acceptance — was given to the *legentes* in the choice of a regent. Zegers added in his request that the deputies of the Faculty had granted before to the professors of the Lily the right to decide in cases of dissension. That assertion, however, was contradicted by most of the members : *AFAExc.*, 56-60, 118-9.

⁹⁾ Cp. above pp. 110, 127.

than Zegers, having taught there a long time logic, physics and the lower classes, and having presided there at many tests and examinations for the collation of the Bachelor and Licentiate degrees : he had even assisted de Neve in its management about eight years. That diversion was caused most probably by the indignation of a confidential friend and a collaborator of many years' standing, at seeing how a much younger Master of Arts durst impose himself on the strength of a questionable appointment, as a partner of the zealous and conscientious de Neve. The Faculty, unable to solve the difficulty, admitted the latter to continue his regency, and entrusted the decision about the claims of Zegers and Vroeye to the ordinary deputies, to whom John Stercke, of Meerbeek, was joined ¹⁾).

The solution of the dispute took the shape of an agreement between Outers and de Neve : it gave the Lily and its furniture in full right and property to the latter, with the exception of the contents of two rooms, which Outers had reserved for himself ; in return de Neve assumed the payment of a sum of 800 Rhenish florins, in eight yearly instalments ; also the maintenance of two students at Outers' choice during his lifetime, and finally the discharge of the pension settled on Nicolas Viruli. That agreement revoked all rights granted to Zegers ²⁾, and settled the lawsuit about Heymans' succession ³⁾ ; it was signed by both parties on August 26, 1517 ⁴⁾ in presence of Henry Zwynghedau, of Bailleul, Official of the

¹⁾ An extract of the report of that session is copied in *FUL*, 727 ; also in *AFAExc.*, 55-60, 118-9 ; a summary — which wrongly attributes to de Neve the intention of resigning — is drawn up in *AFAInd.*, 13.

²⁾ Outers took the engagement to help and advise de Neve in his suit against Zegers and to indemnify him if ever the sentence to be passed (prob. in the Faculty of Arts) should be in his disfavour.

³⁾ That lawsuit called in question the right to the emoluments from November 1505 : Outers undertook to refund whatever he should have gained, and de Neve was to indemnify him for what he might have lost ; also to pay the amounts due to Outers by Heymans when he managed the Lily by himself, and reimburse whatever Zegers might have spent for the economy of the college : *AFAInd.*, 9, 10, 11.

⁴⁾ The original deed on parchment, authenticated by J. Vullinck, reposes in *FUL*, 1138.

Tournai diocese in Bruges ¹⁾, of John of 'Loemel', Liège Archdeacon ²⁾, of Josse Vroeye and of the notary John Vullinck ³⁾. Effectively it also put an end to various lawsuits pending in the Court of the Conservator of the University Privileges ⁴⁾.

That question about the property and management of the Lily disagreeably interfered with Erasmus' stay, who had been invited to reside in the spacious rooms of that pedagogy, which singularly attracted him as more appropriate for his work. Still he did not want to take sides in the quarrel, being on excellent terms with the various parties : if he was de Neve's good friend, he also was Vroeye's, and especially Outers', whom he gratefully calls his 'patronus vetus et unice observandus'. He therefore resorted to his 'vetus hospes' John des Marais, though he was pinched for room ⁵⁾, for he had come with all his books and belongings ⁶⁾. His position was difficult since each contending party tried to attract him to his own side and was ready to misconstrue whatever he did in favour of an opponent ⁷⁾. When the question had been solved, at least principally by the agreement of August 26, 1517,

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 43, a, b, 212, 12.

²⁾ John Huberti, of Lommel, licentiate and, for a time, professor of laws in Louvain, was, *inter alia*, Archdeacon of Famenne (AleaE, 81, 87; *AléaLiège*, 154, 165-6, 168, 364), and canon of Our Lady's, Antwerp, where he died Oct. 17, 1532, founding several scholarships in the Porc, Standonck and St. Ivo Colleges in Louvain : Mol., 630, 635, 637; FUL, 1096, 1937, 2072-3; VAnd., 157, 258, 272, 297; Diercxsens, iv, 62-3; *Bib-Belg.*, 528; *KalkAlgLu.*, 95, 154; *DocPLiège.*, i, 28, &c.; Halkin, 273-4; *LibNomI.*, 146 v.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 111, b, c, 20, 40, 51.

⁴⁾ Gestel, II, 14. At that time the professor of laws John Godefridi, of Wemeldinge, was Conservator on account of his function of Dean of St. Gudula's Brussels : VAnd., 40, 53, 70, 155, 157, 177, 184, 258; Vern., 51.

⁵⁾ On July 17 <, 1517> Erasmus wrote to Tunstall : Louanium commigrauius cum omnibus sarcinis, etiamsi nondum reperta sedes satis accommoda studiis et animo nostro : Allen, III, 607, 1-2; cp. 605, 7-8, 641, 8.

⁶⁾ On July 17 Erasmus wrote to Peter Barbirius : 'Louanium vna cum omnibus sarcinis commigrauius' : Allen, III, 608, 10; to Œcolampadius he observed about the same time : 'Louanii sedem habere videor, vbi mea est bibliotheca' : Allen, III, 605, 7-8; similarly on August 29, he announced to George Halewyn : 'Totus, hoc est cum bibliotheca, Louanium commigraui' : Allen, III, 641, 8.

⁷⁾ He mentions to Tunstall that *dissidiolum*, on account of which he could not accept satisfactory lodgings, 'ne alterutram partem offendam', he wrote, 'dum vtraque me ad sese trahit' : Allen, III, 643, 13-14.

he decided to accept de Neve's hospitality : on August 31 he announces to Tunstall that he is going to remove to rooms where he can lay open his books ¹⁾. On Sept. 7, he informs Mark Laurin that within four days he hopes to be installed comfortably in the Lily under the care of the most erudite and humane de Neve ²⁾, and finally on Sept. 16, 1517, he dates his letter to Mark Laurin 'ex Liliano gymnasio' ³⁾.

Although Dorp had left the Lily in 1515 for the College of the Holy Ghost, and the Faculty of Arts for that of Theology, he had mixed in the contest, which may have derived an additional dram of bitterness and pertinacity from de Neve's character, who was as slow in taking a decision as he was obstinate and headstrong in sticking to what he once had decided. It is evident that he did not second his former Regent, but had chosen the party of Outers and Zeghers, and consequently kept away from Erasmus whom he knew to favour de Neve. Although appearing most friendly during those weeks when the great humanist was incorporated into the Faculty of Divinity, chiefly through Briart ⁴⁾, there had been so little familiarity and such scanty contacts between the two men, that it was after Erasmus had taken up his abode in the Lily that Dorp learned why he had waited so long to accept de Neve's invitation ⁵⁾. On one of the scarce meetings, possibly at one of the functions of the Faculty, which Erasmus punctually attended ⁶⁾, Dorp must have tried to arouse him even against his host, and he succeeded so far that Erasmus expostulated with de Neve, which nearly caused a quarrel and a rupture. It certainly was a disappointment

¹⁾ 'Totus commigraui Louanium ... Adhuc apud Paludanum hereo, veterem hospitem ; sed migraturus aliquo, vbi plus spatii sit libris explicandis'; he then refers to the 'dissidiolum' which had kept him away from those rooms : Allen, III, 643, 6, 11-14.

²⁾ 'Nondum plane consedi Louanii, sed intra quadriduum consedero sat, vt opinor, commode, idque in Collegio Liliense apud eruditissimum pariter atque humanissimum virum M. Ioannem Neuium Hontiscotanium' : Allen, III, 651, 10-13.

³⁾ Allen, III, 666, 5.

⁴⁾ Allen, III, 641, 8-13, 643, 6-9, &c.

⁵⁾ Allen, III, 696, 8-9.

⁶⁾ Allen, III, 695, 18-19 ; *ActAcLov.*, 76-83.

to Erasmus to find that Dorp was not only as fickle as a woman ¹⁾, but ungrateful and ungentlemanly. As the latter evidently did not darken the doors of the Lily, he received an admonitory letter by which Erasmus informed him that, although generally advising peace and concord, he had related to de Neve what he had been told, and had nearly provoked a breach. The letter further reminds Dorp that he dishonours himself by mixing in a quarrel which does not concern him in the least ²⁾, and by bearing a grudge against a man with whom he had been most familiarly connected; who had been his mentor, and master, and intimate friend ³⁾ during so many years, and who moreover ‘constantissime diligit quem complecti ceperit ⁴⁾.’

That letter, which survives in a fragment without date ⁵⁾, was written after September 16, when Erasmus was definitely installed in the Lily ⁶⁾, and before the 10th of October 1517, when de Neve was finally accepted as only Regent of the College by the Faculty ⁷⁾, which implies that the contest with Zegers about that regency had been also decided there in his favour. The letter mentions the humane and peace-loving disposition of de Neve, who deserves to be free from *tricis* so as to have leisure to study. On that account he had abstained for a time to come and live with him, and even now the

¹⁾ Allen, III, 637, 11.

²⁾ Allen, III, 696, 14. From this chapter of the history of the Lily, it appears that there is no reference at all to the Reuchlin quarrel in Erasmus' letter, as Allen supposes in his preface.

³⁾ Dorp had expressed his friendly and grateful feelings to de Neve in his dedication to the *Dialogus* about Hercules' trial, printed in the last months of 1513, and he had been flattered by his appreciation of the *Tomus Aululariæ*, as he published the praising letter: Dorp *Dial.*, [A] c-A ii v, E i r, v.

⁴⁾ Allen, III, 696, 12-15.

⁵⁾ It has no proper beginning; what there is of it, is copied out on the lower portion of a page left blank in the Deventer Letter-book after and before letters of November, which implies that it is out of place in the series: Allen, III, 696, *pr.*

⁶⁾ Allen, III, 666, 5.

⁷⁾ FUL, 727; AFAExc., 60, where is mentioned that de Neve is also recorded as the only Regent of the Lily for 1518 and 1519. On March 11, 1518, Zegers had left Louvain: *LibNoml.*, 136 v; whereas Vroeye continued his usual teaching and study in the Lily: Allen, III, 717, 21.

contubernium would be more enjoyable if there were not those suits and contests : not that he annoys his *conviva* with them, still it would leave more freedom to devote themselves to their common studies. The missive, consequently, has to be placed in the second half of September 1517, a few days after Erasmus had settled in the room on the first floor, near the chief staircase, which had been occupied first by Nicolas Viruli, afterwards by Leo Outers ; what with his books and his belongings, to which had recently been added ‘*sellae duae opere Bruxellensis*’, purchased through Gilles’s servant John ¹⁾ ; and what with the most learned and humane host, finally freed from all lawsuits and contestations, and with the society of genial friends, like Josse Vroeye, John Becker, and James of Hasebroeck ²⁾, also, at least for some time, Rutger Rescius ³⁾, the new quarters pleased him to such an extent that on November 16, 1517, he could assure Geldenhouwer that he nowhere had been as happy before : ‘*nec vnquam*’, he added, ‘*vixi magis ex animi mei sententia*’ ⁴⁾. When in Autumn 1521, he went to Basle, he left the greater part of his furniture in the room to which he intended returning for good, but which after a while was occupied by de Neve ⁵⁾, in so much that, at the latter’s sudden decease, Josse

¹⁾ Erasmus to Peter Gilles, c Aug. 1, and Aug. 28, 1517 : Allen, III, 616, 16-17, 637, 11-12.

²⁾ Allen, III, 717, 20-21, 737, 7, 932, 52-4. Cp. *CorpInq.*, IV, 483.

³⁾ Rutger Rescius probably left Martens’ house on being appointed in the *Trilingue* ; whilst that College was building, he resided in the Lily from Sept. 1, 1518 to Oct. 18, 1520 (*BusCRek.*, 92 r, v), ‘plus minus biennio’, and he occupied the room on the ground-floor underneath that of Erasmus : that is reported by Gerard John Vossius on the faith of a manuscript by *Henricus Coracopetræus* (van Ravensteen) *Cuccensis*, dated Nymegen, October 27, 1569. The latter had been Rescius’ pupil, and had collected that information from his lips ; he adds that once Erasmus had invited there to dinner Henry Glareanus, who coming from Paris, mentioned the peculiar pronunciation of some Greeks in that town, and thus occasioned the writing of the *Dialogus de Recta Latini Græcique Sermonis Pronunciatione* : EOO, I, 911.

⁴⁾ Allen, III, 714, 24-25.

⁵⁾ Neve was struck by apoplexy after a joyful supper, ‘quum ascenderet’, Erasmus writes, ‘gradus illos a me toties calcatos (nam demigrarat in cubiculum meum)’ : Allen, IV, 1209, 4, V, 1347, 7-9, 1351, 28, 1355, 15-36 ; *Cran*, 26.

Vroeye had some trouble in rescuing Erasmus' property from the greed of the poor heirs ¹).

If Erasmus wrote that letter to Dorp in the hope of inspiring him with a little grateful veneration towards the master to whom he had expressed that feeling so lavishly a few years before ²), or in the hope of making him abstain from inconsiderate criticism, he probably lost his labour; for when, by the end of April 1518, all was at peace again, Dorp intercepted a pupil, whom Goswin of Haelen, Groningen headmaster, had brought to Louvain, although recommended by a letter to de Neve. The latter, on hearing, felt indignant. Erasmus, relating the incident to Gerard Lister, judged that, although 'inter eos parum conuenit', what Dorp had done was so far from being civil that it almost looked like treachery ³). Although living himself in de Neve's intimacy, he did not break off any of his former connections: thus on December 9, 1517, he sent his special greetings to Leo Outers, 'patrono veteri et vnice obseruando', through the Liège Benedictine, Paschasius Berselius ⁴). Remorse finally came to Dorp in November 1519 ⁵).

"Alcedonia".

The callous way in which an intimate old friend and protector like John de Neve was treated by Martin van Dorp

¹) On March 27, 1523 Josse Vroeye wrote to Erasmus about his books, table, wine, *sellae duae* and *lectica*, adding about his *ciati* that the heirs considered them as a payment for his stay in the Lily: FG, 6-7; Allen, v, 1355; the *Officialis Brugensis* referred to, is not Balthazar de Cordes, but Henry Zwynghedau, of Bailleul, *Balliolus*, who was succeeded by his brother Adam: *Cran.*, 43, a, b, 212, 12.

²) Dorp *Dial.*, [A i] v-A ii v: I dedicate the *Dialogus* to you, de Neve, he says, 'quod plurimis abs te beneficiis affectus, aliquo saltem monimento testari velim, animum mihi esse haud quicquam illorum immemorem: sed quod cupiat gratiam referre, modo ne ad calculos (vt Cicero ait) cum acceptis referatur'. He further praises him for his dialectics, theology, eloquence, for his able teaching and managing.

³) Letter to Lister <, Louvain, c 26 April, 1518>: Allen, III, 838, 7-10.

⁴) 'D. Leoni ... fac me commendes non vulgariter: Allen, III, 735, 8-9.

⁵) He wrote from The Hague, Nov. 28, 1519, to Erasmus: Saluta, queso, D. Neuium et ora vt veterum turbarum ne meminerit. Scio si rem penitus nosset, nunquam admodum egre me ferret: Allen, IV, 1044, 75-6.

must have caused no end of misgivings to Erasmus. More than ever he wanted to be backed up by Universities and Faculties in his great plan of renewing the spirit of the clergy and the Church by a methodical study of the Bible ¹). He had hoped to find that moral support in Louvain, where there was as yet no blinding animosity, like that of Cologne against Reuchlin, or that of Paris about Faber. He had also expected to find a spokesman in Dorp on account of his glorious performances as teacher and literator, and it was disappointing to experience his inconsistency at the very moment when difficulties were rising against the *Novum Instrumentum*, which was to be the first stage towards his great scheme of Church Reform.

When in August 1517, he had managed by his calm reasoning to bring the leader of the Louvain theologians John Briart to approve of all the opinions expressed in his writings without exception ²), he expected also some actual and effective sympathy from Dorp, who in his oration about the Epistles of St. Paul in the preceding year, had shown to be enthusiastic for all his theories, and who, through Erasmus' endeavours and patience, had been spared the disagreements of a controversy like that in which James Lefèvre of Etaples was then involved ³). Yet although he had to say that Dorp was all his — at least outwardly — like John Briart, he could not help adding that he was 'quavis muliere inconstantior' ⁴). For certainly, Erasmus must have been sensitive to the complete lack of any hearty encouragement in his growing difficulties, to a kind of coldness or aloofness; and in the absence of any ground for disagreement, he could not but attribute that unfeelingness to Dorp's vanity, who was so thirsting

¹) Cp. his letter to George Halewyn, Aug., 29, 1517, in which, like in most of the epistles of the second half of 1517, he lays stress on his agreeing with the Louvain divines : Allen, III, 641, 8-13.

²) On Sept. 16, 1517 he wrote to More : *Atensis omnia mea probat citra exceptionem* : Allen, III, 669, 6-7, IV, 1061, 13-20, 1225, 118, VII, 2045, 94-9.

³) About Sept. 7, 1517, Erasmus wrote to Peter le Barbier : 'Scis me nihil non tum fecisse tum passum fuisse, ne cum Dorpio conflictarer; et tamen multo minus id voluissem cum Fabro' : Allen, III, 652, 10-12.

⁴) Louvain, Aug. 28, 1517 : Allen, III, 637, 11.

for his own glory that he could not pour out the least little drop to a friend ¹⁾).

With all that Erasmus did not want to give any ground for offence : he had borne Dorp's coolness with great patience, and had effectually avoided mixing in the controversy about the Lily except when especially requested to do so. Meanwhile he had carefully removed out of the way any obstacle to peace and understanding, and he did what he could to prevent his own friends taking up his cause and breaking a lance against Dorp. For several humanists had been thoroughly disheartened at the senseless attack of the Louvain professor ²⁾). Amongst them was Richard Pace, a secretary of the English embassy in Italy, who sent so violent an answer to Dorp's letters, that Erasmus judged that he could not deliver it to him without feeling ashamed himself ³⁾). So although he praised his vindicator as a Hercules for having slain such a *portentum*, even *ἄνευ Θησέως*, his *congerro* More ⁴⁾), he decided on suppressing the document altogether ⁵⁾), apparently for the author's own sake ⁶⁾), giving afterwards as only reason the good understanding with Dorp then prevailing, and his own wish to secure the favour of a few universities for his works and his influence ⁷⁾).

Erasmus' earnest wish to be backed and upheld by the Louvain *Alma Mater*, is shown in the satisfaction with which in nearly all his letters of August 1517, he dwells on the true

¹⁾ Letter to More, Sept. 16, 1517 : 'Dorpius ex animo fauet, sed suae gloriae perparcus est, ne dicam famelicus; quo minus potest in amicum transfundere' : Allen, III, 669, 7-9.

²⁾ Thus on October 30, 1517, Charles Ofhuys announces to Erasmus from Paris that he has read Dorp's letter, and what Erasmus had replied 'luculentissime' : Allen, III, 692, 1-3.

³⁾ Letter to Beatus Rhenanus, Louvain, Dec. 6, 1517 : Allen, III, 732, 53-55 : 'Misit <Paceus> epistolam qua me defendit aduersus Dorpium, sed eiusmodi vt puduerit reddere ipsius nomine'. To Gilles he wrote about the same time : 'Epistola <Pacei> ad Dorpium me non valde cepit; quanquam eam nondum perlegi' : Allen, III, 736, 7-8.

⁴⁾ Allen, III, 741, 5-8.

⁵⁾ Letter to John Molendinus < Jan. 1518 > : Allen, III, 755, 3-4.

⁶⁾ Letter to More, Febr. 22, 1518 : Allen, III, 776, 19-20.

⁷⁾ Letter to Richard Pace, March 5, 1518 : 'Dorpio certis de causis non reddidi tuam epistolam. Satis mihi cum illo conuenit, et ita res flagitat vt aliquot academias habeam fauentes' : Allen, III, 787, 12-14.

friendship, the *arctissima necessitudo* uniting him with Dorp and Briart ¹⁾, and on the *pax altissima* reigning between him and the theologians ²⁾. Not that he felt absolutely secure ³⁾, or that there was no dread of any latent dissent ⁴⁾; still circumstances seemed so inviting that he decided on a longer stay in the University, and accordingly matriculated, on August 30, 1517 ⁵⁾. It seems as if the theologians felt flattered by that confidence and they at once decided co-opting him ⁶⁾, although that honour was rarely given except to those who had gained their title of Doctor in Louvain ⁷⁾. If the Faculty did not appoint him as a member in the statutorial meeting of August 31, they did at that of September 30; those meetings were also highly favourable to Martin van Dorp: at the first he was elected dean of the Faculty; at the second he requested to be admitted to lecture, and was accepted ⁸⁾. Erasmus' co-optation, which apparently was a solemn approval of his grand scheme about the New Testament, did not make him a *regens*, or member of the *Collegium Strictum*, the narrow

¹⁾ Allen, III, 637, 10, 641, 12, 643, 7-9, and, also mentioning William Janssens, *Joannis*, of Vianen (de Jongh, 155; FUL, 957, 1661, 1839, 2074, 2446), 650, 4, 651, 22, 673, 10.

²⁾ Allen, III, 627, 10, 640, 4-5, 641, 9, 642, 8, 643, 6-11, 650, 3, 651, 21, 654, 5, 660, 16, 675, 20-4, 694, 3, 794, 32-34.

³⁾ To Antony of Luxemburg he wrote on Sept. 17, 1517: 'Ago nunc comediam theologicam, et vtcunque procedit ... Sed non est animus diu hac mercede agere fabulas meo sumptu, ne ledant theologi': Allen, III, 673, 9-11.

⁴⁾ On Aug. 29, 1517, he writes to George Halewyn: 'Oblatrant vnus et alter τῶν πτωχῶν, sed in absentem': Allen, III, 641, 13; cp. 640, 5, 794, 34-36.

⁵⁾ *LibInt* III., 236 r: '1517 augusti penultima: Magister Erasmus de roterodāmis sacre theologie professor'. — In the margin a later hand added: ille nominatissimus: *Excerpts*, 99.

⁶⁾ On the same day Aug. 30, 1517 he wrote to Tunstall: 'Mihi adeo conuenit cum theologis vt velint me in suum ordinem cooptare; quod honoris vix cuiquam impertiunt nisi hic doctoris adepto titulum': Allen, III, 642, 8-10. Already on August 28 he announced that the Faculty had that intention: Allen, III, 637, 9, 641, 10; also 643, 9-11, 694, 3-4.

⁷⁾ On November 2, 1517, he wrote to Pirckheimer: 'cooptatus <sum> in consortium theologorum, licet in hac academia non sim insignitus titulo doctoris': Allen, III, 694, 3-4; Reich, 190.

⁸⁾ de Jongh, 41*. On September 7, Erasmus does not yet seem to have been appointed, as he writes to Marc Laurin: 'Iam enim propemodum in suum collegium cooptarunt <me Theologi>': Allen, III, 651, 23.

Faculty, *Étroite Faculté* ¹⁾, of which the number of members was restricted by statute ²⁾. Most probably he entered what was called later on the *Collegium Largum* ³⁾, which although not taking an efficient share in the management of the Faculty as a teaching body, yet always prompted advice, and attended in a prominent place the *actus doctoratus* and *licenciatus* and other solemn functions ⁴⁾. The Faculty, in co-opting 'magnu molimine' ⁵⁾ the *extraneus* doctor Erasmus ⁶⁾, evidently gave the plainest proof of perfect understanding; nor is it without significance that, at the meeting of December 29, 1517, they

¹⁾ As in the three other higher Faculties, the *Collegium Strictum* of Divinity administered the Faculty, arranged the lectures and the tests, admitted the candidates, granted the power of lecturing or refused that permission; its members divided amongst themselves all the emoluments resulting from the acts and exams, or arising from the property and the benefices with which the Faculty was endowed: especially those material advantages seem to have caused that committee to remain actually *strictum*: FUL, 411-441, 443, 500, 551, 634, &c.

²⁾ The regular number was 8 for the Faculty of Divinity; at the meeting of the 30th of September, at which probably Erasmus was admitted, two recently-created *Magistri Nostri*, Eustache of Sichem and Jacobus Remigii, both Dominicans, requested to be received as *regentes*, which was granted to them *ex speciali dispensatione pro hac vice*: being friars they probably had no part in the emoluments. That exception to the rule, which the author of the extracts through which these reports are known, the famous professor J. F. van de Velde, indicated by the remark: 'Erant igitur decem regentes', was probably granted to the Dominicans, so as to take out of the way any possible objection to Erasmus' co-optation; which admission probably was recorded in the *Liber Actorum*, but deleted afterwards; for van de Velde noted at that place: 'Aliqua deleta': VAnd., 85, 104; de Jongh, 41*.

³⁾ The *Largum Collegium* seems to have consisted of all those who had gained the doctoral degree, and had thus been incorporated actually into the Faculty; it comprised, besides the *Collegium Strictum*, some 'doctores' living in Louvain, at least those who had been co-opted: FUL, 639-640, for the *Coll. Largum* of the Faculties of Law.

⁴⁾ On Nov. 2, 1517, Erasmus wrote to Peter Barbirius (Allen, III, 695, 18-19): 'Sum plane magister noster, pene assiduus in omnibus actibus in quibus actum agunt'; indeed fourteen *licenciatus* were celebrated from October to December 1517, and on October 13 took place the Doctorate of Erasmus' future enemy Vincent Diercx, *Theodorici*, of Haarlem: VAnd., 104; de Jongh, 41*, 42*; Allen, IV, 1162, 93-8.

⁵⁾ On Aug. 31, 1517, Erasmus wrote to Tunstall: 'Agunt inter se nescio quid de adlegendendo me in suum, hoc est in deorum, numerum et agunt magno molimine': Allen, III, 643, 9-11.

⁶⁾ Allen, III, 694, 3-4.

raised Dorp's fees as president of the College of the Holy Ghost ¹⁾).

In that most welcome 'cum theologis alcedonia' ²⁾, whilst working through the winter at his new edition of *Novum Instrumentum* ³⁾, Erasmus took in hand the execution of Busleyden's bequest, and caused Mattheus Adrian to start his Hebrew lectures. In that undertaking Dorp was one of the foremost to encourage him : ' we all become *trilingues* here ', Erasmus announced to Peter le Barbier, ' and Dorp is the chief of the Hebrew faction ' ⁴⁾. When, about the beginning of May, he left Louvain for Basle to superintend the printing of the New Testament ⁵⁾, his friend took it to heart to keep him informed about the new institution : on July 14, he sends word about John Becker's leaving for Veere, and about his successor Barlandus, as Latin professor ; he attributes the declining number of Mattheus' hearers to the fact that the lessons are not paid yet by the trustees ⁶⁾. He communicates Briart's greetings and the assurance of his great esteem ⁷⁾ ; he regrets the editing of the *Lamentationes illas ridiculas, stultas, insanas* of the Cologne professors ⁸⁾. By various remarks he proves that he is completely on Erasmus' side in the difficulties with Lefèvre and others ⁹⁾ ; and his insistence on being remembered to Claud Chansonnette, and to the great triumvirate of Basle scholars Louis Ber, Fabritius Capito and Beatus Rhenanus, is one more proof of his enthusiasm for humanism ¹⁰⁾, unless it has to be ascribed to that vanity and love of glory, which had been taken exception to before. Still he has the courage to humiliate himself ; for that very letter, already an act of veneration to Erasmus, culminating

¹⁾ de Jongh, 42*.

²⁾ Allen, III, 794, 32, IV, 1225, 31-32.

³⁾ Allen, III, 714, 19-21, 759, 16-18, 763, 6.

⁴⁾ March 6, 1518 : Dorpius Hebraicae factionis dux est : Allen, III, 794, 75-78.

⁵⁾ Allen, III, 842, 843, &c. ; he reached Basle on Ascension day, May 13 : Allen, III, 848, 1.

⁶⁾ Allen, III, 852, 70-77.

⁷⁾ Allen, III, 852, 62-67.

⁸⁾ Allen, III, 852, 37-44.

⁹⁾ Allen, III, 852, 44-53.

¹⁰⁾ Allen, III, 852, 17-33, 77-85, 90-96.

in the statement that he does not wish to be outstripped in friendship, also brings the acknowledgment that, taught by time and experience, as had been predicted, he now regrets, and feels ashamed for what he had admired before ¹⁾).

To Erasmus that statement must have sounded as an apology ; it certainly was the beginning of a period of trust and devotion, which was not to be interrupted by any wavering or doubt. The return from Basle ²⁾, which had been hailed in that letter by the exclamation : 'o candidum diem qui te Louanio reddet' ³⁾, was uncommonly sad, for the weakly scholar was laid up on his arrival with an illness, suspected to be the pest ; it kept him several days at the house of Thierry Martens ⁴⁾ ; hardly had Dorp heard of his coming, when he hastened to call, as also did Briart ⁵⁾. And yet the trial of their constancy had already begun.

Some timorous or invidious men amongst the divines and the friars had, since some months, spread criticisms about the *Novum Instrumentum* and its author ; they refrained from an open attack, at least for the time ⁶⁾ ; but they had, it seems, troubled the placid convictions of the leader of the Faculty. The editing of the *Encomium Matrimonii* : Louvain, March, and Basle, Aug. 1518 ⁷⁾, had probably blown misgivings into the smouldering suspicion. At any rate at the *actus licentiat*

¹⁾ 'Porro tibi, charissime Erasme, quum omnes omnia, ego tamen hoc neutiquam concedam, vt mihi in amicitiae stadio anteuertas. Verissimum esse re ipsa comperio quod olim dixisti, aetatem, tempus, rerum vsum multa afferre hominibus. Quod admiratus sum olim, huius nunc poenitet et pudet' : Allen, III, 852, 96-100.

²⁾ In September 1518 : Allen, III, 867.

³⁾ Allen, III, 852, 107.

⁴⁾ He put up Erasmus' amanuenses : Allen, III, 852, 1-16 : July 14, 1518.

⁵⁾ Letter to Beatus Rhenanus, c Oct. 15, 1518 : irrupit Dorpius omnium primus, mox Atensis : Allen, III, 867, 255 ; to Herman of Neuenahr, Oct. 19, 1518 : Dorpius primus omnium nos inuisit, deinde Atensis, cum rumor esset me peste laborare : Allen, III, 878, 11-12, IV, 1225, 78.

⁶⁾ Letter to Jodocus Jonas, October 19, 1518 : 'Quot conuiciis fratrum ac theologorum lapidatum est Nouum Testamentum ! sed hactenus in absentem omnia, coram nemo verbum' : Allen, III, 876, 12-14 ; friendship, however, seemed unbroken as yet.

⁷⁾ With the *Querimonia Pacis* and the *Encomium Artis Medicae*, it was printed by Martens under the title *Declamationes aliquot Erasmi Roterdami*, March 30, 1518 : Iseghem, 282-3 ; Allen, III, 604, 10 ; *BibEr.*, I, 84.

of the Carmelite John Robyns, Febr. 21, 1519 ¹⁾, John Briart made an oration in which several auditors thought they heard covert allusions to Erasmus' doctrines, and, for certain, the assertion that it was a heresy to extol matrimony over celibacy. Dorp, who visited Erasmus with Gilles of Delft ²⁾ on the day following ³⁾, denied having perceived anything levelled at him, except the remark about marriage, which he said, had been caused by the appearance of the *Declamatio de Laude Matrimonii*, which was reported to place the connubial state above single life ⁴⁾. In his earnest desire to prevent any breach, Dorp arranged an interview between the two men ⁵⁾, which convinced Briart of having mistaken the sense of the word *declamatio* for : a sermon, instead of : a literary composition, and *coelibatus* for : the state of virgin purity, instead of : bachelorship ⁶⁾ ; so he withdrew what he had said, and peace was made and a *convivium*. To cut short obloquy, Erasmus wrote a calm *Apologia*, March 1, 1519 ⁷⁾ : he praises Briart's thoughtfulness in not mentioning his name, explains how the misunderstanding of the Latin terms caused the wrong judgment about one of his first compositions, which, far from being a dogmatical treatise, was merely a literary exercise intended to convince a young nobleman — William, Lord Mountjoy — of the advantage of the marriage for which

¹⁾ de Jongh, 44* ; cp. further pp. 197-8.

²⁾ Gilles of Delft, *Delphus* (Guicc., 185), was a philosopher and a divine of the Sorbonne, whom Erasmus praises for his poetry, and who wrote several theological works ; he was staying at the Lily in February 1519, and dated from there his *Conclusiones in Sententias*, May 31, 1519, printed by Th. Martens, June 1519 : *BibBelg.*, 25 ; Allen, II, 456, 87, III, 922, 23-25, IV, 1196, 489 ; Renaudet, 118-119, 129, 131, &c. ; *EngHist-Rev.*, XVII, 420 ; EOO, I, 1013, F, IX, 753, F ; Iseghem, 233 ; Imbart, II, 384.

³⁾ In his *Catalogus omnium Lucubrationum* to Botzheim, Basle, Jan. 30, 1523, Erasmus expresses the opinion that Dorp and Delphus were sent by Briart to make up for the criticism : Allen, I, p. 23, 1-3.

⁴⁾ EOO, IX, 107, D ; Allen, IV, 1225, 100, VII, 2037, 141, 2045, 100 ; Bludau, 83.

⁵⁾ Dorp's letter to Rhenanus, Aug. 3, 1519 : ' eum tumultum ego mox conatus sum manibus pedibusque sedare ; cursitavi ea gratia sursum ac deorsum, omnem quidem demovi lapidem, quo graviter sarciretur, et eo perduxeram, ut conveniret inter eos ' : RE, 169.

⁶⁾ EOO, IX, 109, B ; Erasmus shows how suspicions of heresy may arise from a want of knowledge of Latin, in his *Apologia adversus Debachationes Sutoris*, EOO, IX, 770, B, and in Allen, VII, 2045, 100-110.

⁷⁾ *Apologia pro Declamatione Matrimonii* : Basle, Froben, mense maio, 1519 ; EOO, IX, 105-112 ; *BibEr.*, I, 13.

he felt an aversion ¹⁾). Thus was settled the only difficulty raised by Briart's oration, as Dorp and his friends Gilles of Delft and *Bintius* — probably John Lengherant of Binche, *Bincius* ²⁾) — asserted that no other allusions were made ³⁾). This short incident, however, rankled very long in Erasmus' memory ⁴⁾) although, at the time, it did not disturb at least outwardly the seemingly calm atmosphere, and there reigned even between Briart and Erasmus a cordiality and an understanding which did not suffer from the later events ⁵⁾).

Dorp Erasmus' Protector.

It was not long before difficulties arose against Erasmus. They were caused by the appearance of the second edition of the *Novum Instrumentum*, January 1519, and especially by that of the *Methodus*, the introduction about the study of the

¹⁾ Already in 1519 this *Declamatio* was inserted as an example of *Epistola Suasoria* in *De Conseribendis Epistolis* : EOO, ix, 108, c ; Erasmus mentions it, as a proof that it was a mere literary composition : EOO, i, 414, E-424, B ; it uses all arguments derived from logic and physics, from history, law and religion, and points out the evils resulting from the celibacy of priests and monks which lawful marriage might prevent : EOO, i, 419, B-E. That suggestion was often made in the xvth century and even by men like Cochläus : Spahn, 272-7.

²⁾ John Lengherant, of Binche, matriculated in Louvain on Aug. 31, 1499 as student of the Falcon, and became M. A. in 1505, being classed the fourth ; he entered the University Council for the Faculty of Arts, May 29, 1512, and promoted doctor of divinity on July 4, 1514. He was a member of the 'Collegium Strictum' of Theology from 1515 to 1517, in which year he was elected dean on February 28. He sold his house in *Rue du Mayeur* to Matthew of Dordrecht for the 'Domus Pauperum Standonck', on Febr. 11, 1518, and probably left Louvain soon after : VAnd., 101 ; *LibIntIII.*, 70 r, 124 r ; FUL, 2027 ; *PromRs.*, 67 ; *ReusDoc.*, iv, 90 ; de Jongh, 162, 39*-42* ; *Cran.*, iii.

³⁾ EOO, ix, 110, D ; Allen, iv, 1126, 191.

⁴⁾ On Jan. 30, 1523 when Erasmus wrote his *Catalogus omnium Lucubrationum*, he related how — at least in his opinion — Briart had been incited by some *artifices*, who — as he was of an excitable character — 'illum impulerunt in mortem. Nec enim erat illius aetas ac valetudo par huiusmodi tragoediis sustinendis' : Allen, i, p. 22, 30, *sq.*

⁵⁾ Thus in April-May Briart approved of the *Apologia* against Lato-mus : Allen, iii, 960, 6-7 ; on July 15, 1519 is recorded his displeasure at Lee's way of treating Erasmus : Allen, iv, 998, 4, 14 ; EOO, ix, 753, E.

Bible and of divinity, which had been worked out into a full-size treatise, the *Ratio seu Compendium Verae Theologiae* ¹⁾. It attributed a great importance to the knowledge and the use of languages, and as that same importance had been asserted with bold assurance by Peter Mosellanus, a congenial humanist, in an oration addressed to the University of Leipzig a few months before ²⁾, it caused vehement criticism in Louvain. One of the younger theologians, James Masson, *Latomus*, who was well acquainted with several languages ³⁾, decided to pick up the gauntlet which seemed to be thrown down; for Erasmus' and Mosellanus' statements sounded like provocations in the unsettledness about the question of the *Trilingue*, especially since Alard of Amsterdam, in his intempestive ardour, had announced on March 7 that, the next day, he was going to lecture on one of Erasmus' works, most probably the *Ratio*, at Busleiden College. The announcement remained without effect, for the Faculty of Theology, headed by Briart, prevented Alard from lecturing, to which, in fact, he had no right; still it caused some trouble to the patrons of the new institute ⁴⁾. About that time — if not before — appeared Latomus' reply to the question: *An theologo sit necessaria trium linguarum peritia?* in *De Trivm Lingvarvm, & Studij Theologici ratione Dialogvs*, printed by Michael Hillen at Antwerp ⁵⁾.

As rumours were spreading to the effect that Latomus had intended criticizing chiefly the *Methodus* ⁶⁾, which had become

¹⁾ Louvain, Th. Martens, December 1518, and Basle, John Froben, January 1519: *BB*, E, 1125, 1126; *BibEr.*, I, 167; Iseghem, 291-3, 295, s 23.

²⁾ It was published in Leipzig, Val. Schumann, in August 1518, under the title: *Oratio de Variarvm Lingvarvm Cognitione paranda Petro Mosellano Protegente Authore Lipsiae in magna Eruditorvm Corona pronvnciata*. Cp. Allen, III, 948, 7, 40, and *ColBuslPrim*.

³⁾ Vern., 273; VAnd., 104; Paquot, XIII, 43; BaxH, II, 189; *ReusDoc.*, IV, 458; de Jongh, 173-180; *BB*, L, 609; *Cran.*, 46, b-c; Allen, III, 934, 3; *BibRefNe.*, III, 19, sq.

⁴⁾ De Jongh, 199-200, 11*-13*; *Cran.*, 96, c.

⁵⁾ Probably in March 1519: *BibRefNe.*, III, 28, 41, sq; Allen, III, 934, 3, 936, 36, sq, 948, 36-49, IV, 998, 46; *BullBib.*, XIX, 161.

⁶⁾ Erasmus wrote to Bishop Fisher on April 2, 1519 about Latomus' *dialogus*: 'Methodi meae praeceptis opponit diuersa praecepta, sed

more suspicious after the *Alardica tragoedia*¹⁾, Erasmus decided preventing obloquy, or what he called συκοφαντεῖν, the secret criticism which made all answer impossible; and on the advice of his friends he wrote in three days²⁾ a reply which did not seem a reply³⁾, namely the *Apologia refellens suspiciones quorundam dictitantium dialogum D. Iacobi Latomi de tribus linguis & ratione studij Theologici Conscriptum fuisse aduersus ipsum*⁴⁾ — by which he tried to prove that most of Latomus' criticisms were not at all levelled at him⁵⁾.

Erasmus' reply to Latomus refers to several peevish critics with whom he deals leniently, not on account of the fear of men, but through the spirit of Christ⁶⁾. Still neither that leniency nor the implied threat of a worse treatment, seems to have had the effect he had expected, for a few days after the pamphlet had appeared⁷⁾, about April 22, 1519, he had to invoke the intervention of Briart, his 'præceptor', against a *licenciatus* in theology who had attacked him *licentissime* in Louvain, in Mechlin and finally in Antwerp⁸⁾; he also

interim a nomine meo temperans <which proves that Erasmus was fully convinced that his book had been aimed at> : etiamsi sic grauiore nos premit inuidia, dum quae in hunc aut illum, dum quae in Lutherum stringit, lector ignarus in me stringi suspicatur. Hanc immodestam modestiam nostri theologi commenti sunt' : Allen, III, 936, 36-42 : cp. 970, 11-12, 986, 25-8.

¹⁾ Allen, III, 991, 39.

²⁾ Allen, I, p. 22, 29, III, 952, 19-21.

³⁾ Letter to Fisher, April 2, 1519 : 'ita respondi vt videar non respondisse' : Allen, III, 936, 36-50.

⁴⁾ Dated Louvain, March 28, 1519, it was printed in Antwerp by Jehan Thybault.

⁵⁾ The *Apologia* finishes by the assertion that though some things in the *Dialogus* seem to refer to Erasmus, yet many more, for certain, do not : and that the reply was written so as to avert the criticisms intended for Luther or Mosellanus or Hutten : [H 5] v.

⁶⁾ *ErApoLat.*, [H 5] r.

⁷⁾ Allen, III, 934, 3, 946, 8-10, 948, 42, 752, 16-20, 955.

⁸⁾ Dr. P. S. Allen supposes that this *licentiatus* is Ruard Tapper : he indeed gained that degree on June 3, 1516 (de Jongh, 41*) ; still he lacked all enthusiasm and certainly was devoid of all oratorical powers, so that it seems most improbable that he should have attacked Erasmus openly in three different towns : BN. The latter detail suggests a member of an order, who especially after a promotion would go to visit his brethren in different places, and was likely to be invited to

complained that he saw 'virus hoc obtreactionis indies latius serpere et lethalius reddi', and he hoped that with Dorp's advice and help, means would be found to repress the evil rumours, and chiefly the most unbearable report which falsely represented him as a heretic ¹).

Briart, who to all appearance approved of Erasmus' reply to Latomus, actually managed, with Dorp's aid, to create a period of calm ²); it was very short, and it only made the recrudescence the wilder. Up to now obloquy had been indirect and quite abstract; after the appearance of the second edition of the *Novum Instrumentum*, it became open and frankly personal. In vain his friends amongst the theologians tried to smother all contradiction; after a short lull it grew stronger and wilder. It had found a spokesman in Edward Lee, who since he arrived from England in Louvain and matriculated ³), had managed to gain Erasmus' sympathy and had been working assiduously with him ⁴). His sudden

deliver sermons, which evidently were made as up-to-date and as palatable as possible. Apparently the licentiate referred to was the Carmelite John Robyns who had obtained that degree on February 21, 1519 (de Jongh, 44*), and at whose promotion John Briart had delivered the speech which had been taken as a criticism on Erasmus' opinions about marriage (cp. above, p. 194). As the *licentiandi* generally asked such orations from their special friends and favourers amongst their masters, it seems consistent that Erasmus should have applied for repression to Briart who was not the dean of the Faculty, but who could avail himself of his personal influence on the licentiate. The latter evidently had been goaded on to attack the Humanist by his confrater Nicolas Baechem of Egmond, and being a Carmelite he had every opportunity to preach in the three towns where there were convents of his order: Gestel, I, 73; FUL, 1998-9; MerTorfs, II, 375, sq. — That licentiate was probably identical with the Johannes Robyns de Schoonhoven who was a student in the Faculty of Arts about 1510: *LibActArtV.*, 190 v, 205 r. The name being very common he apparently was no relation to his namesake the dean of St. Rumbold's, Mechlin: *Cran.*, xvii, xxiii, 17, a-c, 20, a, &c.

¹) Allen, III, 946, 1-6, 12-14.

²) About May 21, 1519, Erasmus wrote to Giles Busleyden: 'Theologi mitescent, imo resipiscunt': Allen, III, 971, 9.

³) He matriculated on Aug. 25, 1516: *Excerpts*, 98.

⁴) Edward Lee was trained in Oxford and in Cambridge, where he became B. D. in 1515; he studied Greek in Louvain and made Erasmus' acquaintance the easier since he was on good terms with More. Hearing of the intended second edition of the *Novum Instrumentum*, he prepared

veering was the more painful to Erasmus since he knew from experience that the young theologian little cared for dogma or exegetic argument, but was impelled by ambition and a thirst for fame, as he declared in his *Apologia* answering Latomus' *Dialogus* ¹⁾. Not being immune himself against vanity, he had sounded his new friend, and whether purposely or by oversight, he had wounded his pride to the quick, since in the second edition several suggestions of his had been worked out or refuted, although no credit was given to him ²⁾. By the end of May 1519, Lee started open criticism ³⁾, which was not long restricted to mere exegesis and erudition, but soon extended to the lashing reproof of churchmen and monks and their manners, which hitherto had been generally borne in patience, if not cherished on account of the sarcastic wit. The number and the excitement of the contradictors in the up to then peaceful University town, soon outgrew all control and became the more unbearable ⁴⁾ since his name was joined to that of the revolting Luther, whose pamphlets

two series of criticisms, of which Erasmus answered some in May 1518, and of which he made use without giving him due honour in the new issue. A most vehement controversy was the result : Allen, III, 607, 15, 688, 23, 765, 813, &c. ; Bludau, 86-125.

¹⁾ Describing his opponents, Erasmus singles one out : 'Sed quod mihi compertum est, est alter quidam ex meris doli, technis, fucisque compositus, consutus, conflatus ad mendacia, ad obtrectationes, ad glorias, ad sycophantias natus, factus sculptusque. Qui nihil non machinatur vt sibi celebre nomen paret apud posteros, & alios sui memores faciat male merendo de ijs qui de omnibus student bene mereri : videlicet via ad parandam famam mire compendiaria : sed omnium sceleratissima'. He further calls him νεογέπων, and indeed it was his youth and complete lack of renown that embittered his attack to Erasmus : *ErApoLat.*, [H 5] v. Lee afterwards became Henry VIII.'s tool in his rebellion against Rome : *DNB* ; Bémont, 51, 58, 104, 108 ; Strype, I, 298-305, 486, VI, 83 ; *Cran.*, 254, 31 ; Pollard, 218, 306 ; Gough, 480 ; Ortrov, 419 ; *RéfAngl.*, 672, &c.

²⁾ Allen, III, 765, *pr.*, 936, 31, *sq.*

³⁾ Allen, III, 972, 2, *sq.*, 973, 3, *sq.*

⁴⁾ Already in April 1519 Erasmus felt the growing number of his contradictors : 'Video excetram hanc repugnando vinci non posse', he wrote to John Becker ; 'itaque pugnis valere iussis in Christianae lenitatis portum me recipio, aduersus malorum obtrectationes consolans memetipsum cum bonorum virorum de me iudicio, tum animo sibi bene conscio — certe quod ad hanc rem pertinet' : Allen, III, 952, 23, *sq.* ; cp. also 964, *pr.*, 970, 4-12, &c.

offered such similarities in opinions and tone that Erasmus was even suspected of having written or at the least inspired them ¹). His own books were now said to contain similar audacious assertions, and it was even resolved amongst the students of theology to search for heretical statements in his writings ²). When Erasmus heard of that plan, he himself requested Briart and Dorp to indicate the offensive passages which he was ready to answer for; they indicated a few of little importance, and the explanation he gave brought full satisfaction, and amply proved his good faith ³). It disarmed the opposition, at least amongst the leading divines, which was the more welcome to Erasmus since at that time the University seemed to look for difficulties so as not to have to incorporate the *Collegium Trilingue*, whilst he was anxious to avoid whatever might delay or endanger its admission ⁴). If in public he generally displayed prudence and equanimity towards the growing host of his opponents, he threw off every constraint in his talks with friends and confidential *convictores*, who, unfortunately took his sarcastic banter or pettish criticism more seriously than he himself meant it, and thus, like in William Nesen's case, poured into the fire the oil which was to have softened his bruises.

Dorp and Nesen.

Notwithstanding the sympathy which since some time had united Dorp to Erasmus, he was known outside Louvain only as his assailant, as the author of two admonitory letters, and as the spokesman of the hostile theologians. Rumours of resipiscence hardly had had the time to reach those who

¹) Allen, iv, 1033, 97-99, 1167, 106-7, 1217, 57-61, 1225, 16-18, 107-9.

²) Erasmus suspected Briart to have been the instigator of that and of all the rest of the *tragoediae*: 'Nunquam audita fuit eiusmodi conspiratio ex vnus hominis bili nata'; — 'Solus, vt ferunt, Noxus ille fuit, qui et olim instigauit Dorpium et hanc totam tragoediam excitauit': Allen, iv, 1028, 18-19, 1029, 2-5.

³) Allen, iv, 1225, 112-123.

⁴) Cp. *ColBuslPrim*.

were interested in the struggle between innovation and tradition, when they were contradicted, at least apparently, by the announcement of the difficulties raised in the Brabant University on account of the changes in the text of the Gospel and of the doubts and criticisms contained in the *Novum Instrumentum*. Although from the beginning of 1517, Dorp had no longer had any share in the trouble caused to Erasmus, yet it seems as if, in the various intellectual centres, he was considered as the very source of all the disagreement, as the evil genius of Louvain.

That was the case for a small group of scholars in Paris, one of whom was Nicole Bérault ¹⁾, who availed himself of the opportunity of a friend leaving Paris with his students for Louvain, to entrust him not only with a letter to Erasmus, dated July 1, 1519 ²⁾, but also one to Dorp. That friend of Bérault's was the Basle schoolmaster William Nesen ³⁾, who for some time had been there tutoring Nicolas and Crato Stalberger, of Frankfurt ⁴⁾, Haio Herman Hompen, of Friesland,

¹⁾ Nicole Bérault, *Beraldus*, of Orleans, was one of the chief French humanists; about 1519 he was lecturing in several Paris Colleges and teaching in his own house, whilst working actively at the editing of Greek and Latin authors. He greatly admired Erasmus, and propagated his teachings and opinions enthusiastically; L. Delaruelle, *Nicole Bérault*, in *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 1902, 420-445; *MB*, 1909, 253-311, and *Revue du Seizième Siècle*, xv, 1928; *FG*, 303; Allen, III, 925; Renaudet, 490, 598, 658, 661, 684; Herminjard, I, 33, 48, 55, &c.; *BudERép.*, 3, 39, 41, 47, 53, 80, 82, &c.

²⁾ Allen, IV, 994, 1002, 21.

³⁾ William Nesen, born about 1495 at Nastätten, near St. Goarshausen, studied at Basle, and became there a printer's corrector and schoolmaster. In Spring 1517 he went to Paris with the sons of Nicolas Stalberger, of Frankfurt, and removed to Louvain in the first days of July 1519. His hopes of settling there as a lecturer having been crushed already in November 1519, he accepted the direction of a new Latin school at Frankfurt from 1520 to 1523, when he went to join Luther at Wittenberg; there he was drowned in the Elbe whilst boating, on July 6, 1524; Steitz; *RE*, 6, 53, &c.; *FG*, 396; Allen, II, 329, III, 768; Herzog, I, 72; *EobHessus*, I, 254, 382-4, 412, II, 18; Reich, 162, 196-7, 245-7; *CollectGeld.*, 81; *Heresbach*, 15; *Melanch.*, 190-4; *ErLuth.*, 128; *KalkUthut.*, 311-4, 573; *KalkEntsch.*, 265.

⁴⁾ *RE*, 122-3. These two boys, with whom Nesen left Basle for Paris, most probably accompanied him to Louvain: for, in Autumn 1519, Beatus Rhenanus writing to him in Louvain, adds: *Saluta ... Carinum et Stalbergerios*; *RE*, 186.

Phrysius ¹⁾, and Louis Kiel, *Carinus*, of Lucerne ²⁾). They had decided on removing to Louvain, evidently attracted by Erasmus, whom Nesen had not met on a short visit in March 1519, when he brought Bérault's letter of March 16 ³⁾. Most likely one of their servants or messengers, leaving in advance, had already taken a letter from Bérault, June 20, 1519 ⁴⁾. When Nesen left, Bérault entrusted him with a third, dated July 1, 1519, in which he praises him as most devoted to Erasmus ⁵⁾, and adds that he has handed to him a letter to Dorp written in the name of a *theologica sodalitas*, of which he prefers the great Humanist to learn the purport rather from the bearer than from himself ⁶⁾. No doubt that *sodalitas* was the group of humanists gathered by Etienne Poncher, the Archbishop of Sens ⁷⁾, and in view of his and

¹⁾ Haio Herman Hompen, *Humpius*, of Emden, *Phrysius*, studied from December 1515 in Cologne with Conrad Heresbach (Keussen, 757; *Heresbach*, 16), and afterwards in Paris. In Louvain, where he followed Nesen in July 1519, he made Erasmus' acquaintance, also that of Vives, who recommended him to Budé; he helped to reconcile Germain de Brie with More in 1520. He afterwards went to study law in Italy, and on his return was appointed councillor at Leeuwarden and Utrecht. He remained on excellent terms with Erasmus and humanistic friends like Heresbach, Rescius, Goclenius: *BibBelg.*, 338; *EngHistRev.*, xxi, 307-8; *LatCont.*, 376-7, 390; Gabbema, 519; Goldast, 223; Hoyneck, II, i, 60-62; FG, 202, 20; Allen, III, 903, 12; *BudERép.*, 80, 90, 113-4.

²⁾ Louis Kiel, *Carinus*, of Lucerne, studied at Basle under Glareanus and Nesen, whom he accompanied to Paris in 1517 and to Louvain in 1519. He was Caesarius' pupil in Cologne in September 1520, Capito's secretary in Mayence in December 1520, and Erasmus' *conviva* in Basle from the last days of 1521 to when he left for Frankfurt, where he succeeded Nesen in July 1523. He subsequently taught at Coblenz, Paris, Louvain (1536), Padua and Bologna; in 1546 he accepted the direction of St. Thomas's School, Strassburg, where he died, January 17, 1569: FG, 320-2; Knod, 236; Allen, III, 920; Hoyneck, II, 228-31; *ETEC*, xii.

³⁾ Allen, III, 925.

⁴⁾ Allen, III, 989.

⁵⁾ Allen, IV, 994, 1-10.

⁶⁾ Allen, IV, 994, 13-15: Quid ad Dorpium theologiae cuiusdam sodalitis nomine scripserim, ex Nesenio malim te quam ex literis meis intelligere.

⁷⁾ Etienne Poncher was Councillor in Paris Parliament in 1485, Chancellor of Paris University in 1501, and shortly after Bishop of Paris. He went several times on embassies to Italy, and he became in 1512 Pro-Chancellor of France. In 1513 and 1514 Aleander was in his service. He was created archbishop of Sens in 1519: *BudERép.*, 51-56, Allen, II, 529, III, 925, 20. Bérault accompanied him to England, 1515: *BudERép.*, 15, 18, 39, 41, 47, 53; and to Narbonne, March 1519: Allen, III, 924, 14-18.

their ideas of freedom in opinion and research, it is safe to conclude that the letter to Dorp was an urgent exhortation to abstain from every criticism on Erasmus and to prevent that others should attack him, with perhaps an earnest advice rather to assist him and labour under his guidance for the development of good studies. The example of Erasmus' excellent work and the loftiness of his aim were held up to Dorp, and insisted upon with great praise in that letter; so that naturally Bérault did not want to obtrude it on the great scholar for fear of being suspected of flattery and over-obsequiousness.

As a matter of fact Nesen kept him completely in the dark, although with his students, he resided in the Lily ¹⁾, and availed himself as much as he could of the benefit of his talk and his intimacy. Consequently, having been staying several days in Antwerp and Mechlin ²⁾, Erasmus only knew about the beginning of August that Haio Herman had handed to Dorp a letter in which Bérault had expostulated with him for something.

¹⁾ Beatus Rhénanus replying to a letter of Nesen, accounts him doubly happy for having escaped from Paris, then infested by an epidemic, and especially because he enjoys 'Erasmi ... contubernio ... Nam quid aliud, est Erasmo cohabitare quam inter ipsas versari Musas, quid cum illo simul eadem mensa accumbere quam celesti interesse convivio': RE, 185. It follows that Nesen and his companions lived in the same College; as is moreover proved for Haio Herman, who, writing to Luther on March 14, 1520, refers to Erasmus and says that he had been 'plus minus octo menses convictor ipsius tametsi indignus': Enders, II, 351: it is evident that it applies to his stay in the Lily from July 1519 to February 1520; he had particularly wished to be recommended to the great humanist, and therefore Bérault had written a special introduction for him, which Erasmus mentions in his reply of August 9, 1519: Allen, IV, 1002, 41-47: that introductory letter — evidently different from the one of June 20, 1519: Allen, III, 989, — is probably lost with the others which had been written for the much-praised young man.

²⁾ Erasmus met Pace in Antwerp about July 22 and went back with him to Mechlin on July 27: Allen, IV, 999, 1001, 53; Brewer, III, 392, 398; when Pace left for Calais the next day, Erasmus probably returned to Louvain, where he was on July 31; before August 7 he was again in Antwerp: he remained there until the latter part of the month, when he met Campegio in Bruges; returning to Louvain by Sept. 1, he wrote the letter to the Reader prefixed to *Novum Testamentum*, printed by Martens 1519: Allen, IV, 1000, 1001, 1010, 1025, 4; Iseghem, 299-300.

Judging from Nesen's character, it is safe to conclude that, when reaching Louvain in the first days of July, he was especially incensed against Dorp, who had been guilty of two admonitory letters, and had occasioned the subsequent difficulties with the theologians ¹⁾, of which the extent and the displeasure seemed so out of proportion to Bérault and his friends, that they had decided on interfering in a matter that did not concern them.

Nesen on his arrival must have learned from Erasmus' intimate chats all the trouble that was besetting him, and the opinion he had of the various personages to whom circumstances made him pretend friendship and veneration, whilst he was longing all the while to expose their narrow-mindedness and their duplicity ²⁾. He must also have felt that an exception was made for Dorp, and he must have been disagreeably surprised at the blindness of the great Man who did not see through the insidiousness of that false friend, the cause of the seething opposition which, in the case of Lee, threatened to break out in disaster. Most probably on account of that weakness and partiality towards Dorp, Nesen refrained from mentioning to Erasmus the upbraiding letter which he had brought to Louvain ³⁾. But he was the more outspoken to others, and certainly did not spare Dorp in his conversations, as results from the incident with Martinus Lipsius, who, being both Erasmus' admirer and Dorp's friend, advised the former, and requested an interview to know exactly what

¹⁾ On May 23, 1519 Leonard Priccard, Canon at Aix, offers his consolation to Erasmus on account of the troubles caused by the theologians and especially by an Englishman : Allen, III, 972, 1-10.

²⁾ Erasmus' state of mind can be judged from what he declares to John Lang, May 30, 1519 : he refers with bitterness to some of the Louvain divines, whom he has to treat externally, and in most of his letters, with due veneration : *Hic ... mire saeviunt Papistae, nunc demum ad laedendum concordēs : sed sunt aliquanto mitiores, speroque futurum ut illos aliquando suae pudeat insaniae ...* Also : *'annitendum ... ut cum personatis Christianis digladiemur ; a quibus nunquam referetur... victoria nisi sublata Romanae sedis tyrannide et huius satellitibus, Praedicatoribus, Carmelitis et Minoritis : de improbis dumtaxat loquor :* Allen, III, 983, 5-14.

³⁾ Allen, IV, 1002, 35-39.

had occurred and been said ¹⁾. To this note Erasmus replied the same day : promising the visit, he requested and urged his friend not to sow any discord between Nesen and Dorp (who is again indicated in the letter as N.) : ‘Sine eos vtcunque amicos esse, neue te rebus huiusmodi admisceas’, Erasmus added ²⁾; which suggests that in the midst of his work and his troubles, he had not attached any importance to Bérault’s mention of a letter, since Nesen had not referred to it ³⁾; besides, as he was then on excellent footing with his former *admonitor*, he did not even suspect that others might misinterpret their present connection. When on August 9 he answered from Antwerp to Bérault’s letters ⁴⁾, he related that only a few days before — evidently about the first of August, between his two visits to Antwerp — he had heard of an expostulating letter handed to Dorp by Haio Herman ⁵⁾: ‘I should not like’, he adds, ‘that you should treat him with any bitterness; if he has done wrong, it was not from intended malice, but through his readiness to comply with the wishes of others ⁶⁾. The theologians are just now either resipiscent, or much gentler, which rejoices me not so much for my sake as for their own’ ⁷⁾.

As to Dorp himself, he evidently accepted Bérault’s letter and his arguments with submission, without mentioning unnecessarily the hard lesson which had struck home. He cannot have been long unaware of Nesen’s animosity, which

¹⁾ Lipsius wrote : Mox vbi ad nos venit Nesenus, sermo de N. haberi cœpit; multaque auditu molesta mihi narrauit .., opus est vt te quoque audiam, quo videlicet pacto tecum egerit quidue responderis : Allen, iv, 1035, 1-4; LipsE, 719. That note and its reply, Allen, iv, 1036, were evidently written by the middle of July 1519, soon after Nesen’s arrival in Louvain. The name of the person slandered by Nesen is replaced by N.; still it seems beyond doubt that it is meant for Dorp, who then was the chief object of his animosity.

²⁾ Allen, iv, 1036; LipsE, 720.

³⁾ Allen, iv, 994, 13-15.

⁴⁾ Erasmus went to Antwerp soon after August 1, 1519 : Allen, iv, 999, *pr*, 1001, 3, 7, 96.

⁵⁾ Allen, iv, 1002, 33-37.

⁶⁾ Allen, iv, 1002, 37-39 : Si quid acerbius est, nolim, mi Beralde; nam Dorpius si quid peccat, magis obsequendi facilitate peccat quam malicia destinata.

⁷⁾ Allen, iv, 1002, 39-40.

probably became more outspoken after Erasmus had left for Antwerp, and which evidently was represented, not as an exceptional fact, but as part of a general movement astir against him : it was said that, far and near, he was accused of not favouring the great Humanist, of slandering, of condemning, of envying him, of being transported with spite against him and good letters ¹⁾. It was rumoured that a most acerb libel was preparing to voice the complaints of the Louvain, and of all other, *literati* against the enemy of Learning ²⁾. Dorp was moved : and in his dread of having the 'poets' of Germany up in arms against him, and being turned out another Pfefferkorn or Ortwinus Gratius, he applied on August 3, 1519 to Beatus Rhenanus, 'omnis humanitatis ceu arcula quaedam', with whom he had already exchanged most gratifying letters ³⁾. He mentions how he had recently solved a difficulty arising from a speech of one of the theologians (*viz.*, John Briart), which had seemed offensive to Erasmus ; and how he assiduously studies letters and Erasmus' writings. He consequently prays Rhenanus to suppress such a libel if he knows of it ⁴⁾, or have it suppressed 'a nobili viro D. Hutteno', or by any other of 'hujus tempestatis ingenia', such as Louis Ber, Wolfgang Capito and Claud Cantiuncula, all of whom he wants to be assured that he heartily wishes well, and has always wished well, to Erasmus ⁵⁾. It was probably on account of his popularity amongst humanists that Dorp applied to Beatus Rhenanus, being the one whose opinion was most effective, by means of his large circle of acquaintances ; it reached even as far as Belgium : only a little while before, he had sent a friendly letter to Peter Gilles, of Antwerp, in which he maliciously hinted at Dorp's warning to Erasmus that theologians and friars should be treated

¹⁾ Dorp to Beatus Rhenanus : RE, 169.

²⁾ Dorp wrote : Sunt qui dicant nescio a quibus scribi mordacissime in questus Lovanienses : quod omen deus avertat : RE, 169.

³⁾ Proinde ne aliter ... quam nuper ex literis <MS. ; RE : ceteris> tuis amantissimis accepi : RE, 169.

⁴⁾ This request shows that, at least as far as Dorp knew, the *Dialogus* had not yet reached Louvain.

⁵⁾ RE, 169 : he is ready to leave Louvain to escape adverse suspicion.

with due respect and that their authority with the people should not be weakened ¹⁾).

The libel which Dorp dreaded was more than a vain threat; from his letter it results that on August 3, he had no knowledge of its publication, and also, that he expected it, not from Louvain, but from Basle or that neighbourhood, since otherwise his application to Rhenanus had hardly any sense. Meanwhile the pamphlet had been written and made ready for the press, almost at his elbow, by Nesen, who in his animosity had decided to make use of the information gathered from the peevish outbursts of Erasmus' impatience, and who, although quite a stranger in Louvain, longed to silence all adversaries of the *Novum Instrumentum* and of the *Trilingue* by some slashing argument. He would thus contribute his share to the great cause of the 'poets', who were then still waging a keen war against the theologians in his country.

Imitating Hutten's *Triumphus Doctoris Reuchlini* ²⁾ and possibly an early sketch of Erasmus' *Apotheosis Capnionis* ³⁾, he wrote a *Dialogus Bilinguium ac Trilinguium* ⁴⁾, in which Mercury is introduced with three *trilingues*, Baramia, Titus and Pomponius, who, hidden in a cloud, see a procession of *bilingues*, men who have two tongues, one to flatter and one to backbite; they are carrying Calliope, whom they have condemned as a heretic, and are going to bury alive ⁵⁾. Apollo arrives in time with Pallas and the eight remaining Muses to put the *bilingues* to flight and liberate Calliope.

This *Dialogus* is, according to the title, the work *Ervditi Adlescentis Chonradi Nastadiensis Germani*, who, dating it from Paris, February 25, wrote it 'ad huius ætatis statum alludens', as a 'literatus iocus' seasonable to the days which

¹⁾ The letter is not dated but belongs to 1519: RE, 571. Cp. *supra*, p. 139.

²⁾ HutO, III, 413.

³⁾ BB, I, 443, 2.

⁴⁾ O. Clemen, *Der Dialogus Bilinguium*, in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*: Berlin, 1904: I, 355-64, also Steitz, 74-78, and KalkELFW, 51, ascribe the pamphlet to Nesen; HutO, IV, 535, and L. Geiger, in *Vierteljschr. für Kultur und Litteratur der Renaissance*: Berlin, 1886: I, 247-50, to Erasmus; P. S. Allen suggests a joint work: Allen, IV, 1061, 505, as seems to be indicated in ZWE, 113.

⁵⁾ Erasmus also refers to the enemies of languages, who condemn them as heresies, in his letter to Hoogstraeten: Allen, IV, 1006, 333-5.

herald Lent ¹⁾). Evidently that time and that place were only a pretence by which the author tried to hide his identity, at least for strangers, for it must have been most transparent for all who knew that William Nesen was born at Nastätten, that he had a brother called Conrad ²⁾, and that he was most eager in his devotedness to letters and humanism. The choice of Calliope as the victim of the *bilingues*, the theologians — they are represented as fervent votaries of Mercury in their quest of money and prebends, — again points to somebody who, evidently a German, was eagerly interested in the Reuchlin debate between divines and poets.

The connection with Paris, where the *Dialogus* is supposed to be written, is another argument, for Nesen spent there more than two years. It also appears to have been printed and published at Paris as well, for the copies of the undated edition which ranks the first ³⁾, mention that it is for sale

¹⁾ The little book 'ad huius aetatis statum alludens, sed ita leuiter vt ipse non possim instituti mei rationem reddere' (a 1 v), evidently belongs to 1519 when Shrove-Tuesday came on March 8, whereas it fell on Febr. 16 in 1518 and on Febr. 21 in 1520.

²⁾ It is hardly possibly to accept Conrad Nesen as the author, for — not to mention his extreme youth and the astonishing advance he should have made 'tam subito' in style and erudition : RE, 186 ; Steitz, 74 — the physiological details about the Louvain divines cannot be explained except by personal acquaintance with those men ; the references to their position towards humanism also testify to an intimate knowledge of things as they stood in Louvain, which could not have been communicated by letter, especially at such a very short notice, since e. g., Lee had only shown himself publicly as adversary a few weeks before.

³⁾ A copy of this edition reproduced by Haupt, in *Wilhelm und Conrad Nesen* : Zittau, 1843 : 77, sq, has the manuscript note on the title 'October 1519'. Another edition, dated 1520, was probably published by Laz. Schürer at Schlettstadt : Allen, iv, 1061, 505. There was a third and a fourth : *CatSélestat*, 294, — ascribed to Martens (Iseghem, 286), or to John Froben (Halle's Catalogue xlv, Munich, n° 290). If Martens did print it, he certainly did not publish the first edition ; for Erasmus would have heard from his intimate friend about the undertaking — and would have prevented the unseasonable move which might have endangered the accepting of the *Trilingue*. Moreover Dorp expected the libel with which he had been threatened, to come from abroad ; otherwise he would not have applied to Beatus Rhenanus to suppress it, but to his confident Martens, with whose office he most probably was sufficiently acquainted to know what work was in hand. That Martens reprinted it afterwards, may be easily explained by his wish to get a

Sub scuto Basiliensi, which evidently applies to Conrad Resch's shop in Paris ¹). As the pamphlet comprises only 454 small lines ²), its printing cannot have taken much time. In all probability the text was made ready about July 15, when Erasmus expostulated with Lee for having become suddenly a foe from a friend, bitterly criticizing in his absence whilst never making the slightest remark in his presence ³); in that same letter he even refers to his numerous admirers in Germany who are eager to attack his enemies by libels and even by violence ⁴). Most likely such and similar remarks casually uttered by Erasmus ⁵) may have encouraged if not induced Nesen to put to use the abundance of material he had gathered since his arrival in Louvain. The manuscript may have been sent to Paris, where the libel probably was printed by the end of July; brought to Louvain, it was circulating after August 3 ⁶).

That Nesen did not want to expose himself too blatantly as the author, finds a ready explanation in the fact that he contemplated residing, at least for a time, in Louvain and securing pupils; consequently it was in his advantage to

share in the sale of a most popular pamphlet; that might also account for Dorp's displeasure, who had his *Oratio* printed at Hillen's, Antwerp, a few weeks later: Allen, iv, 1053, 133. Cp. about that libel *ColBuslPrim*.

¹) Cp. *ColBuslPrim*. Resch was Nesen's friend: Allen, iv, 1095, *pr*.

²) The pamphlet is a small octavo; a letter to the reader is on the verso of the title and the text extends from *f a. ii. r* to *b iii v*.

³) Allen, iv, 998, 7-10, 1037, *pr*.

⁴) Allen, iv, 998, 62, *sq*: in Germania complures sunt qui mihi impensius student etiam quam velim. Nec ignoras huius gentis animos ingeniiue violentiam. — Cp., for Nesen's feelings, Enders, II, 351.

⁵) There always remains of course, the possibility of Erasmus having pretended to know nothing about Nesen's attack, and of having left Louvain on purpose. Still that supposition is detracting from Erasmus' dignity, who may have been scheming, but was neither sneaky nor cowardly; and the fact that there is no proof that either Nesen or his friend Carinus ever accused him of having prompted the *Dialogus*, is sufficient evidence to the contrary: Allen, v, 1257, 5-8.

⁶) Evidently it was not yet known to the theologians on that day, when Dorp wrote to Beatus Rhenanus: RE, 169; still when Lee returned from Antwerp, where he had met Pace (July 22/27, 1519), he found it circulating, as he writes in his *Annotationes*: Paris, <1520>: *f cc v*; Allen, iv, 1061, 505. Cp. RE, 128, 132; it was sold in Oxford by John Dorne, Aug. 25, Sept. 13, 1520: *Oxford Hist. Soc. Publ.*, v, 117, 121.

make as few enemies, and rouse as little animosity, as possible ¹⁾).

The tone and the ideas of the *Dialogus* seem so similar to those of Erasmus that many contemporaries attributed the pamphlet to him ²⁾. Still these resemblances do not at all make up for the great distance which there is between this indifferent piece of work, and the witty compositions of the same kind which abound in the *Colloquia*. Moreover Erasmus had every reason not to write — even to induce others not to write — this thinly veiled lampoon on the Louvain theologians, whom he certainly should not have wilfully excited at a time when he did what he could to have the statute of the *Trilingue* agreed upon and accepted by the University ³⁾. The similarity in style and tone seems quite natural, as, written down by a newly-arrived *convictor*, they are the very echo of some of Erasmus' hasty sallies and outbursts of criticism at the various difficulties and impediments which were continually raised either against Busleyden College or his own *Novum Instrumentum*. They were evidently not intended for the public ear, but they must have sounded too interesting and much too effective to Nesen for them to be lost in the great struggle between divines and poets. For it is evident that the resemblance of the ideas and expressions of the *Dialogus* with those of Erasmus, has to be traced to those confidential chats in the Lily and to the excitement occasioned by some new obstacle thrown in the way of the executors of Busleyden's great plan, or by some more criticism about his own writings ⁴⁾. Nesen was neither haunted by the memory

¹⁾ When on December 6, 1520 Erasmus wrote to Capito referring to the *Vita S. Nicolai* which Nesen was publishing, he requested his friend to ask him to add his own name 'ne quem alium grauet suspicione': Allen, IV, 1165, 38-39. It is one more proof for Nesen's authorship, as, considering the persons satirized, it most probably applies to this *Dialogus* which was in fact ascribed to Erasmus.

²⁾ Pirckheimer and Adelman agreed (Nov. 1, 1519 : Augsburg) that it was Erasmus': Heumann, 177, HutO, I, 314; Zwingli was of the same opinion : ZwE, I, 251.

³⁾ *ColBuslPrim*.

⁴⁾ Boniface Amerbach wrote to Zasius about September 1519 (HCB, Ms. C vi^a 73, f 380) when sending the *Dialogus* : 'Adiecimus hiis in Erasmomastygas dialogum. Subodoraberis auctorem. Non enim Lucia-

of past controversies, nor hampered by the fear of causing harm to the realization of schemes dear to his mind, by estranging those whose influence in the University he knew from experience : it allowed him free scope in the choice of his victims and in the way of treating them.

Those victims of Nesen's merciless caricaturing were the leading Louvain theologians : John Briart, represented as the wicked old woman *Ate, Noxa*, the blear-eyed Carmelite Nicolas Baechem, the limping Latomus, the Regent of the Falcon Coppin and the venomous Lee, *Phthonides* ¹⁾. Dorp is represented as Ate's friend and confidant, almost her husband, her soul ²⁾ : he is called *Phenax* ; *petus*, on account of the cast in his eye ; *polypus*, referring to the change in his opinions ; *pestilens ... musis inuisissimus quamuis ... rideat : ... olim in contubernium musarum sese insinuauerat, quo perfuga grauius eas lederet* ³⁾. When Apollo and Pallas attack the *bilingues*, *Phenax* pretends to become wise again, and runs to the Muses to beseech their pardon ; still he is not believed, and Pallas throws a halter on him, as she does not even deem him worth the use of her lance ⁴⁾. That rather cruel treatment of Dorp, who certainly in July and August 1519 was in full sympathy with Erasmus, also points to Nesen as the author, for he had evidently been predisposed against him ever since Bérault had entrusted him with the upbraiding letter.

When Erasmus returned to Louvain in the last days of August 1519, probably accompanying Campegio from Bruges to Brussels ⁵⁾, he found the theologians up in arms ⁶⁾ on

nus festiuius lusisset'. His opinion, or rather supposition, apparently was based on the Erasmus-like sallies ; he could not then suspect how a *convictor*, who had all the necessary qualifications for a lampoonist, as in fact he turned out later on, could make use of what he had heard and seen so as to counterfeit the satirizing creator of the *Laus Stultitiæ*. Possibly both friends knew the brothers Nesen, and Amerbach's hint is, that clearly *Conrad* did not write the libel too clever for him.

¹⁾ *DiaBiTril.*, [a 5] r-b i v.

²⁾ Num hic Ates maritus est ? MER. Imo animus : *DiaBiTril.*, [a 7] r.

³⁾ *DiaBiTril.*, [a 7] r.

⁴⁾ *DiaBiTril.*, b iij r.

⁵⁾ Allen, iv, 1025, 4, 1029, 26, 1031, 2, 1062, 186 ; *supra*, p. 203.

⁶⁾ As late as Aug. 9, he had announced to Beraldus that they 'partim resipiscunt, partim mitescunt' : Allen, iv, 1002, 39.

account of the slanderous *Dialogus*, which was attributed to him, as also on account of the part he was supposed to have had in the writing of Luther's books. Still he must not have found much difficulty in proving that he had not contributed one word to the latter, and did not even know of the preparing of the former ¹⁾; for at the suggestion of John Briart, and with the help of John de Neve and Nicolas Coppin ²⁾, a solemn agreement of peace and concord was concluded on Sept. 13, 1519, and celebrated by a dinner on the 14th at the Falcon : bygoncs were to remain bygoncs ; the theologians should see to Erasmus' good renown, and he was to repress all further libels of which he should have cognizance ³⁾.

Most probably several of the divines knew already then, or got to know in the following weeks, that the *Dialogus* was Nesen's work ; hence the unequivocal opposition to his scheme of lecturing on Pomponius Mela's *Geographia* under the auspices of the *Trilingue*, which he began on the last days of November 1519 ⁴⁾. As he had not asked the University for leave, and had not even matriculated, that lecturing was prohibited ⁵⁾, which occasioned the incident of the four men who, in the evening of November 29, 1519, handed in at the Rector's house, a letter threatening him and John Briart, of Ath, with violence and revolt, in case the permission of reading in public was not granted spontaneously to Nesen ⁶⁾. Against the refusal of the University Senate, Nesen appealed to the Brabant Council, where the Academic privileges were defended by Nicolas Baechem, of Egmond, perhaps with more vehemence than the case required. No doubt on account of Erasmus' interference ⁷⁾, the Council decided to have the question put anew before the University : with more insistence than on November 29, 1519, it was stated on January 23, 1520 that no exception was made for Nesen : if

¹⁾ Allen, iv, 1225, 124-131.

²⁾ He was S. Th. D. and Regent of the Falcon : cp. *Dorp Vita*, 642 n.

³⁾ Allen, iv, 1016, 14-16, 1022, 24, 1024, 3-5, 1162, 105-11, 1217, 121, 1225, 133-140 ; de Jongh, 211-2 (wrongly dated October 7), 44*.

⁴⁾ Allen, iv, 1046, 22-24, 1104, 25-28.

⁵⁾ De Jongh, 200-3, 14*-16* ; Allen, iv, 1046, *pr*, 22-24, 1104, 25-28, 1111, 61-2.

⁶⁾ De Jongh, 16* ; *Cran.*, 2, a, 150, e.

⁷⁾ Allen, iv, 1057, *pr*, 16-18.

he wanted to lecture in public, he had to matriculate, and to apply for the grant to the Rector and University, as well as to the Faculty to which the matter belonged ¹⁾. As could be expected he did not apply, and left Louvain with a grudge against the leading divines ²⁾. He vented his bitter disappointment later on in two most cruel pamphlets, in the *Epistola de Magistris Nostris Louaniensibus* and *S. Nicolai Vita* ³⁾, whereas in the reprint of the *Dialogus Bilinguium*, 1520 ⁴⁾, he gave as a foretaste of the scurrilous satirizing that was coming. He inserted in the *Dialogus* a long passage to caricature John Briart more profusely ⁵⁾, and another, to add some more malice to the sketch of Nicolas Baechem ⁶⁾; he treated the *Magistri Nostri* as ignorant and vindictive men ⁷⁾, and instilled more abuse into their description. Instead, however, of touching up Dorp's portrait, he even omits a detail ⁸⁾, — which shows that his animosity against him is waning, whereas that against Briart and Baechem has reached a much higher pitch : no doubt one more proof that Nesen was the author of the *Dialogus*, and also of the subsequent additions by which he revenged himself on the men to whom he owed his failure, with so much the more freedom and malice, as he had turned his back for good on the Brabant city.

¹⁾ De Jongh, 17*-18*. A complete sketch of Nesen's incident will be drawn in *ColBuslPrim*.

²⁾ He had returned to Germany in April 1520, going to Erfurt to look for employment, and he finally settled in Frankfurt : Allen, iv, 1088, 10, 1095, *pr*, 1126, 356-7, 1215, 10.

³⁾ *Epistola de Magistris Nostris Louaniensibus* and *S. Nicolai Vita* (1520) : Allen, iv, 1165, 38-39 ; *Cran.*, 91, 29, 192, 16. The texts of these pamphlets will be edited, with annotations, in *ColBuslPrim*.

⁴⁾ That reprint of the *Dialogus* has on the title-page : 'Exactissime ad autoris archetypum recognitus'; and after the colophon, 'M. D. XX'. It has been ascribed to Laz. Schürer, Schlettstadt ; it enlarges and makes more incisive the original squib, and evidently is Nesen's work : cp. *ZwE*, i, 251, and the study about the *Dialogus* in *ColBuslPrim*.

⁵⁾ *DiaBiTril.*, [a 6] *r* (in both editions).

⁶⁾ *DiaBiTril.*, [a 8] *r* ; in the later edition on B *r*.

⁷⁾ *DiaBiTril.*, b j *r* ; in the later edition on B iij *o*.

⁸⁾ The word 'petum', referring to Dorp in the first (*DiaBiTril.*, [a 6] *o*), is omitted in the later edition.

Publishing of the *Oratio*.

Nesen's pamphlet, which was far from flattering for the Louvain theologians, had wounded Dorp most cruelly of all. Too late he had tried to avert the lashing humiliation by applying to Beatus Rhenanus; the blow had fallen relentlessly, and his pride had winced under it. After all, things could be looked at from another angle; and a too close view of stones and single ornaments naturally loses sight of the lines of the architecture. It might be all very well to search for mistakes and imperfections in a work never before attempted: it necessarily implied loitering and lagging behind in the onward movement of intellectual development. Moreover the pains taken in such pettifogging were so much out of proportion with their use and profit, that they could not but appear ludicrous to all those who considered things on a wider range. Although at first Dorp may have failed to grasp Bérault's meaning, he soon became aware of its appropriateness, and he answered most gently ¹). 'Dum studeo, quam optime ut faciam', he owned ²), 'de improviso in malum imprudens incido'; he had also grown fully alive to the ridicule in his own character; and his successive and unwarranted changes made him feel a fit subject for further lampoons. He must have felt that his meandering course could not but appear ludicrous to any man who at least sticks to the road he once has deliberately chosen, or stands by the opinion he has conceived after mature reflexion. Indeed he had veered and veered again, not on account of intellectual doubt, not through want of clear visual power in viewing things, not out of a lack of judgment in taking a decision: it was his childish vanity, his wish of outshining everybody that had made him flit from right to left, and sacrifice his conviction to the joy of listening to flattery. For notwithstanding some misconceptions in details, he had always been in favour of the true study ³) and

¹) Erasmus to Beraldus, Oct. 15, 1519: Epistola illa tua <pp. 201-3> felicissime cessit; Dorpius blandissime respondit: Allen, iv, 1024, 2-3.

²) Dorp to Beatus Rhenanus, Aug. 3, 1519: RE, 169.

³) Thus he could announce in his *Oratio*, Sept. 1519 that (evidently since 1516) he had composed a *Libellum* about the study of the Bible by

the sincere consistency of life and principles advocated by the New Movement. If not his zeal for that Movement, at least his terror of having this first libel followed up by other and even more malignant squibs, induced him to make a public apology for his past defections, and assert his addictedness to the humanists' great ideals, from which he had in vain striven to free himself ¹⁾).

Having once decided on breaking off with his late allies, he wanted even to burn his boats, and make every retreat impossible : he negotiated the printing of the oration which he had delivered in 1516 as introduction to his lectures on St. Paul's Epistles, and which had been hailed as a programme for the New Studies. It was published by Michael Hillen, in Antwerp, on September 27, 1519 ²⁾ ; and was dedicated to Beatus Rhenanus by a letter dated Louvain, September 22, 1519 ³⁾, in which Dorp explains that by that issue he answers the request of some erudites who wish for his advice on the question *de honestis studijs* ; and also protests against the rumour according to which he should favour neither good letters nor their teaching ⁴⁾. From his childhood, he says, he has cultivated them, which helps him greatly in the understanding and the explaining of the Bible and the Fathers of the Church ; he used to teach them with such a success that the Louvain Town Council offered him a '*publica professio*' ⁵⁾. Although occupied with other studies, he hardly ever let a day pass since, without spending at least some time on good

means of the collating with Greek texts ; he had read it in his lectures to the students of divinity, and should have defended that method in the *Quodlibeticæ*, if it had not been for the bad impression that such a novelty defended by a young professor, 'homine nouo', might produce : Dorp *LPaul.*, 971-978.

¹⁾ Cp. *supra*, pp. 145, 149, 160, *sq.*

²⁾ 'Martini Dorpii sacre Theologiæ p̄fessoris Oratio in prælectionem epistolarum Diui Pauli De laudibus Pauli, de literis sacris ediscēdis, de eloquētia, de perniciē sophistices, de sacrorū codicum ad græcos castigatione : & linguarum peritia. Epistola Erasmi ad Dorpium' : Antwerp, M. Hillen, *quinto calendās Octobres* 1519 : *BullBiB.*, xix, 160-1.

³⁾ RE, 175-6 ; Dorp *LPaul.*, 26-79.

⁴⁾ Dorp wrote : *sparserunt quidam, me non ex animo fauere uel literis bonis, uel linguarum professioni* : RE, 175 ; Dorp *LPaul.*, 37-39.

⁵⁾ This happened about 1509 : cp. *supra*, pp. 133-4.

letters ; that has given so much satisfaction that he is not going to change his mind, even if all feel differently ¹). He can understand that diversity of opinion, he continues, knowing the views of those who never studied old authors, which makes him address his argumentation only to erudite men ; finally, if his oration was not pronounced exactly as it is now edited, he quotes Cicero's example as apology, and can assure that there is nothing in it which has not either been said or taught by him in Louvain before a public auditory ²). I propose my opinion, he concludes : if it pleases, right ; if not, I do not envy those who have a better, and am even ready to follow it, if anybody deign to tell me ³).

To the text of the *Oratio* Dorp added some details, most welcome to Erasmus and his friends. Advocating the collating of the Vulgata text with that of the Greek *codices*, he mentions that he used to be of a different opinion and that he even had voiced it in a letter to Erasmus ; he owns his mistake, which he found out through his study of the old theologians, but more through Thomas More's letter on the subject ⁴). He recommends the erudite work of Erasmus who has supplied the emendations and the castigations from several Greek and Latin texts, proposing the most probable and acceptable reading, which is most welcome to himself as he ignores Greek ⁵) ; he concludes his *Oratio* by praising the beneficent work in that line by Laurent Valla and James Lefèvre, but chiefly by their '*princeps & antistes*' Erasmus ⁶).

This *Oratio*, published in Antwerp on September 27, may have been brought at once to Louvain ; still, peace having

¹) Dorp wrote : adeo non pœnitet, ut si omnes diuersum sentiant, non sim mutaturus sententiam : RE, 175 ; DorpLPaul., 54-56.

²) The letter reads : Iamque hæc oratio non per omnia prorsus ita dicta fuit, uti nunc ædatur ... neque quicquam tamen inest, quod non Louanij publico auditorio vel dixerim, uel praelegerim : RE, 175 ; DorpLPaul., 61-5.

³) DorpLPaul., 72-74. This letter was printed in the editions of the *Oratio* after the title and Erasmus' letter of July 10, 1516 : DorpLPaul., 26-79 ; RE, 175-6.

⁴) DorpLPaul., 957-969.

⁵) DorpLPaul., 1132-45, 1194-1204.

⁶) DorpLPaul., 1261-78.

just been made with Erasmus, no trouble seems to have been caused to its author. At the meeting of the Faculty of Divinity on September 30, Dorp requested the permission to continue his lectures, which was granted ¹⁾; and probably at that same meeting he offered his demission as president of the College of the Holy Ghost ²⁾. If so, it is evident that there had not been on him the least pressure or ill-will ³⁾, for the Faculty had a much more effective coercion at their disposal if required, as they could have withheld from him the permission to lecture ⁴⁾; moreover they would not have waited till Nov. 21 before appointing his successor ⁵⁾. It even looks most probable that Dorp continued his management for the time being, at least until he left for Holland. Most likely the change of opinions — or rather his wish to live up to his opinions, for he had always been on Erasmus' side — rendered disagreeable the subjection to the Faculty as president of their College; wanting more leisure for his own studies, and more freedom from the influences which had made him a traitor to his own convictions, he resigned his post, alleging a contemplated lengthy visit to his native country.

Apparently the intended journey to Holland was more than a pretence for his resigning the presidency. Indeed it was not merely undertaken to visit his father and his family, and to make at least a transitory stay in his parish of Overschie, where he occasionally addressed his flock in their native language ⁶⁾. It seems as if a great part of his time was spent at The Hague, where he lived on a most familiar footing with Nicolas Everaerts, the president of Holland Council ⁷⁾, and

¹⁾ He was the sixth in the order of the professors : de Jongh, 44*.

²⁾ 'Demissum a Dorpio collegium theologorum' is the remark noted down under the date *Festo Hieronymi* <1519> by J. F. van de Velde, in his summary of the reports of the Faculty, which, as has already been said, have been lost since the end of the xviiith century : FUL, 395; de Jongh, 44*.

³⁾ Allen, iv, 1044, *pr.*

⁴⁾ The Faculty indeed used that measure against Dorp a few months later : de Jongh, 46*.

⁵⁾ It was only on November 21, 1519 that Ruard Tapper was appointed in Dorp's place : de Jongh, 44*, *xlii* ; BN.

⁶⁾ *Dorp Vita*, 370-2, 371 n. He had also obtained a chaplaincy at Noordwijk : *Cran.*, 152, *b.*

⁷⁾ Cp. notes to *DorpApol.*, 44, 46.

some of its members, especially with Gerard Lord of Assendelft ¹⁾. Before the august assembly of that Council he had even delivered an oration *De Vita Christo Domino Instituenda* ²⁾, which he intended publishing and dedicating to Meinard Man. That considerable time spent with those officials of the Holland Court ³⁾ was most probably devoted to the considering of an offer which had been made by Philip of Burgundy, Bishop of Utrecht ⁴⁾, who wished to appoint him as his suffragan at a very high salary ⁵⁾, and some of Dorp's protectors were doing their best to ensure that appointment to him : 'Me student hic inaurare', he wrote to Erasmus, evidently on that account ⁶⁾. Possibly that offer had been made some time before, at least indirectly ⁷⁾; it would explain his readiness in breaking off publicly with his colleagues by publishing the *Oratio*, which certainly was not welcome to several of them. It may also have induced him to resign the presidency, in so much that he only kept the right to lecture in the Faculty. The appointment as suffragan to the liberal-minded Philip, who was one of Erasmus' protectors ⁸⁾, probably was the more desirable as it would free Dorp from the tedious wrangling with his colleagues, and from the fear of hostile squibs, at least on that subject. It explains his boldness towards the Faculty, which hitherto had held him in awe, and also his lengthy presence ⁹⁾ at The Hague to secure the intercession of as many powerful friends as possible, and

¹⁾ Cp. note to DorpApol., 50.

²⁾ DorpApol., 23-30, and note to l. 28; Allen, iv, 1147, 14-16.

³⁾ Allen, iv, 1044.

⁴⁾ Philip of Burgundy (c 1464-April 7, 1524) had been army leader and Admiral of Flanders, when in March 1517 he accepted the see of Utrecht to prevent it being taken by a friend of France. His secretary Gerard Geldenhouwer wrote his *Vita : CollectGeld.*, 223, sq; *Cran.*, 10, a, 240, b-e; *VetÆvAn.*, 1, 142, sq.

⁵⁾ DorpVita., 490-4.

⁶⁾ Allen, iv, 1044, 29.

⁷⁾ Dorp may have known before through the bishop's secretary Geldenhouwer, who was quite devoted to him : *Cran.*, 113, 3, 117, 9, 121, a; on Aug. 3 he told Rhenanus that he was ready to leave Louvain : RE, 169.

⁸⁾ Allen, iii, 603, 714, 11, iv, 1141, 2-7, &c. Erasmus went to greet him in Mechlin about Aug. 7, 1519 : Allen, iv, 1001, 6-7, when he may have recommended Dorp.

⁹⁾ On Nov. 28, 1519 Dorp wrote to Erasmus : si commodum tibi erit, responde; nam hinc nondum licet emigrare : Allen, iv, 1044, 80-81.

to discuss the various liabilities he was requested to assume ¹⁾. Unfortunately he claimed some warrant or security which the Bishop would not hear of ²⁾; consequently the nomination did not follow, at least not for the time : for it seems as if Dorp never excluded afterwards as quite impossible the idea of leaving the University : for, he says in his Apology to Man, nobody can ever state : such a thing will never happen to me ; in which event he would be most happy to reside amongst his learned friends in his native country ³⁾.

When Dorp arrived in Holland, his *Oratio* had already reached The Hague ; he consequently was congratulated by the President Nicolas Everaerts ⁴⁾ and by other erudites and councillors, who did what they could to gain the favour of a man who was so manifestly devoted to Erasmus as the *Oratio* indicated ⁵⁾. He announces that sanguine news to the latter, and evidently avails himself of the occasion to declare that he intends it as an amends for the past mistake, and as a proof that what had happened before, had been done on the instigation of others and against his own wish and conviction ⁶⁾. The childish excuse which pleads moral compulsion to avoid the admitting of any error, uncovers in Dorp's impulsive character not only vanity and weakness, but even a certain hypocrisy. His bitter regrets are represented in that letter as caused, not by a wrong judgment about Erasmus and his views, but by the fact that he did not speak out his mind

¹⁾ Probably on that account he had to wait rather a good while : Bishop Philip resorted to Abcoude, which had been reduced into obedience, October 25, 1519, and thence to Amsterdam : *VetÆvAn.*, 1, 186.

²⁾ *Dorp Vita*, 494-6.

³⁾ *DorpApol.*, 56-60.

⁴⁾ Cp. *DorpApol.*, 44-46, and *supra*, p. 95.

⁵⁾ Letter of Dorp to Erasmus, The Hague, Nov. 28, 1519 : Allen, iv, 1044, 16-28.

⁶⁾ Dorp wrote : ... o me dementem, qui non semper nisus sim manibus ac pedibus ne nasceretur de me pessima suspitio, quasi is ego essem qui tali viro aduersarer, staremque ab nescio quibus &c. ... Malo fato actus fui ... Quam gaudeo me Orationem illam edidisse, quo omnibus constet quam repugnante animo meo facta fuerint quae contigerunt ! neque enim vnquam mihi placuerunt que moliebantur : Allen, iv, 1044, 38-45.

from the very beginning ¹⁾, that he did not openly explain what he felt ²⁾.

From such a declaration may be rightly inferred that the disagreement between the two men did not arise from any of Erasmus' opinions, but merely from Dorp's vanity, from his wish to monopolize the attention. That inference is corroborated by the fact that the resipiscence was not the consequence of a better and sincerer view of the case, but of the danger of becoming a ready aim for pamphleteers and satirists. Once more the dread of becoming a second Pfefferkorn brought Dorp to make peace with Erasmus and all humanists ³⁾ by a public profession for which the *Oratio* provided the fittest occasion. That dread is shown in Dorp's letter from The Hague, where he evidently wishes for Erasmus' protection against all attacks from the growing host of libel-writing 'poets' ⁴⁾; he even suggests two practical means: one is a reprint of the *Oratio* at some world-renowned office, like Froben's ⁵⁾: on Erasmus' advice, Dorp's booklet was actually issued at Basle, first in January ⁶⁾, and again in March 1520, this time with the letter dated The Hague, Nov. 28, 1519 ⁷⁾.

The second means is a frequent friendly mention by Erasmus of Dorp, wherever it is possible, so that, the latter pleads, 'intelligant omnes p̄tichre inter nos conuenire'; letters which had passed between them would answer the purpose

¹⁾ He exclaims in his letter after regretting that he ever caused the suspicion of being Erasmus' adversary: *Cur non ab initio id palam testatus sum? Cur tam diu distuli? Malo fato actus fui, mi Erasme; sed prestat recurrere quam cursum male institutum pergere*: Allen, iv, 1044, 41-43.

²⁾ *Sed in hoc errorem meum ingenue confiteor tibi, mi Erasme humanissime, quod non aperte explicuerim quid sentirem*: Allen, iv, 1044, 46-7.

³⁾ This is clearly expressed in Dorp's dedicatory letter to Beatus Rhenanus: Dorp *LPaul.*, 37-39; cp. *supra*, pp. 162, 172, 178.

⁴⁾ Allen, ii, 536, 11-14; cp. also RE, 169, 197.

⁵⁾ *Orationem meam, etsi ineptam ac indoctam, mire tamen cupio Basileae impressum iri typis Frobenianis. Id tu si voles, factum est: quid enim tibi neget vel Rhenanus vel Frobenius*: Allen, iv, 1044, 56-8.

⁶⁾ On January 18, 1520 Albert Burer writes to his master Rhenanus: *Frobenius Dorpianae orationis folia, quotquot excusa sunt, mittit, misurus etiam reliqua, quum fuerint excusa*: RE, 204.

⁷⁾ Allen, iv, 1044; the letter takes up ff G 2 r-[G 4] r: Dorp *LPaul.*, 1279-1377.

very well if published ¹⁾; most efficient of all would be referring to him as to a friend in his epistles to More and Pace, to Rhenanus, to Hutten and Budé ²⁾. Again Erasmus complied with that request, and wrote to his friends : they rejoiced in the good news, which soon reached all those who then were interested in studies and humanism.

Dorp Erasmus' Ally.

A few days after the appearance of Dorp's *Oratio*, James of Hoogstraeten ³⁾ brought to Louvain a selection of Luther's writings, condemned by the Cologne theologians, which he submitted to the Faculty of Divinity on October 12, 1519, with the request to examine and censure them ⁴⁾. His mission was kept a secret, in so much that Erasmus, who on Oct. 15, 1519, had written to Ortuin Gratius in order to get into touch with Reuchlin's chief adversary, as he had not answered his letters ⁵⁾, heard, about two days later, that he had come to Louvain ⁶⁾ fleeing for the pest, although some suspected that he had been sent away by his brethren on account of the

¹⁾ Allen, iv, 1041, 49-53; Erasmus had forestalled Dorp's wish as he printed one letter from, and one to, Dorp in the *Farrago*, which Froben published in October 1519 (pp. 171, 179) : Allen, ii, 536, iii, 852.

²⁾ Allen, iv, 1044, 58-60.

³⁾ James of Hoogstraeten matriculated in Louvain as a student of the Falcon on May 20, 1482 : *Excerpts*, 97; he promoted M. A. in 1485, being the first of his year; he entered the Dominican order and studied in Cologne from 1496 (Sept. 10); he became doctor of divinity, 1504, took part in the controversy against Peter Tomasi of Ravenna, 1508, and, after he had become Inquisitor General, against Reuchlin; later on against Luther; he died on Jan. 21, 1527 : PaulusDD, 87-106; *PromRs.*, 60; *ReusDoc.*, iv, 387; Keussen, 407; de Jongh, 100, &c.; ReuchlE, 127, &c.; Geiger, 199, 221, &c.; Varrentrap, 34, 61-2; Allen, i, 290, 10; *BibRefNe.*, iii, 377, sq; Muther, 102, sq; MutRufE, 404, 410, 434, &c.; ADB.

⁴⁾ The book contained 488 pages fastened by a red string, with the seal of the Cologne Faculty of Divinity : de Jongh, 43*; *infra*, p. 237.

⁵⁾ Allen, iv, 1022, 15, 31, 1006, *pr.*

⁶⁾ Possibly Erasmus spent part of the first half of October 1519 in Brussels; on returning to Louvain, he heard that Hoogstraeten had been there : consequently his letter to Herman van dem Busche, Louvain, October 21, may belong to 1519, and not to 1518 : Allen, iii, 884; *Cran.*, 96, c.

ill-feeling he caused. 'Nihil adhuc molitur', he added : 'quid in posterum factururus nescio' ¹⁾. Everything seemed quiet, and in several of his letters Erasmus dwells on the peace which the theologians had offered to him ²⁾. He probably enjoyed even more Dorp's company, who tried to show his sincerity ³⁾ and most likely had started his confidences. Without doubt he was the authority from which Erasmus then got the certainty that Briart had been his only instigator, and had lately caused the tragedy about the authorship of the *Dialogus*, which was the reason why he also was foremost in the making up of the peace ⁴⁾.

It was probably about the middle of October 1519 that Dorp left for his native country ⁵⁾ : for he evidently ignored the rush of events that happened after October 15, 1519. Erasmus met Erard de la Marck, who showed him a letter from Aleander, blaming him for writing to Luther ⁶⁾ ; he heard that Hoogstraeten was spreading evil reports about him on that account at Court in Brussels, whereto he hastened ⁷⁾ ; on his return to Louvain he found that his epistle to the Wittenberg monk was known ⁸⁾, and judged so much amiss that he considered it necessary to justify himself in the letter to the reader added to the *Colloquia* ⁹⁾, and in epistles to friends ¹⁰⁾

¹⁾ Erasmus to Bishop Fisher, Louvain, Oct. 17, 1519 : Iacobus Hochstratus agit Louanii, profugus Colonia ob pestem ; vt alii suspicantur, extrusus a monachis inuidiam ab illo ortam depellentibus : Allen, iv, 1030, 16-19, III, 877, 16-31.

²⁾ Allen, iv, 1024, 6-9, 1027, 13, 1028, 16, 1029, 1, 17, 1030, 12, 1033, 18-24.

³⁾ Allen, iv, 1029, 16.

⁴⁾ He wrote to Tunstall : Solus ... Noxus ... instigauit Dorpium et hanc totam tragoediam excitauit ; id iam pridem suspicione collectum iam plene comperi : Allen, iv, 1029, 2-8 : also 1028, 18-21, 1225, 23-6.

⁵⁾ It seems as if Dorp made rather a long stay in Holland, as results from the oration he delivered to the Council : cp. note to DorpApol., 64 ; before Nov. 28 he had sent a letter to Erasmus : Allen, iv, 1044, 69.

⁶⁾ Allen, iv, 1038, *pr.*, 1167, 120-5, v, 1482, 6, *sq.*, 1496, 18, III, 980.

⁷⁾ Allen, iv, 1040, 1-9, 1041, 22-31, 1033, 55, 71, 1038, 15-24 ; amongst those who had been excited against Erasmus were the princes John and Maximilian of Berghes and Count Antony of Lalaing of Hoogstraeten : Moeller, 107, 159, 202, 227, 330 ; *Cran.*, 5, a, 62, a, 126, d ; Walther, 55, 58, *sq.*, 149-151, 211, &c. ; Henne, II, 88, 279, &c.

⁸⁾ Allen, iv, 1033, 24-30.

⁹⁾ Allen, iv, 1041 : it was appended to the enlarged edition of the *Colloquia* by Martens, c Nov. 1519 : Iseghem, 295 ; *BB*, E, 429, 8-11.

¹⁰⁾ E. g., in his letter to Martin Lipsius, c Nov. 1519 : Allen, iv, 1040, 1-9.

and contradictors ¹⁾; and finally, on November 7, came off the condemnation of some of Luther's propositions by the Faculty of Divinity ²⁾.

Without doubt Erasmus communicated these pieces of news to Dorp, who apparently had not been trusted with the Faculty's secret about the examining of Luther's doctrine, or had left Louvain before Hoogstraeten's arrival. Indeed the opening sentences of his reply, dated The Hague, November 28, 1519, describe his disagreeable surprise and his wonder at what makes his colleagues throw everything upside down 'vt eximios aliquot sic de studiis, sic de re Christiana meritos male vexent' ³⁾. Promising that he never again will be their partner, he considers it much more Christian-like to understand everything to the good, and interpret everything for the best, instead of putting evil into the writings of the learned ⁴⁾. That judgment evidently applies first to Erasmus, who is requested by the glory of Christ not to let his mind be broken on account of the most inept and foolish importunity of a very few feeble men ⁵⁾, — without doubt Hoogstraeten and his partisans, — who find fault with him for corresponding with the Austin friar, whereas the latter should be brought back to obedience and orthodoxy, rather than branded and driven to despair. Therefore Dorp tried to console Erasmus by counterbalancing that bad opinion of a few foolish people, by the high appreciation of princes and bishops and erudites throughout the world ⁶⁾, especially

¹⁾ Such is the letter to the slandering medical doctor, who is told that he had better mind his medical science: without doubt that doctor was John de Winckele, son of Erasmus' old friend (Allen, iv, 1042; *Cran.*, 85, a, b), who is bitterly criticised in *EpMagNos.*, 20-26.

²⁾ De Jongh, 213. From his letter to Martinus Lipsius it appears that, in the first days of November, he did not know that the Faculty was examining Luther's writings. He suspected that something was preparing against the Wittenberg monk, amongst Hoogstraeten, Nicolas Baechem, Charles's confessor John Briselot, and the suffragan of Cambrai Adrian Aernout, a Carmelite, Doctor of Divinity of Paris (1515): Allen, iv, 1040, 7-9, III, 597, 4; Berlière, 83-89, 89-91, 156; *BibBelg.*, 468.

³⁾ Allen, iv, 1044, 1-3.

⁴⁾ Allen, iv, 1044, 3-7.

⁵⁾ Allen, iv, 1044, 7-9.

⁶⁾ Allen, iv, 1044, 10-12.

by that of Everaerts and Assendelft amongst the members of the Holland Council ¹⁾ and that of the cleverest amongst the friars, like the Mechlin guardian John Byl ²⁾ and the erudite Amand of Zierikzee, of Louvain ³⁾.

Dorp's disapproval evidently refers also to the treatment of Luther, for although Erasmus is uppermost in his mind, he complains about the vexation with which a '*turba*', whose '*consors*' he had been up to then, was visiting '*eximios aliquot*' ⁴⁾ by not understanding rightly and sanely their writings, and interpreting their statements to the bad. It seems impossible under the circumstances to exclude the reference to the Austin friar and his condemnation by the Faculty from the opening lines of Dorp's letter ⁵⁾. The latter's disapprobation of that censure does not imply an approval of the opinions expressed in Luther's writings, but merely expresses the doubt whether an exasperating condemnation is more efficient than a kindly and Christian-like admonition ⁶⁾. It is only natural that he feels that way after having been a party, or at least an instrument, in the difficulties caused to the author of the *Novum Instrumentum*, and knowing from experience the methods of his colleagues. Wounding is much easier than curing, and generally when the clash of events, those touchstones of human character, have shown whether a man is a builder or a destroyer, a lighting torch or a fire-band ⁷⁾, the tragedy is already precipitating towards the catastrophe. At any rate Dorp's undisguised astonishment and his misgivings about what his colleagues had decided

¹⁾ Allen, iv, 1044, 13-28.

²⁾ Allen, iv, 1044, 32.

³⁾ Allen, iv, 1044, 31; *BibBelg.*, 45.

⁴⁾ Allen, iv, 1044, 1-7.

⁵⁾ This is the more probable since Dorp at that time was occupied with the Luther question, having met at The Hague a man who had been in veneration in Louvain for his erudition, and now had written a book based on Scripture in his (L's) defence: both he and the author wanted Erasmus to see that *libellus*: Allen, iv, 1044, 69-71.

⁶⁾ Cp. Spahn, 190-1; Pole, 23.

⁷⁾ Cp., for the influence of Luther's and Calvin's personal characters on the history of Reformation, Grisar, III, 864-876; D. Sabatier, *La "Conversion" de Calvin*, in *Annales de Philos. Chrét.*, LXXXII, 270-1; &c.

upon, are ample proof that he was not in Louvain when Luther's writings were censured by the Faculty, which provides a clue to the difficulties caused to him a few months later.

Effect of the *Oratio*.

Meanwhile the *Oratio* was spreading to Erasmus' great joy. On October 15, 1519, he announces the news to Nicolas Bérault, who in a way was the cause of Dorp's veering; he sends the book, which gives him full confidence in the author's constancy, as it testifies to a decided change of mind ¹). On the following day, a similar statement is made to Cuthbert Tunstall ²). Thomas More, on being informed, was glad to impart to Dorp his congratulations for placing truth above self-esteem; he heartily praised him for his candid and humble avowal of his past mistakes, and for his unique example of modesty in attributing to the influence of others what he evidently found out for himself ³). Of that congratulatory letter only two extracts seem to be extant: the mention in the one of the edited oration: '*edita quoque in id ornatisima oratione*', places it well after September 27, 1519 ⁴); which is corroborated by the other quotation, in which More refers to some trouble caused to Dorp on that account by his colleagues. What the trouble exactly is, cannot be made out from the fragment quoted; the editor's commentary mentions

¹) Dorpius etiam edita oratione testatus est se mutasse sententiam. Proinde de huius constantia plane confido: ... per Augustinum medicum Phrysium ... misi et Dorpii orationem: Louvain, October 15, 1519: Allen, iv, 1024, 5-10.

²) Oct. 16, 1519: Allen, iv, 1029, 16-17.

³) Stapleton, 69-71: *eximiam hanc modestiam alia rursus modestia superasti, qui quod ingenij tui felicitate contigit, vt verum quod esset ipse perspiceres, id aliorum tribuas admonitionibus atque etiam meis*: — alluding to Dorp *LPaul.*, 965-969. Cp. Jortin, II, 668-9.

⁴) Evidently the letter cannot have been written in 1516 as is suggested in *MoreCorr.*, 548. In his letter to Erasmus of March-April 1520 about the controversy with Brie, More sends greetings to Dorp, Nesen and Vives: Allen, iv, 1087, 621: which proves that he knew by that time of the final reconciliation: his letter to Dorp consequently was written before March 1520.

that Dorp was said to have been deprived of his lectures, which, however, may have been suggested to him by later events and by a misunderstanding of More's statement : ' Certe si qua cæperunt gnauiter intendant via, bonas vt literas opprimant atque extrudant e scholis, miram expecto mutationem breui '. Certain it is, however, that Dorp suffers from ' paucorum factione pertinacium ', and More prefers thinking of his praise rather than of their disgrace : ' De tua vero laude ', he writes, ' quam illorum opprobrio multo magis libenter cogito ' ¹).

These details clearly suggest the general state of antipathy with study and letters, against which Erasmus and his partisans had been contending, and which had been roused to a crisis by Nesen's attempt to spurn all divines and all University regulations by the end of November 1519, and by the sarcastic criticism that followed his failure ²). Lee's assaults had become wilder ³), and Briart's death, which Erasmus had hoped to be followed by a period of calm, seemed to have roused up the animosity of several theologians ⁴).

It is evident that Dorp was not welcome to some of his colleagues on his return from Holland ⁵); they could hardly forgive him the publishing of his *Oratio* under the circumstances. Although they could not prevent him from lecturing nor dismiss him from the presidency of the College of the Holy Ghost, since on the last of September he had resigned the latter and secured the former, yet they put him to shame. For whereas he had hoped perhaps to stay at least for some

¹) Stapleton, 71 : More evidently refers to the ignominious treatment of Dorp by the students and members of his Faculty ; his words may thus be translated : I prefer thinking of the fine *Laudes Pauli* that you composed, rather than of the contumely to you, which is their work !

²) Allen, iv, 1046, *pr*, 22-24, 1057, *pr*, 16-18, 1104, 25-28, 1111, 61-62 ; also *supra*, pp. 212-3, and *ColBuslPrim*.

³) Allen, iv, 1061, 1088, 12-14.

⁴) Allen, iv, 1059, 6-8. Most likely John Briart, who was of a violent temper at times, felt the injustice done to Erasmus as age and infirmities became heavier : without doubt he had kept some of the opponents within bounds ; ' moriturus etiam denunciabat <Erasmus> pacem & amicitiam, quod ad ipsum attineret ' : EOO, x, 1649, A-C ; Allen, i, p. 22, 30-36, III, 670, *pr*, iv, 1037, *pr*, 1064, 3-8, 1069.

⁵) Allen, iv, 1059, 3-10.

time in one of the rooms of the College, he was ejected : ‘ *ex suo eiectus Collegio* ’ ¹⁾). Apparently it was not done by his colleagues, but probably by some of their auditors, who cannot but have enjoyed such a welcome change in the scholastic routine as a quarrel between their professors. Considering that the teaching of a purer language was sufficient to occasion a riot against the *Trilingue* and the ‘ *Latinum de Foro Piscium* ’ ²⁾, it is more than likely that the students of theology, who naturally were more deeply disgusted at Dorp’s edition of the *Oratio* than their masters were, showed that disgust on his return to the Holy Ghost after his visit to Holland. They evidently were not short of means to annoy an opponent — on whom perhaps they may also have taken revenge for some unpopular measures decided upon during his presidency and possibly inspired by his hasty and irascible temper. That mischievous and irreverent treatment soon became ignominious, especially since authority abstained from interfering, which may explain the poor opinion that Dorp had of his successor Ruard Tapper ³⁾. At any rate it made his life in the College unbearable and he was forced to move away. It was evidently to that *opprobrium* that More referred in his consolatory letter to Dorp ⁴⁾; and that was the *contumelia* which was mentioned to Zwingli on February 7, 1520, by John Froben, who having heard of the event from a clever but careless messenger ⁵⁾ — probably Livinus Algoet ⁶⁾ — coming straight from Brabant ⁷⁾, sadly concluded that in Louvain the theologians had gone mad ⁸⁾, and also that the disgrace was certain to spur on Dorp to better studies ⁹⁾.

¹⁾ ZwOZ, vii, 112.

²⁾ Mol., 588.

³⁾ He called him one day *pistillum retusum* : BN ; BibReNe., i, 590-91.

⁴⁾ Stapleton, 71.

⁵⁾ Froben writing to Zwingli mentions as messenger a youth who knew Latin and Greek better than any of his own people, but had forgotten all *incuria sua* : ZwOZ, vii, 112 ; ZWE, i, 263.

⁶⁾ Cran., 58, a ; Allen, iv, 1091, pr, 1063, pr.

⁷⁾ Dum abiret iuuenis caput Theologorum, *Atensis*, egit in agone ; incertum, an mortuus : ZwOZ, vii, 112 ; Briart died on January 8, 1520.

⁸⁾ *Louanii* Theologi insaniunt : ZwOZ, vii, 112 ; Allen, iv, 1088, 12.

⁹⁾ *Dorpii* orationem <printed in January 1520> mitto nisi habueritis antea, qui a factione theologica summa ob orationem editam affectus

In fact Erasmus announced on February 5, 1520 to Beatus Rhenanus ¹⁾, and to Ecolampadius, that Dorp stood by him, and bore insult and dishonour with courage, which gave every hope that there would never be a change again ²⁾. A few weeks later, about the middle of March, he writes to Herman Count of Neuenahr that his admirer Dorp proves a real theologian, for having freed himself from the tumult of the factions, he now enjoys most sweetly the best of studies ³⁾.

Wanting to keep up that excellent spirit in the man who, a few weeks before, was still a general favourite, and who was now beset from every side by difficulties and obloquy, Erasmus thought of the numerous friends who by their letters might encourage him in his plight. His *Oratio*, which had caused the trouble, was naturally indicated as the occasion. He therefore wrote to Beatus Rhenanus, on February 5, 1520, praising Dorp's constancy ⁴⁾, and requesting him to apply to 'Zasium, Bonifacium, et alios, si poteris, vt illi scribant amanter et honorifice' ⁵⁾. Beatus complied with the request, and on March 5, 1520 he wrote to Boniface Amerbach quoting the above sentence of Erasmus' letter, and asking not to let Froben leave — evidently for the Frankfurt Spring-Fair — without some letters to Dorp; he further invited him to pass on the request to Capito and to Hedio, whereas he himself had already warned Zasius ⁶⁾.

By making that request Erasmus probably considered it due to truth and justice to dissipate the suspicion which hovered over Dorp in the opinion of most of his friends, and

contumelia, simulque ex suo eiectus collegio, ac nunc totus agit Erasmus. Hanc illi ignominiam ad meliores acutissimum addituram calcar non dubito : ZwOZ, VII, 112 ; ZWE, I, 263.

¹⁾ Dorpius constantissime se gerit : ita vt confidam fore perpetuo sui similem : Allen, IV, 1063, 1-2.

²⁾ Dorpium ex animo sibi esse reconciliatum : Allen, IV, 1064, 3.

³⁾ Martinus Dorpius, tui nominis cum primis studiosus, vere theologum agit : nam extricatus ab istis factionum tumultibus suauissime fruitur optimis studiis : Allen, IV, 1082, 21-23.

⁴⁾ Hic ... conspirant vt nunquam odiosius. Et tamen Dorpius constantissime se gerit : ita vt confidam fore perpetuo sui similem : Allen, IV, 1063, 1-2.

⁵⁾ Allen, IV, 1063, 3-4.

⁶⁾ RE, 211.

to correct the bad renown which he knew was clinging to his name in humanistic circles. That unfavourable judgment is shown in a letter of Albert Burer ¹⁾, who, keeping his master Beatus Rhenanus informed of what is said and done in Basle, announced him, on January 4, 1520, that ‘Φένξ ille Lovaniensis, homo Πρωτέως ποικιλότερος’ ²⁾, had dedicated a booklet to his name; he had not had yet the occasion to inspect it, as it circulated amongst people more learned than he himself ³⁾. He knew that it was either a preface to St. Paul, or a speech in his praise; and he is surprised by the change of Dorp, who, to judge from this work, could never have plotted in any way against good letters ⁴⁾. That distrust was not so easily dissipated: on March 19, 1520, probably after having heard his master’s assurances on the subject, Burer judged it fit to inform him that some thought that even in Lee’s book against Erasmus ⁵⁾, there were some of Dorp’s old criticisms, who thus was bringing out through another, what he could not do himself without disgrace ⁶⁾. Only on May 25, he forwards the news that, according to Erasmus, Dorpius greatly regrets ever to have edited the letter against him and his *Moria* ⁷⁾.

Similar misgivings about his character were general amongst the humanists: thus on June 19, 1520, Zwingli confides to Vadianus that Dorp is said to be as versatile as a buskin, so vainglorious that he counts honour as nothing if he is not the uppermost, and moreover so jealous of Erasmus’

¹⁾ Albert Burer had served some time in a printing office, and then entered Rhenanus’ service: RE, 170, 180, 181, 185, 187-9.

²⁾ Allusions to *DiaBiTril.*, [a 6] v, [a 7] r.

³⁾ He wrote: cuius intuendi copia facta non est, quod iret per manus aliorum me eruditiorum: RE, 197.

⁴⁾ Heu quid audio, quantum mutatus ab illo vetere Dorpio: diceres illum literis nunquam mali quippiam machinatum, adeo totus (afflatus opinor numine quodam) factus est alius: RE, 197.

⁵⁾ *Eduardi Leei Annotationum in Novum Testamentum Erasmi Rotterod. Libri II* (Paris, Aeg. Gourmont, 1520).

⁶⁾ Sunt, qui existiment Dorpii reliquias inesse Leei libello, utpote qui per hunc dediderit, quod per se ipsum absque infamia non potuerit: RE, 215.

⁷⁾ Scribit ... (Erasmus) Dorpium magnopere dolere epistolae editae: *vis.*, against the *Moriae Encomium*: RE, 225.

splendor that he does not see how much he could derive from him, if he really worked for the glory of God ¹).

On January 31, 1520, Boniface Amerbach sent a copy of the *Oratio* to his master Ulrich Zasius ²) and opined in the accompanying letter that although Dorp was a divine of great authority in Louvain, one might apply to him what M. Laelius said of L. Galba, that his mind had a bad dwelling ³). For if he was most learned in all the sciences through the excellence of that mind, he was not consistent with himself, now loving and now hating good letters, proving more changeable than a chameleon in asserting or proclaiming them. That results, he said, from the fact that having recently written *De Triplici Linguarum Peritia*, under the pseudonym of one *Lathomus* ⁴), he now recalls it in this *Oratio*, and, for all that, he is reported to have returned once more to those old theological fashions which are the farthest away from the love of good letters and from the acquaintance with languages ⁵).

¹) Transmisi *Basileam* tuam ad *Dorpium* epistolam, *Joacime* doctissime et carissime, altera mox die ab ea qua acceperam. Bene vortat ! Aiunt enim hominem esse cothurno versatiliore : ita quibusdam omnis est angusta nimis gloria, nisi summi habeantur. Torquet nimirum hominem splendor *Erasmicus*, a quo tamen posset lucis plurimum mutuari si gloriam, quae a Deo est, quaereret. Quod quia non facit, torquetur invidia et fame gloriae haud secus quam Iudaei ... : Zurich, <June> 19, 1520 : ZwOZ, VII, 137 ; ZwE, I, 328 ; VadE, II, 93.

²) Zasius received from Amerbach a second copy of the *Oratio* for which he thanked him in a letter dated from Wolfenwiler on Febr. 8, 1520 : Riegger, 30 : *Dorpii* orationem, mi *Bonifaci*, iam bis abs te recepi, ita es homo mearum rerum sollicitus, &c.

³) Cp. Erasmus' *Apophthegmata* : EOO, IV, 291, E.

⁴) Cp. *supra*, p. 196.

⁵) Letter of January 31, 1520 : Vlricho Zasio Jurecos. Bonifacius Amerbachius : ... Martini Dorpij in Paulum Praelectionem ad te mitto : elegantem ni fallar & tua lectione dignam. Theologus is est magna apud Louanienses autoritate, sed de quo dicere potes, quod Marcus Lollius in Galbam dicere solebat, male ingenium habitare. Siquidem ut ingenij praestantia omnium disciplinarum est doctissimus, ita parum sibi constans, nunc bonas litteras amat, nunc odit, & in hijs asserendis eleuandisque chameleonte mutabilior. Cuius rei tibi uel hoc specimen fuerit, quod quæ prius sub nomine Lathomi cuiusdam de triplici linguarum peritia scripserat, nunc in hac praelectione retractat ; quin, si verum est quod dicunt, ad pristinos redijt mores, nempe Theologicos a quibus nihil tam alienum est quam bonarum litterarum amor uel linguarum peritia : Basle University Library, Ms. C VI^a 73, f 392 r, v.

It was to correct those wrong opinions about his new ally, which Erasmus evidently was aware of, that he invited his nearest friends to spread the true report, and make it more effective, and especially more agreeable to Dorp, by sending him a word of congratulation. He had announced the news of his complete change to Hutten, and, about February 5, 1520, to Œcolampadius : the former wrote to Dorp in reply ¹⁾, and the latter communicated the information to Bernard Adelmann, who, in his turn, passed it on to Billibald Pirckheimer ²⁾. Nor was Beatus Rhenanus long in imparting to his friends the request made to him on February 5, 1520. Already on March 6, 1520, Zasius wrote from Freiburg to Amerbach ³⁾ to tell him that Rhenanus had heard from Erasmus about the *laudatissimum* Dorp, and had communicated the text of a letter sent by the latter to Erasmus, which in his turn he passes on to Amerbach ⁴⁾. He praises Dorp's style and diction as second only to that of Erasmus, and he compares his conversion to the right studies to that of St. Paul ⁵⁾. Being prevented by press of work ⁶⁾, he requests Amerbach to write the letters which Erasmus wants, for both of them, so as to be in time for the Frankfurt Fair ⁷⁾ : 'scribasque', he writes, ' & tuo & meo nomine ad Dorpium literas, laudis praeconio suum illud insigne, diuinumque institutum, quo ab Erasmi doctrinis, imo a verae theologiae praescriptis stare pergit, magnificias : id quod Germaniae nostrae, omnisque

¹⁾ HutO, I, 344-5 : May 4, 1520 : Dorp had answered already.

²⁾ Erasmus scripsit nuper nostro theologo <Œcolampadio> ... Dorpium ex animo sibi esse reconciliatum : Heumann, 189 ; Allen, IV, 1064, 3.

³⁾ On Febr. 8, 1520 Zasius, then at Wolffenwiler, thanked Amerbach for the second copy of Dorp's *Oratio* which he had sent : Riegger, 30.

⁴⁾ Probably a copy of Dorp's letter dated The Hague, Nov. 28, 1519, in which Erasmus may have suppressed some remark, possibly about some Louvain theologian, by an ' &c. ' : Dorp *LPaul.*, 1328. It may have been the copy which Froben reproduced in his second issue of the *Oratio*, March, 1520 ; — and it was, no doubt, another transcript sent from Antwerp to Luther, which caused some trouble to Dorp.

⁵⁾ Siquidem in Dorpio contigisse, quod in Paulo compertum habemus, omnes autumant : Riegger, 35.

⁶⁾ Sunt enim complura michi consilia principibus, & item Sueviae facienda : Riegger, 35.

⁷⁾ Allen, IV, 1083, 41.

Allemanniae literati voce, affectu, animis, corde, in coelum vsque praedicant'. He further announces that John Botzheim Abstemius will also send letters on the subject to Dorp and to Erasmus, which he requests his Basle colleague to dispatch, and he allows him by the postscript to send that very letter on to Dorp after the necessary correcting ¹).

Amerbach complied with Zasius' wish, and sent him the rough draught of an answer, as results from Zasius' remark in a letter dated Freiburg, March 16, 1520: 'In litteris *Dorpii*, nescio, an conferat causarium eum nominare, delicatum stomachum habet hoc genus hominum, quod famae velificatur'²). Indeed misgivings about Dorp's vanity and inconstancy remained for some time yet in Zasius' mind ³), as well as Amerbach's, who on March 19, 1520 wrote to Erasmus that Dorp's resipiscence had brought great pleasure to all; that, without feeling himself any inclination or any enthusiasm, he was sending him a message at the request of his own master Zasius, and also in order to oblige Erasmus, and to congratulate with him for this conquest, making namely 'ex sophistis homines, ex mathaeologis theologos' ⁴)! At the same date as that letter, Amerbach despatched one to Dorp serving as a message from himself and from Zasius, who was over-busy and preferred waiting for some leisure to communicate both with Erasmus and with the author of the *Oratio* ⁵). Amerbach praises that work as a symbol of his opinions, about which

¹) Riegger, 35-37.

²) Riegger, 39.

³) On July 13, 1520 Zasius writing to Erasmus, inquired about the constancy of Dorpius: 'ille vir, si vita respondeat, cum paucis conferendus, an adhuc noster sit, id est verae theologiae assertor, fac sciam: Riegger, 298; Allen, iv, 1121, 30-31. On March, 20, 1522 he praised him as Erasmus' 'socium studiorum ... virum eminentis ingenii': Riegger, 299.

⁴) Gratulatus sum homini per litteras, licet inuitus, nempe alieno stomacho, compellente huc me Zasio et sacramento suo adigente. Cui cum nihil denegare debeam, certe hac in parte morigerari volui, praesertim cum Dorpius tuus factus sit; quo quid poterat nobis euenisse gratius? Felicem te et vere magnum, qui non solum optima studia in integrum restituis, sed in debellandis etiam barbarorum copiis, ex sophistis homines, ex mathaeologis theologos facis: *EpErVir.*, 89; Allen, iv, 1084, 22-32.

⁵) Allen, iv, 1084, 45-47; cp. Amerbach's letter, *infra*.

Erasmus had always expressed the greatest confidence. He was to be another Paulus, and to work strenuously at the renovation of the study of Theology in the sense he had proposed in the *Prælectio*, which all 'Germaniæ ... litterati uoce, affectu, animo, corde in cœlum usque prædicent', considering him as Erasmus' second, and placing all hope in him : 'In unico Dorpio omnis spes sita collocataque est' ¹⁾.

Together with Botzheim's, that letter was sent to Louvain, and produced the desired effect : it caused great joy, as Erasmus announced on May 16, 1520, adding that Dorp had little leisure just then, but intended replying to all and everybody who had expressed their congratulations ²⁾. Amongst those was also Zwingli who, advised by Zasius, had communicated Erasmus' request to Joachim von Watt, *Vadianus* ³⁾, and to Oswald Myconius ⁴⁾, and had undertaken to send off their letters to Basle ⁵⁾.

Praise was moreover generously imparted by other chief erudite humanists, although they had not been requested to bring out any appreciation. Thus Otto Brunfels, on March 18, 1520, counts Dorp amongst the *neoterici*, along with Erasmus, Melancthon, Luther and Reuchlin ⁶⁾. Hedio commended him for favouring renascent Christianity from the whole of his heart ⁷⁾. Martin Bucer, in Heidelberg, reading the *Oratio*

¹⁾ The original, in Basle University Library, Ms. C vi^a 73, f 158 r, v, is published in AmerE. (ep. 3), and reproduced here *infra*, amongst *Dorp's Correspondence*.

²⁾ Allen, iv, 1103, 25-26.

³⁾ On May 4, 1520, Zwingli wrote to Vadianus : Legisti præterea orationem *Dorpii* de linguis discendis propter sacras literas. Ibi consilium est *Erasmi*, ut homines undique docti epistolis obruant gratulantes illi ; hæc autem ad nos perscripsit *Zasius*, nominatim et te et *Myconium* salutans et optans, ut ambo ad illum etiam scribatis, laudis cupidum scilicet. Si igitur scripseris ad nos transmittito epistolam, et Frobenio aut Rhenano curante omnia perferentur : VadE, II, 83 ; ZWE, I, 308.

⁴⁾ On April 2, 1520 Zwingli passed on to him Zasius' request : ZWE, I, 292.

⁵⁾ On June 19 <ZwOZ, VII, 137 wrongly dates the letter January 19 : cp. note to *DorpApol.*, 160>, 1520, Zwingli wrote to Vadianus : Transmisi *Basileam* tuam ad *Dorpium* epistolam, *Joacime* doctissime et carissime, altera mox die ab ea, qua acceperam &c. : VadE, II, 93 ; ZWE, I, 328.

⁶⁾ RE, 214.

⁷⁾ On March 17, 1520 Caspar Hedio wrote to Zwingli : *Dorpius* totus favet renascenti Christianismo, et ex animo, quod *Erasmus* primum huc scripsit : ZwOZ, VII, 121 ; ZWE, I, 280-1.

with the letter from Erasmus and that to Rhenanus, actually dances, and wakens a sleeping friend, unable as he was to contain within himself the great joy caused by so uncommon a piece of news from the Netherlands ¹⁾). John Heigerlin Faber, vicar of the Bishop of Constance ²⁾), declaring about that time in his 30th sermon that theology owes its renovation to the author of the *Novum Instrumentum*, expresses the wish that Germany might have many *Erasmi* and many *Dorpii* : ‘ Utinam multos Erasmos, multos Dorpios haberet Germania ’ ³⁾ ! And on June 5 <, 1520> ⁴⁾ the great wandering apostle of Humanism in Germany Herman van dem Busche ⁵⁾ asked Erasmus, to greet for him Nesen and Dorp, ‘ quem totus nunc amo ’, he says, ‘ postquam intellexi totum te amare ’.

Dorp and Luther.

When in March 1520 Luther was preparing a reply ⁶⁾ to the condemnation of his writings by the Louvain University published in February 1520 ⁷⁾, he mentioned to several of his

¹⁾ March 19, 1520 : RE, 216.

²⁾ John Heigerlin Faber, of Leutkirch (1478-1541) matriculated, already a priest, on July 26, 1509 in Freiburg, where he was Zasius' pupil ; he became parish-priest of Lindau and Radolfzell, chancellor of the Bishop of Basle, 1516, and Vicar-Gen. of the Bishop of Constance, 1518. He was Erasmus' friend and wished to have had him to start a *Trilingue* in Vienna, where he was bishop from 1530 : FG, 349-50 ; Mayer, 188 ; *FaberHeig.*, 83, sq ; Allen, II, 386, pr ; ADB.

³⁾ *Declamationes Divine de Humane Vite Miseria* : Augsburg, Aug. 8, 1520 : *FaberHeig.*, 105.

⁴⁾ Allen, IV, 1109, 33-35.

⁵⁾ Herman van dem Busche (1468-1534) studied at Deventer under Hegius, in Heidelberg under Agricola, and in Rome under Pomponius Laetus. He was an ardent promoter of the new methods of study in his wanderings throughout North- and West-Germany, Holland and England, during which he taught at Cologne, Leipzig, Wittenberg, Basle and Marburg : H. J. Liessem, *Hermann van dem Busche* : Cologne, 1884-1906 ; FG, 313 ; Krafft, 66, 131-2 ; Goldast, 151 ; *MünstHum.*, 3, 6, 20, &c. ; Allen, III, 830, pr ; ADB.

⁶⁾ It was printing on March 19, 1520 : Enders, II, 362-3, 365, 366.

⁷⁾ Epistola Rmi. Dni. card. Dertusen. ad facultatem theologiae Lovaniensem. Ejusdem facultatis doctrinalis condemnatio, qua condemnatur doctrina Martini Lutheri, doctoris theologiae universitatis Wittenbergn. Condemnatio facultatis theologiae Colonien. adversus ejusdem Martini doctrinam : Louvain, Thierry Martens, ‘ An. MDXX. Mens. februarii ’ : Iseghem, 307-8 ; *RamDisquis.*, 9 ; cp. Enders, II, 363, 375, 410.

friends that the censure was considered by some as a false birth — *partum personatum* — of the *Obscuri Viri* intended to ruin him, as resulted from a letter from Dorp ¹⁾, which he also communicated. In the opening lines of a missive to Spalatin, dated March 26, 1520, he regrets having forgotten to forward to him that letter, which, with others, he had received from Antwerp ²⁾ : it gave the impression as if Dorp had withheld his assent, and had not taken part in the condemnation ³⁾. Of course his merits were triumphantly compared with those of his colleagues, and instead of the ambiguous judgment of a few months or weeks before, the greatest praise was expressed about his authority, his erudition and his character ⁴⁾.

Which was the letter sent from Antwerp to announce to Luther Dorp's position in the censure of his doctrines? It has been surmised that it was the pamphlet *Acta Academiae Lovaniensis contra Lothervm* ⁵⁾, but that conjecture is

¹⁾ Luther to Seligmann, March 25, 1520 : Sunt apud nos multi, atque adeo et ipsa Principalis aula, qui putent hunc partum esse personatum Obscurorum virorum, quos aemuli subornarint, ut me petant et occasionem quaerant ; caeterum ex epistola Dorpii rem esse veram cognosces : Enders, II, 367 ; Wette, I, 432.

²⁾ Oblitus nuper fui, mi Georgi, epistolam Dorpii, quam simul cum aliis ex Antwerpia acceperam, ad te mittere, quam nunc lege et vide, an fictam rem esse putare debeas, quod illic paritur : Enders, II, 369 ; Wette, I, 432.

³⁾ Luther wrote in his *Condemnatio doctrinalis librorum Martini Lutheri per quosdam Magistros nostros Louanienses & Colonienses facta* : certior factus <sum> literis inde ad me datis non omnium de facultate consensu istam damnationem esse natam : *LuthO*, VI, 182 ; *LuthO VArg.*, IV, 187 ; Wette, I, 437. Crotus Rubianus wrote to Luther, April 28, 1520 : Dorpius recte apud Lovanienses assensum suum cohibuit : Enders, II, 390 ; Hedio had announced to Zwingli, already on March 17, 1520 : Dorpius totus favet renascenti christianismo, et ex animo : *ZwOZ*, VII, 121 ; *ZwE*, I, 280-1. Cp. *BibRefNe.*, III, 24, 208.

⁴⁾ On March 26, 1520 Luther writing to Spalatin about Dorp said : Est autem, ut nosse te puto, omnium Lovaniensium doctissimus, non solum Erasmi testimonio, sed et sua epistola hac, et alia, quam in Farraginem suam inseruit Erasmus : Enders, II, 369 ; Wette, I, 433. Crotus Rubianus in his letter to Luther, April 28, 1520, mentions Dorpius 'cujus auctoritas plus valebit apud eruditos, quam totius scholae judicium' : Enders, II, 390.

⁵⁾ That pamphlet refers to Luther's condemnation by the Louvain Faculty, to the publication there of the bull *Exsurge* on October 7, 1520 by Aleander, and to the burning of heretical books on the next day,

in full contradiction with chronology on account of the reference to the publishing of the bull *Exsurge* and to the burning of Luther's books at the Emperor's visit to Louvain, October 7/8, 1520 ¹), which events cannot have come to the author's knowledge seven months before they happened ²).

Another supposition makes of the Louvain professor one of Luther's correspondents ³) : although there is nothing to oppose it, it is hardly right to conclude from the vague reference to a letter received from Antwerp, that it was a proper missive from Dorp to the monk of Wittenberg. On the contrary as far as is known, there is no mention whatever either of any other letter of Dorp to Luther, or even of a reply to this one, which the latter could not have omitted to send under the circumstances. Consequently it seems far more probable that the epistle in question was nothing but a copy of a letter which Dorp had actually sent to some friend or other, and which some Antwerp partisan, most probably James Proost, the Austin prior ⁴), an acquaintance of Eras-

October 8, 1520. It has only 8 8vo pages, besides the title and a letter to the reader. There is no indication of date or of place : it probably was issued about the end of 1520 or early in 1521 : at places it is quite similar to Erasmus' letter to Rosemond, October 18, 1520 : Allen, iv, 1153. The pamphlet has been ascribed to Erasmus, or to Dorp, or even to both of them : Allen, iv, 1162, 95, 1195, 4, 1217, 100, 1218, 13, 1219, 89 ; *BibRefNe.*, iii, 24, 89 ; H. Schmidt, in *LuthOVArg.*, iv, 308, concludes for Dorp, whilst Kalkoff opines in favour of Erasmus on account of Dorp's honesty, reserve, and stylistic limitations : <man kann> dieses kleine Meisterwerk ... unmöglich einem andern Verfasser beilegen ..., am wenigsten ... dem biedern, politisch ganz zurückhaltenden und stilistisch geradezu unbeholfenen Dorpius : *KalkVPolEr.*, 23, 25-58. Cp. critical text and commentary in *ColBuslPrim.*

¹) *ActAcLov.*, 3-18, 24-31, 174-179 ; *ReichstAct.*, ii, 455 ; de Jongh, 229-235 ; Gachard, ii, 28.

²) De Jongh made that mistake, and was entrapped by the argument into dating Luther's letters March 25/26, 1521 instead of 1520 : de Jongh, 240-1.

³) *BibRefNe.*, iii, 24, 208 ; Wette, i, 432 : this reference hardly can entitle H. Schmidt to conclude that Dorp 'saepius epistolas ad Lutherum dabat' : *LuthOVArg.*, iv, 308.

⁴) Luther wrote on Sept. 1, 1520 to Spalatin : Mitto literas ex Antwerpia datas a Priore loci eiusdem, ut videas, de me quid agatur : Enders, ii, 473 ; cp. *Præp.*, 20, 227-8 ; also Enders, ii, 69, 185 ; Diercxsens, iii, 328, 347-62 ; BalanR, 292-3.

mus ¹⁾), communicated to Wittenberg with other documents ²⁾). As that prior wanted to keep Luther informed about those who sympathised with him, he cannot have failed announcing the complete veering of the former antagonist of the new studies; and as he was on intimate terms with Cornelius Grapheus and Nicolas van Broeckhoven, even with Peter Gilles, he must have known through them the remarkable letter which Dorp had written from The Hague on November 28, 1519; of which the first lines express his disapproval of his colleagues and their censure of Luther's writings: '〈qui〉 ita sursum ac deorsum omnia versent, vt eximios aliquot sic de studiis, sic de re Christiana meritos male vexent. Pollicor tibi et Domino Deo, me non habebunt turbæ istius consortem'. If the object of the trouble caused by his colleagues is not definitely stated, it is clearly indicated as a wrong interpretation of some *lucubrationes*, which it would have been better to explain in good part: 'Quanto Christianius est recte omnia ac sane intelligere et in meliorem partem interpretari! Secus qui faciunt, nonne ipsi malum inferunt doctorum virorum lucubrationibus' ? ³⁾ Evidently the letter intends consoling Erasmus for being importuned by some theologians ⁴⁾; still these sentences also clearly refer to the recent censure by his colleagues of some opinions in Luther's '*Lucubrationes*' which John Froben had collected and published in October 1518 ⁵⁾. That letter was moreover certain to interest the Wittenberg theologian since it mentions how a most erudite man, who had won great fame in Louvain, was then studying his writings at The Hague and composing a defence of his doctrines based on texts from the Scripture ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ Erasmus mentions him in his letter to Luther, May 30, 1519: Allen, III, 980, 54-57; *CorpInq.*, IV, 11, 80-100, 503, 521, 523; *CollectGeld.*, 32, 47, 79.

²⁾ Luther wrote to Spalatin with reference to Dorp's *epistola* 'quam simul cum aliis ex Antwerpia acceperam: March 26, 1520: Enders, II, 369.

³⁾ Allen, IV, 1044, 1-7.

⁴⁾ Cp. *supra*, pp. 223-4.

⁵⁾ *BibRefNe.*, III, 204-205; it was the text of that book which was examined and condemned by the Louvain divines, Oct. 12-Nov. 7, 1519: de Jongh, 43*-44*.

⁶⁾ Allen, IV, 1044, 69-74. It was, no doubt, on account of that special importance of Dorp's letter, that it was published by Froben in March 1520: DorpLPaul., 1279, sq, probably from a copy provided by Erasmus.

If, on one hand, there is not the least necessity of concluding from the documents which have come to us that Dorp should have written to Luther, there is, on the other, an apodictical argument against that supposition in the fact that the letter which was to disparage the first and formal condemnation of his doctrines was neither published nor even preserved. It proves that Luther and his friends soon saw that they had over-estimated the tenure of that 'letter', as otherwise they would have gloried in such a testimony. Now instead, after a very few casual references, they dropped the matter, so much the more as the author was always at hand to vindicate his intention if ever it was unduly interpreted.

In the supposition that circumstances and material considerations had suggested to keep secret the bond of sympathy between Luther and Dorp, the former would have stepped forward a few months after when the latter was suffering difficulties on his account. If, three years later, Henry Vos, John van den Esschen and Lambert de Thoren, the three plain Austin friars of Antwerp, were encouraged in their tribulations by letters and vindicated by pamphlets ¹⁾, it seems unbelievable that a man of Dorp's importance should have been callously left to fight his own battle without one word, one sign of recognition. The explanation of the complete absence of any allusion or reference to the Louvain divine in Luther's writings, can only be utter strangeness and indifference; which is easily understood if we consider facts of the xvith century without the prejudices of the later times, when we are apt to exaggerate the attention paid to, and the place occupied by, some one like Luther. He was by far not the only great man of his time, and there were then questions engrossing and numerous enough to preoccupy minds like Dorp's. In fact the rising generation of humanists were not so much interested in Luther himself as in some of the ideals of which he had occasionally showed as champion, but which far from being his, had been those of all the upright and clear-sighted men that had lived since the beginning of the Church.

¹⁾ *Gran.*, 66, a, 213, a; *CorpInq.*, iv, 191-213, 223-8, 302, v, 416; Wette, II, 358-64; Seck., I, 279; Enders, iv, 180-7, 196-8.

It looks even as if Dorp — like many of his contemporaries — considered only those good elements in the Wittenberg friar, and far from ignoring or encouraging the exaggeration and errors in his writings, excused them as immature and inconsiderate surmises into which he had been entrapped by the excitement of an overhasty pamphlet or of a hot argument; in fact similar audacious and heretical opinions must have been expressed at all the discussions which were like the warp and woof of the academical studies in those days; if they were not brought forward by the defendant, as in Luther's case, they certainly were by all opponents, who, in the heat of the debate, may have clung obstinately to what they had set forth thoughtlessly. Instead of taking these risked assertions literally and seriously, and condemning them, as the Faculty had done, Dorp and Erasmus and many of the early humanists considered them as premature advances of an overzealous champion, which would be drawn back and disavowed as soon as the heat of the discussion should abate and admit of a clearer view.

A clear view of things seems to have become less and less easy at that time in Louvain on account of the difficulties raised by friars and theologians against Erasmus, against his writings and against all his friends. Dorp especially was disliked on account of the publishing of the *Oratio* which consecrated its truancy, and which had recently been made more poignant by the letter of November 28, 1519 added to Froben's reprint of March 1520, as it implied his disagreement with the proceedings of his colleagues against Erasmus and, most apparently, also against Luther. The latter's reference in his correspondence must have come to the knowledge of the Faculty in the shape of the rumour, according to which the condemnation of his doctrine had not been brought out lawfully and unanimously, as Dorp had not consented nor taken part in it. The dean Nicolas Baechem convened a meeting, and on July 28, 1520, in the small chapter-hall of St. Peter's, Dorp was accused of having started the report that the condemnation of Luther had not been made lawfully and quite unanimously by the whole Faculty. Strictly speaking his absence from the meeting of November 7, 1519 could

not impugn the lawfulness of the condemnation even if he were of a different opinion, as he had probably been duly convened. On the other hand one can be convinced of the justice of a condemnation, although not of its opportuneness. If Dorp might be charged with inconstancy, he could reproach some of his colleagues with ill-suited animosity and short-sighted prejudice since, in some way, he had been their tool against Erasmus. No wonder that the *altercatio* was long, and did not lead to any satisfactory result : they granted him eight days to consider whether he should spread abroad the assertion that the condemnation of Luther's doctrine had been made lawfully and unanimously by the whole Faculty, — probably since he was accused of having divulged that he had not consented to that condemnation, thus breaking the unanimity of that decision ¹).

This new rebuke does not seem to have disturbed Dorp very much, judging by a letter from Erasmus of July 31, 1520 to Herman van dem Busche, in which he does not mention any trouble ; on the contrary the final remark : 'Dorpius optimis studiis semet oblectat. Idem nos agimus, quod quidem licet', does not indicate anything except profound calm ²).

Eight days later on August 4, Dorp declared his refusal to the convened Faculty : probably he did not feel conscious of having caused the report he was requested to contradict ; in fact the charge brought in against him can hardly be substantiated from the writings which have survived ; and yet in view of the importance of his testimony, it seems that if there had existed any significative document, it should have been carefully preserved and published by either Erasmus, or Luther, or their manifold friends and favourers. The famous letter of November 28, 1519 published as a confirmation to the *Oratio* in Basle, which most likely had already

¹) 1520, 28 Julii. In parvo capitulo S. Petri Lovan. post longam altercationem inter Facultatem et M. N. Martinum Dorpium, data est eidem M. N. Dorpio deliberatio octo dierum, ad vulgandum quod condemnatio doctrini Martini Lutheri facta per Facultatem sit legitime facta et unanimiter per totam Facultatem, sicut prius per eundem vulgatum est quod ipse non consenserit nec interfuerit eidem condemnationi, et non per totam facultatem concorditer factam : de Jongh, 45*.

²) Allen, iv, 1126, 357-358. The *ActAcLov.*, 33-6, mention Dorp's rebuke.

circulated amongst the humanists, is not outspoken enough to justify the rumour of the discord in the Faculty about the condemnation; and it is clear that all the trouble originated in Luther's remarks to his correspondents on the subject, and the mention he made of it in his *Responsio*. The Faculty resumed the discussion, but the meeting broke up without having come to any conclusion ¹⁾: Dorp for certain was seconded; on Aug. 11 he was even chosen as a deputy ²⁾; his enemies were powerless for the time being, as the grant for lecturing extended over the whole year. They resorted to that coercive means on Sept. 30, at the resigning of their functions by the professors preparatory to their renewed appointment. Martin van Dorp was only admitted to resume his teaching on condition that he submitted to the judgment of the Faculty for the question hanging between them ³⁾.

No indication is added as to whether, or how, Dorp complied with that wish of the Faculty; nor is there any reference in the correspondence of Erasmus, who himself had to suffer various difficulties from some theologians so that he had to apply for protection to one of them, Godschalk Rosemond, who was Rector at the time ⁴⁾. They possibly may have hoped to bring about one more breach between the two erudites, who by now had become intimate friends ⁵⁾: on December 6, 1520 Erasmus announced to Capito: 'Theologi nunc Dorpio blandiuntur et precipue Camelita ⁶⁾: signum male conscientie' ⁷⁾. Evidently Erasmus wanted to shelter

¹⁾ '1520. 4 Augusti. Noluit M. N. Dorpius, unde soluta est Facultas, re infecta': de Jongh, 45*; J. F. van de Velde, unfortunately, notes here: 'In actis ab Egmondano descriptis quaedam legere haud potui'.

²⁾ On Aug. 11, 1520, the Faculty deputed Dorp with Driedo to a committee for the question of the Chancellorship: de Jongh, 24*.

³⁾ Festo S. Hieronimi supplicarunt pro regentia: ... 5. Mart. Dorpius ... quorum supplicatio admissa est, salvo quod M. N. Mart. Dorpius se submiserit iudicio Facultatis pro his in quibus quaestio erat inter eum et Facultatem: de Jongh, 46*; FUL, 411.

⁴⁾ Allen, iv, 1153: he may refer perhaps to Dorp on l. 49.

⁵⁾ Erasmus announced to his Basle friends in May 1520, that Dorp deeply regretted having attacked the *Moria*: RE, 225. Cp. *Gran.*, 138, 4.

⁶⁾ Evidently Nicolas Baechem, under whose deanship Dorp had been molested on account of the condemnation of Luther; Allen, iv, 1162, 79.

⁷⁾ Allen, iv, 1165, 26-28.

him from trouble, for whereas he refers to a pamphlet against Baechem, and to the efforts of the divines to make him attack Luther, he requests Capito not to draw Dorp, on any account whatever, into that difficulty, although he does not give the least sign of any inconstancy, and could not show himself more affectionate than he does ¹⁾. Without doubt he wanted to take out of the way whatever might prevent a reconciliation between Dorp and his colleagues, who, considering his now decided standing and their own late rashness, probably tried, under the circumstances, to make as many partisans and as few opponents as lay in their power. It could not but prove advantageous in the end to Erasmus' own plans, especially since his friend's constancy had stood the test. He occasionally refers to him in his letters with greatest praise. On October 1, 1520, writing to Peter Manius — probably one of his acquaintances amongst the officials at the Holland Court ²⁾ — he declares that, for his great abilities of intelligence, for his erudition and his eloquence, he favours Dorp's glory to such an extent, that he could not even hate him at the time when he was sent out by wicked masters — 'a malis choragis' — to take position against him; and yet he cannot attribute to himself any praise on his account ³⁾, except that he had encouraged him when a young man to better studies, and helped or incited him in his work by his own publica-

¹⁾ Erasmus writes : Dorpius nullo pacto miscendus est huic inuidie ; sed tamen non potest amantio rem prebere se quam prebet : Allen, iv, 1165, 41-43 : the opposition indicated by *sed tamen*, excludes the possibility of giving to the first part of the sentence the meaning : Dorp cannot be brought by any means to help the divines in their plans against me. — The only possible sense seems : Please do not quote Dorp's name as one of my favourers, whatever you do : he is not to be mixed in this hostility : yet he could not be more affectionate to me !

²⁾ He does not seem to be known otherwise than by Erasmus' reply to him, October 1, 1520 : after a long delay it answers a letter in which was related with what success Dorp had made a public speech — evidently in November 1519 : DorpApol., 28, 64 n ; DorpLPaul., 1279, sq ; Allen, iv, 1044 ; and that there were many over there like himself, great favourers of Erasmus : Allen, iv, 1147, 1-25 ; DorpApol., 64 n ; DorpLPaul., 1307-10.

³⁾ Probably Manius had congratulated Erasmus for the change in Dorp shown by the *Oratio* he had recently edited : DorpApol., 64 n ; DorpLPaul., 1307-10. Cp., however, Allen, vii, 1893, 18.

tions : he closes with the assurance that, in his opinion, Dorp will succeed where he himself was not so fortunate ¹⁾. No less enthusiastic is the reference made after one year had elapsed, in October 1521, when Erasmus, writing from Anderlecht to Nicholas Everaerts, assures that he considers Holland fortunate on account of Dorp, as he is the only one of their divines who unites scholastic theology to skill in good letters, and solid wisdom to real eloquence. Dorp is as the model, the pattern of a great man, which a new friend, Herman Lethmaat ²⁾, might equal and even surpass if Dorp did not surpass himself every day in his zealous study : ‘ nisi quod Dorpius assiduo studio seipsum quotidie vincit ’ ³⁾.

Peace at Last.

During the last months of Erasmus' stay in Louvain, Dorp remained his staunch companion and intimate friend : he attended with him the functions held in honour of the study of languages and the new methods, such as the banquet celebrated in Busleyden College on Saturday, December 15, 1520, for the extravagance of which the president John Stercke, of Meerbeke, accounted by this note in his books : ‘ Ne vos tantarum expensarum capiat admiratio, fuerat enim ad prandium vocatus D. Erasmus, M. noster Dorpius cum nonnullis alijs ’ ⁴⁾. He further stood by his friend and encouraged him in the troublesome days when he was mercilessly criticized by the members of the various orders whose honour had been apparently wounded by his sarcastic writings. Most of all he showed his thorough sympathy with the Great Humanist by writing the unequivocal apology of all the principles set forth in his *Oratio*, in answer to an admonition from his old protector the Abbot Meinard Man. Without doubt the latter, having

¹⁾ Aut ego fallor, aut illi succedet quod nos parum feliciter conati sumus : Allen, iv, 1147, 97-104.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 56, a, b ; Allen, v, 1320. Dorp became Lethmaat's friend : one of the letters he wrote to him is still extant : Almelveen, 66-8; cp. *infra*.

³⁾ Allen, iv, 1238, 15-21.

⁴⁾ *AccMeerb.*, 11 r, v ; *ColBuslPrim.*

heard of the suspicion in which some colleagues held Dorp, inquired into the matter; it was easy for him to prove that he had no connection with Luther, as he must have had no difficulty in convincing the Faculty: it would have been madness to make a false statement, for he would have been given the lie at once by the opponent or his partisans ¹).

Consequently the only reproach which could be made to him, was that of having published an oration which had been actually received with indignation by the favourers of traditional methods in study and research, to which must have contributed the disappointment of seeing a protagonist throw down his arms and run over to the enemy. In answer to that vehement and extensive contradiction ²), Dorp writes a calm and substantiated apology of his opinions, expressed in the *Oratio*, about eloquence, dialectics, languages and the necessity of basing the study of theology on Holy Scripture and the authoritative commentators. This defence lacks the reckless and glorying tone of his admonitory letters — especially of the second; — it shows a conciliatory spirit which, probably remembering his own past mistakes, makes him explicate before the reader as a judge, rather than obtrude on him, the conclusions he has reached. On that account that apology offered in form of a letter to Meinard Man, written down in the last weeks of 1521 ³), is a most interesting document, attesting on one hand his maturing judgment, and on the other his staunch fidelity to the theories of Erasmus and of the humanists which were to lead him in his studies and teachings throughout years to come. A letter to Lethmaat ⁴) and several to Cranevelt are quite as characteristic ⁵).

Although a decided friend of Erasmus ⁶), Dorp does not seem to have had any further difficulties with his colleagues; his

¹) Dorp made a similar statement in later years about his presumed addictedness to some of Luther's principles: *Dorp Vita*, 640-8.

²) *Dorp Apol.*, 63-102. Cp. Allen, iv, 1162, 79; ZWE, i, 293.

³) Cp. *supra*, pp. 75, *sq.*, and note to *Dorp Apol.*, 64.

⁴) Dec. 27, 1522: Almeloveen, 66-8, reprinted *infra*, *Correspondence*.

⁵) *Cran.*, 74, 85, 123. Cp. *Dorp Vita*, 591-602.

⁶) On Febr. 8, 1522 Paul Volz sends to Rhenanus a letter from Dorp, which he requests him to show Erasmus: RE, 298. Cp. FG, 84, 35, *sq.*

erudition and orthodoxy were evidently above all suspicion, and the past trouble soon proved to have been caused only by an impatience in suffering injury and contradiction, which up to then had made him flare up impulsively to revenge his wounded vanity, but which now age and experience were softening down ¹⁾). When St. Jerome's feast came round again, no difficulty was made when, with his colleagues, he requested to be admitted to lecture during the opening ordinary ²⁾). On February 18, 1522 he was chosen a deputy with Nicolas Baechem and William of Vianen ³⁾ to examine the various projects of changes in the Statutes proposed by the members, and to report to the Faculty on the subject ⁴⁾). On the last of February 1523 he was elected as Rector in the turn of his Faculty ⁵⁾, and at the end of his office, on the last of August of the same year, he was chosen dean by his colleagues of Divinity ⁶⁾, most probably in recognition of the great services he had rendered to the University ⁷⁾).

Dorp spent his time teaching and, even more, studying. He lived in a house opposite the one in which John Becker of Borssele came to reside about the end of September 1522 ⁸⁾ with his pupil Maximilian of Burgundy, the son of the Lord of Beveren ⁹⁾. That house is also mentioned as being the one inhabited, soon after Dorp's death, by a Michael van Doorn, a *Dorna*, who for a time was Viglius' host ¹⁰⁾. His old friend Adrian Barlandus ¹¹⁾ in his *Rerum Gestarum a Brabantiae Ducibus Historia* ¹²⁾ relates how he often used to go

¹⁾ *Dorp Vita*, 560-70.

²⁾ September 30, 1521 : de Jongh, 47* ; similarly his request was made and granted in September 1523 : the resignations and the admissions for 1522 and 1524 are not recorded in the *Acta Facultatis* : de Jongh, 48*, 51*.

³⁾ Cp. *supra*, p. 190.

⁴⁾ De Jongh, 47*.

⁵⁾ *LibIntell.*, 299 v ; *ReusDoc.*, I, 264 ; *BarlHist.*, 236.

⁶⁾ De Jongh, 48*.

⁷⁾ *Cran.*, 111, 19, sq ; *Dorp Vita*, 541-59.

⁸⁾ Louvain, Nov. 23, 1522 : Allen, v, 1321, 30-32 ; FG, 13, 28.

⁹⁾ *Cran.*, 12, e, 168, 21.

¹⁰⁾ Hoyneck, I, i, 8, 68.

¹¹⁾ *Cran.*, iv, 62, a-c, 256, a.

¹²⁾ Antwerp, 1526 : *BB*, B, 275, 3.

and see Dorp in the afternoon on account of his office ¹⁾, and how he never found him except studying or absorbed in his books; if the weather was fine, they went down into the 'pomarium, quod ædibus suis adiectum habebat', and he devised there, walking, about letters, and about the right way to educate young men in their youth, when the foundations are laid for the remainder of life ²⁾.

In that period of perfect peace, Dorp worked zealously at the preparation of his lessons, which he wished to make as worthy as possible of the divine subject ³⁾. They grew to treatises, like the one on the allegoric sense of Holy Scripture and its probative power ⁴⁾; or like that on the value and the extent of customs and rites in the Catholic Church ⁵⁾; or they developed into orations, like the one delivered before the Holland Council in 1519: *Paraclesis de Vita Christo Domino Instituenda* ⁶⁾; or the one about the gospel of St. Matthew ⁷⁾. He exercised a great influence on his students: among whom there were some privileged ones, who, like Gerard Morinck ⁸⁾, became his *convictores* and could avail themselves every moment in the day of the wisdom and the science and the experience he had been gathering ⁹⁾; which was such that he was considered to be well near the summit and the maturity of erudition ¹⁰⁾.

To that maturity certainly contributed a great prudence and

¹⁾ Probably Dorp's office as University Rector: *BarlHist.*, 236.

²⁾ *BarlHist.*, 231.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 74, 16-19, 85, 145, *sq.* In 1523 he wrote to his friend Martin Lips: *decreueram Euangelia atque adeo totum nouum instrumentum praelegere, sed per occupationes nondum licet*: *LipsE.*, 706; *Cran.*, 74, 15.

⁴⁾ *DorpVita*, 461-4; in his *Oratio*, Sept. 27, 1519, he already stated that he had read to his students a treatise by himself about the proper way of studying and explaining Scripture: *DorpLPaul.*, 971-8.

⁵⁾ *DorpApol.*, 20-23; *DorpVita*, 434-8.

⁶⁾ *DorpApol.*, 23-30; *DorpVita*, 438-9.

⁷⁾ *DorpVita.*, 458-60.

⁸⁾ *Cp. supra*, p. 72.

⁹⁾ Unfortunately one of his last *convictores* was suspected at the time of having emptied several chests at Dorp's decease, and taken away the contents, so that his very last works exist merely by their titles and by the references in the *Life* by Morinck, or in the *Apology to Man*: *DorpVita*, 444-9; Allen, vii, 1899, 24-26.

¹⁰⁾ *DorpVita*, 472-3; Allen, vi, 1584, 3-4.

a considerate reserve, which had succeeded the headlong impulsiveness of former years. When in 1523 Gerard Rym ¹⁾ wished to purchase Melanchthon's *Loci Communes Theologiae*, he was told that the permission of the Chancellor or of the Rector was indispensable. As the young man was well acquainted with Martinus Lipsius, the humanistic monk of the St. Martin's School ²⁾, he requested his intercession with the Rector, who happened to be his intimate friend Dorp ³⁾. The latter gave an evasive answer : ' De Melanchtone similibusque rebus hactenus neque annui quicquam, neque renui. Viderint ii, quibus hoc negotii est demandatum : ego <me> illi tragoediae non admisceo ' ⁴⁾. That reply did not surprise Lipsius, who meanwhile had declared to Rym that he was certain not to succeed : if he knew him well, Dorp was much too prudent to mix himself with the 'negocio Luterano, nimium odioso, ambiguo et molesto' : the chief reason being, that, engrossed in most attractive and interesting studies, he would not suffer to be taken away from them ⁵⁾. Evidently Dorp did not want to disturb the calm pursuit of knowledge and run the risk of displeasing some colleagues, and of rousing himself and them to an argument about the fitness of Melanchthon's books being placed at the disposal of a young jurist, who, hardly initiated in divinity, would never get beyond smattering. Like a man bent on a serious task, he turned away from frivolous toying, and husbanded time and attention, without slighting the least opportunity that might

¹⁾ Gerard Rym, Lord of Eeckenbeke, born in Ghent, 1497, from an illustrious family, studied in Louvain about 1523, applying himself to philosophy, letters and law ; he wrote verse about his ancestors. He became a member of Flanders Council, after having been for a time — certainly in 1540 — advocate of Ghent. He died in that town on Dec. 3, 1570 : cp. LipsE, 693-716 (misreading *Rivius* for *Rimus*) ; Hoynck, i, i, 237, ii, 605-6, iii, i, 381 ; SanGa., 47 ; ConFla., 244-5 ; FG, 413 ; Henne, vii, 50, 56 ; HumLov., iii, 1-10 ; &c. His son Charles was Imperial ambassador in Constantinople : SanGa., 23, 28-9 ; ConPri., i, 90-4 ; ConPriT., 75-7 ; Brug&Fr., ii, 191, 321, iii, 439, iv, 102.

²⁾ Allen, iii, 750, *pr* ; FG, 382 ; cp. also LipsE, 703, 704.

³⁾ LipsE., 704, 705, 706.

⁴⁾ LipsE, 706, 759.

⁵⁾ Habet sua studia amoenitate plenissima : ab his se diuelli non patitur : LipsE, 706.

provide information or truth. Judging only by the criteria of inner evidence or of unexceptional authority, he did not spurn statements for the only reason that they were made by an adversary. It widened his ken, and made Erasmus remark that he was the only one in Louvain — evidently amongst the theologians — who truly favoured good studies, and that he did not despise like the others whatever bore a likeness to Luther's 'dogmas' ¹).

That broad-mindedness and his aversion to 'pseudo-monachos' kept him in close contact with Erasmus, with whom he continued a regular correspondence after his leave from Louvain, as results from a letter from John Becker of Borssele, requesting to be remembered by the Basle Humanist whenever he writes to 'Dorp or the friends' ²). Similarly correspondents writing to Erasmus mention him : thus Peter Wichmans announces on March 22, 1523 that he had seen and spoken to Dorp shortly after the death of John Sucket — possibly at his funeral ³). He himself starts a connection with Herman Lethmaat to whom he had been warmly recommended ⁴).

The correspondence between Erasmus and Dorp was not merely an official exchange of compliments : for the latter showed a deep interest in whatever concerned his Master. He rejoiced in the smart way in which were wiped out all Hutten's detractions by the *Spongia*, as Nicholas van Broeckhoven announced on November 5, 1523 ⁵). In the first days of 1524 he heartily rejoiced in the prospect of soon seeing the Great Man return to the Netherlands, as he mentioned to Cranevelt ⁶). Nor was his affection unrequited : for Erasmus

¹) Letter to Maximilian Transsylvanus, July 2, 1525 : Perit Martinus Dorpius, qui solus ingenue fauebat rectoribus studiis; nec perinde atque caeteri detestabatur quicquid villo pacto Lutheri dogmatibus est affine — ea res effecit vt illius favor non multum adferret momenti —, nec ita multum tribuebat pseudomonachis : Allen, v, 1585, 75-79.

²) Letter of Nov. 23, 1522 : Si quando ad Dorpium aliosue amicos scripseris, salutem aliquam, si aliud non poteris, veteri amico tui obseruantissimo adscribito : Allen, v, 1321, 40, 41 ; FG, 13, 36, 84, 35. Erasmus refers to Dorp's last letter in his *Supputatio* v. Beda : EOO, ix, 526, D, E.

³) Dorpio <locutus sum>, sub mortem Iohannis Sucketi : Allen, v, 1351, 29 ; FG, 15, 25 ; Cran., xx, 49, a, 22, 179, b, 204, a-c.

⁴) Almeloveen, 62, 66 ; Allen, v, 1320, *pr*.

⁵) Allen, v, 1394, 23 ; FG, 22, 15. ⁶) Cran., 85, 236-8.

chose him to help Goclenius to find him a house, on June 8, 1521 ; and on April 2, 1524, he recommended him as a trusty friend, to whom Goclenius should hand the money he had been entrusted with, in case he should die first ¹).

Dorp further took an active part in Erasmus' work ; as a contribution towards the complete edition of St. Augustine's writings, he had collated the text of *de Trinitate* of his friend's *codex*, with that of a manuscript belonging to the famous abbey of Gembloux ²). That collating had been done by his amanuensis James Rommerus, though under his supervision ³). Whether he intended comparing once more the two texts, or whether he hoped to find another manuscript copy, can hardly be made out ; certain it is that Erasmus had to wait in vain for the collation. On February 11, 1525, he asked Martin Lipsius to see with Goclenius to the despatch of the annotated *codex* ⁴). It was not sent off in Dorp's lifetime, and at his death it was transferred with the greater part of his books to the Carthusian Convent, from where the executor Peter de Corte had it returned in November 1526 to be sent to Erasmus through the intervention of Lips and Conrad Goclenius ; as the latter announced on Jan. 13, 1527 and on Nov. 7, 1527, the document remained in his hands, as little readiness was shown by the amanuenses to carry the parcel ⁵).

That apparent negligence of Dorp in communicating the result of his collation may have been the sequel of his being completely absorbed in his work, which also probably entailed what Thomas More called : being *piger ad scribendas*

¹) Allen, iv, 1209, 1-3, — v, 1437, 147-9 : Quod si quid accidat tibi me viuo ... pecuniam trades Dorpio ... aut si quem habes amicum magis fidum.

²) AugO, viii, 821, sq ; Allen, iii, 975, 984, vi, 1547, 9 ; *ErSero.*, 16 ; LipsE, 772 ; P. Lehman, *Franciscus Modius* : Munich, 1908 : 81-83.

³) Goclenius wrote on Nov. 7, 1527 to Erasmus : ne dubites sintne istae castigastiunculae Dorpianae, propterea quod hic eius manum non agnosces, scito eas ab Iacobo Rommero eius puero, Dorpio vna conferente, esse adscriptas : Allen, vii, 1899, 24-26. — An 'Adeodatus Romerye de Juveto', student of the Porc, was classed the 9th at the promotion of the Faculty of Arts in 1518 : *PromLv.*, 7.

⁴) Allen, vi, 1547, 7-10 ; later on Martin Lips became himself an authority on St. Augustine : Hurter, ii, 1474-9.

⁵) Allen, vi, 1778, 22-24, vii, 1837, 1-4, 1890, 9-13, 1899, 14-26 ; *Cran.*, 243, 85.

epistolae ¹⁾ : for which he was noted amongst his intimate friends ²⁾, but which made a man as naturally suspicious as Erasmus, see for ever defection and treason in any remissness of his correspondent. Thus, in Spring 1524, he presumed that some mischief was preparing by the Louvain theologians, because Dorp had for some time kept silent : not that he suspected him of having part in it, at any rate not any active part, but on account of a most timid disposition he might lack all power of resistance to the plans of his colleagues, as was confided to Goclenius ³⁾. On April 1, 1524, the day before Erasmus thus expressed his distrust, Dorp was present at a meeting of the Faculty of Divinity, under the presidency of the dean Nicolas Coppin, at which it was reported that several priests had refused absolution at Easter-time to penitents who had read the *Colloquia*. The meeting declared that, although the book was ill suited for young men, they did not see how it could be prohibited ; not one of the members, it seemed, had refused absolution to a student — although some reasons were produced from different quarters, which might have justified such a refusal ⁴⁾. Possibly Dorp's calm procedure ⁵⁾ had helped to reach that moderate conclusion of an argument, at which Nicolas Baechem and Eustache of Sichein and Vincent Dierckx were present. Still it stands to reason — and Erasmus was well aware of the fact — that his broad-minded views of study and research and theology limited his sphere of influence, and hampered him at least with men blinded by passion or prejudice ⁶⁾.

Dorp's staunchness to Erasmus remained unimpaired : he showed his devotedness to his great friend at the change of

¹⁾ Letter to Erasmus, c Febr. 17, 1516 : Allen, II, 388, 4.

²⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 24, 7-11, 111, 1-4.

³⁾ Letter of April 2, 1524 : Dorpius, vt videtur, mussat. Est aliquid monstri quod aliter apud theologos, et ille natura timidus est : Allen, v, 1437, 187-8.

⁴⁾ De Jongh, 49*.

⁵⁾ Without doubt there were also some more calm and broad-minded men besides him in the Faculty, such as John Driedo, of Turnhout, Godschalk Rosemondt, of Eindhoven, and Ruard Tapper, of Enkhuizen, who, no doubt, were influenced by the new spirit of the *Recta Studia* ; Allen, IV, 1163, 10, VI, 1768, 46-7, VII, 1821, 21.

⁶⁾ Erasmus to Transsylvanus, July 2, 1525 : Allen, VI, 1585, 75-9.

feelings in 'Leontinus' ¹), Cardinal Erard de la Marck. After having been an adversary of the theologians, and a favourer of Erasmus during the period when both were residing in the near vicinity of the Court ²), Erard had undergone the influence of his former secretary Aleander ³), who, in a letter from Rome, Autumn 1519, had accused Erasmus of being in correspondence with Luther ⁴), whereas he himself must have formerly felt some sympathy ⁵), at least with the idea of a monk protesting against some of the bad customs in the Church. When, in 1520, Aleander arrived in the Netherlands as the official Legate to bring Luther and his party to obedience ⁶), he added the power of his office to his renown as erudite; unfortunately his personal aversion led him to suspect Erasmus of secret heresy, and their connections were far from cordial ⁷); still although in the first months of his

¹) By that name Erasmus meant Erard de la Marck: Allen, v, 1482, 6-8, vi, 1549, 8-10, 1553, 49-52, 1885, 41.

²) Erasmus to Vlatten, July 21, 1524: *Audio Cardinalem Leodiensem mihi parum esse propitium, et sane a theologis stare: qui ne nomen quidem illorum audire quondam poterat*: Allen, v, 1467, 18; Erasmus to Melanchthon: Sept. 6, 1524: ... ad Lutherum epistola ... dedit ansam Aleandro ... conatus ... animum irritare in me ... Leodiensis Episcopi, qui prius pene deperibat, vt ita loquar, in Erasmus: Allen, v, 1496, 17-21; BalanR, 227; *CorpInq.*, iv, 35, 522; *BibRefNe.*, iii, 206.

³) Jerome Aleander entered Erard de la Marck's service in December 1514: *AléaLiège*, xiii, &c. As the Bishop wanted an active agent in the Papal Court, Aleander thought of sending his brother Baptista, who consequently came from Paris to Liège. On second thoughts he saw that there was more hope for advancement in Rome, and leaving Baptista at Liège, he became himself the Bishop's agent in the Eternal City: *AléaJo.*, 17, 27; *Aléandre*, 107, sq, 111; *DocPLiège*, ii, 38, sq.

⁴) Erasmus to Aleander, Sept. 2, 1524: *Vidi literas quas scripseras Leodiensi Episcopo, quae me praeter causam satis odiose attingebant*: namely in Oct.-Nov. 1519: Allen, iv, 1038, *pr.*, v, 1482, 6-8, 1496, 21-23.

⁵) During a stay in Louvain, probably in Oct.-Nov. 1519, Erard de la Marck had received the visit of three Masters of Divinity, who inquired about his being favourably inclined toward Luther, as Erasmus had stated in his letter to Luther, May 30, 1519: Allen, iii, 980, 36, 1041, 22-24. The Bishop declared: *Lutheri librum sibi non visum neque lectum*: de Jongh, 70*, 212-3; Allen, iv, 1038, *pr.*

⁶) BalanR, 4-296; Allen, iv, 1195, 51-58, v, 1481, 61; Erasmus' *Spongia*: EOO, x, 1645, A-1646, D.

⁷) Letter to Marlianus, March 25, 1521: Allen, iv, 1195, 47-61; to Pirckheimer, March 30, 1522: Allen, v, 1268, 61-70; to Aleander, Sept. 2, 1524: Allen, v, 1482; Laemmer, 3, 4, &c.; *AléaE*, 61-2; *Aléandre*, 165-71, 223-9, 279-82; EOO, x, 1645, A-1646, D.

legacy he frequently mentions his former *convictor* as a confederate of Reuchlin and Luther, he hardly found any other ground of complaint ¹⁾ than the famous letter to the Wittenberg monk, and the criticisms of some Louvain theologians, whom he encouraged in their opposition ²⁾. He certainly alienated at that time the Bishop of Liège from his former friend ³⁾. A few years later, the Cardinal became even more incensed, which was ascribed again to Aleander, then his patron in Rome, as well as to his brother Baptista, whom he had had appointed as the Bishop's secretary ⁴⁾; their interference, which in Baptista was far more prudent and cunning than in Jerome ⁵⁾, caused even the estrangement of other friends and protectors ⁶⁾, chief amongst them the Louvain dean Nicolas Coppin ⁷⁾. Dorp advised Erasmus of all that estrangement ⁸⁾, thus allowing him to counteract that influence by securing the sympathy and the good-will of friends at Court like Maximilian Transsylvanus and George Halewyn ⁹⁾. That influence was not lost on the Louvain theologians; at any rate, from 1524 public criticisms began anew, which placed Erasmus on a line with Luther, and made him responsible for the latter, like the hen for her egg ¹⁰⁾. Whilst that obloquy in pulpit and desk was reaching its climax; about the time when the Datary John Matthew Giberti enjoined Thierry of Heeze to silence Baechem and Dierckx ¹¹⁾; and a

¹⁾ BalanR, 34, 40, 55, 79-81, 100-2, 126, 227, 281, 295; BalanH, 10-12; letter from Vives to Erasmus, Jan. 19, 1522: Allen, v, 1256, 5-74.

²⁾ BalanR, 262. In 1534 Cochläus complained to Aleander of Erasmus being unduly molested: Spahn, 190; ZKG, xviii, 249, 261.

³⁾ Allen, v, 1482, 1496, 17-23.

⁴⁾ Baptista Aleander entered Erard's service in November 1515; he became protonotary apostolic, and secured a canonry at Chartres: *AléaLiege*, 92; *AleaE*, 89-90, 92, 101-3; *Aléandre*, 111, 275, 286, 288; *AléaJo.*, 27, 37, 102; *DocPLiège*, i, 27, 402, sq, 431, 447, ii, 4, 39.

⁵⁾ Allen, v, 1256, 30-32, vi, 1549, 11-13, 1553, 51-52.

⁶⁾ Allen, v, 1482, vi, 1549, 10-16, 1553, 49-52, 1585, 40-49; *Cran.*, 140, 28.

⁷⁾ Allen, vi, 1549, 13-15, 1585, 45; cp. *Dorp Vita*, 642.

⁸⁾ Erasmus to Transsylvanus, July 2, 1525: *theologus quidam, qui Louanii rerum potitur, Dorpio praesente quaedam effudit, quibus declarabat Leontinum parum amanter de me sentire*: Allen, vi, 1585, 45-49.

⁹⁾ Allen, vi, 1585, 110-111.

¹⁰⁾ Allen, v, 1528, 11.

¹¹⁾ Allen, vi, 1589a; BalanR, 552-63.

short while before Clement VII.'s *cubicularius* Albert Pigge remonstrated with his former masters in favour of Erasmus ¹⁾, Dorp was brought to an untimely grave through illness and through excess of work, on May 31, 1525 ²⁾.

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* * *

‘ Plus in vno hoc viro amisit schola Louaniensis, quam aut dici, aut æstimari potest ’ ³⁾.

That unequivocal praise written down by Barlandus in his *Cronica Brabantiae Ducum* sounds as the general expression of sad disappointment felt by the contemporaries at this precocious decease. For whereas Dorp's accomplishments as author, poet and orator, as teacher of dialectics and physics, as disputer, erudite and Latinist, found universal acknowledgement, his keen insight and sound judgment, especially in the new methods of study and teaching, in particular of theology, rejoiced all those who were sympathetic with the aspirations of Humanism. His past defections were forgotten after the calm and earnest work of the six last years; if his late *convictor* Morinck refers to his former inability to bear any humiliation, he mentions the meekness that he had acquired ⁴⁾; and Barlandus who must have known his friend's vanity, makes it a point to assure that Dorp knew neither malice nor envy; and that he never desired anything that was not holy and honest ⁵⁾. On February 10, 1525, in answer to Cranevelt's letter expatiating on Dorp's schemes and ideals, Erasmus replied: ‘ Dorpius vtinam haberet tantum constantie quantum ingenii ’ ⁶⁾; five months later, at the announcement

¹⁾ July 12, 1525; *Recueil*, 48-51; *supra*, p. 124.

²⁾ Announcing Dorp's decease to Germanus Brixius, Aug. 25, 1525, Erasmus adds: *fauorem erga recta studia iam audebat profiteri, frementibus μεσομοῦσοις omnibus*: ac fortassis ea res illi fuit exitio: Allen, vi, 1597, 20-22.

³⁾ *BarlHist.*, 231; Vern., 272.

⁴⁾ *DorpVita*, 560-572.

⁵⁾ Quid de singulari eius dicam innocentia? Neminem sciens læsit vnquam. Nulli hominum inuidit. Nihil quod non sanctum & honestum esset appetiuit: *BarlHist.*, 231; *BB*, B, 274, 3.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 140, 35; Cranevelt probably wrote to Erasmus in January 1525 about the opinions which Dorp had expressed in two of his letters: *Cran.*, 85, 123. The *Ciceronianus* judges Dorp: *Ingenium felix... nec infestivum, sed alienis iudiciis quam suo duci maluit*: EOO, I, 1013, f.

of the death, he declared to Barlandus : ‘ Erat futurus magnus, si vixisset ’; and, forgetting all mistakes, he identified him with ideal *Recta Studia* ¹⁾, with good letters contributing, not only to the adorning of the mind, but to the very development of sciences : ‘ Solus propemodum erat aequus p̄litoribus literis <viz., amongst the theologians> : quas quidam miro studio conantur opprimere, mea sententia non satis recte consulentes suis etiam studiis, quae sola florere cupiunt; siquidem, vt res ipsa docebit illos, obrutis mansuetioribus literis etiam illa collabentur, quibus sedulo magis quam prudenter prospiciunt. Res felicius succederet, si veterum studiorum procures bonas literas, veluti postliminio sese recipientes in pristinum locum, comiter in hospitii contubernium reciperent. Adferrent hospites aliquid bonae rei — quid ab hostibus futurum sit nescio; ac vicissim bonae literae sese ciuilitate in contubernium disciplinarum quae iam occuparunt scholas, insinuarent. Nunc quorundam improbitas facit vt vtrisque suus pereat fructus ’ ²⁾).

The Document.

The life of Martin van Dorp published here for the first time is reproduced from the original in the author’s writing dated Louvain, June 30, 1526. It is conceived as a sequel to a letter addressed to the Prior of the Carthusians in Louvain, Thierry Persyn, of Amsterdam, to whom it is dedicated, and to whom the various circumstances are recalled and explained which induced Morinck to trace a provisional sketch of his master’s life and work ³⁾. The text of both the dedicatory letter and the biography offer numerous changes, some of which are of the first importance ⁴⁾, and cannot have been made except by the author himself, in whose hand they are also written out. It results that this document is the original draught, and the corrections are those which the author made to the initial

¹⁾ Dorp continually referred to those *Recta Studia* in the letters of his last years : *Cran.*, 74, 20-29, 85, 105-230, 245-271, 111, 63-68, 123, 27-39.

²⁾ Letter to Adrian Barlandus, July 2, 1525 : Allen, VI, 1584, 5-17 : also 1597, 20-22, VII, 1821, 22.

³⁾ *Dorp Vita*, 9-68 ; *supra*, pp. 123-5.

⁴⁾ E. g., *Dorp Vita*, 188-192, 206.

redaction, though at different periods. The writing of the text is without doubt identical with that of the autographs of some of the sermons or of the orations which Gerard Morinck composed and pronounced about 1526 ¹⁾, and which are preserved in the folio from St. Trond Abbey gathering many of his papers ²⁾, from which already the Apology to Meinard Man has been edited here ³⁾. From a letter to Livinus Crucius, about 1527, it appears that Morinck had only one copy of the *Vita*; he had sent a second to Erasmus, but was afraid that on account of the different opinions it did not please ⁴⁾. Still he hoped to have it published either in Basle or Antwerp through the care of his friends: 'Nec enim omnes' he adds, 'idem sentire possimus, ne si velimus quidem' ⁵⁾.

Morinck's hope was not realized, as far as is known, and the copy sent to Erasmus has not been traced as yet amongst the documents that once belonged to him and that have survived. Consequently the biography with the letter to Persyn preserved amongst Morinck's papers, seems to be, not only the very original draught corrected by the author, and submitted to the judgment of some friends ⁶⁾, but also the

¹⁾ On Dorp's biography follows in the folio: Oratio in cōmendationē temperantiæ habita a^o 1. 5. 2. 6. tempore quadragesime Louanii in collegio theologorum: *MSGerMor.*, 252 r-258 v. A few pages further follow: Præfatio in epistolam posteriorem Petri simul et in Judæ vnicam epistolam An^o 1. 5. 2. 6. In mense Augusto: *MSGerMor.*, 271 v-273 v; Præfatiuncula in tres Canonicas epistolas Johannis habita in Collegio Theologorum An^o 1526, altera Catharinæ: *MSGerMor.*, 275 r-276 r; Præfatio in epistolam priorem diui Petri habita An^o 1.5.2.6. in collegio theologorum Louanij: *MSGerMor.*, 285 r-288 r. — In the same hand are also the corrections and changes in the: Oratio parænetica ad literas sacras ex præsentibus moribus ducto argumento habita An^o 1526 in collegio theologorum postridie circumcisionis: *MSGerMor.*, 259 r-267 v, of which the text is written out by another hand.

²⁾ Now reposing in the Archives of the Realm, Brussels, *Cart. & Man.*, n^o 391^b (= *MSGerMor.*): cp. *supra*, pp. 73-74.

³⁾ Cp. *supra*, pp. 75-93.

⁴⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 274 v: subueor ne non arrideat Erasmo, ob opiniones quasdam, quæ non satis cum ipsius consentiunt; quod tamen an sit, certum non scio: tantum suspicor.

⁵⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 274 v; date and place are missing.

⁶⁾ Gerard Morinck wrote to Livinus Crucius: Mitto ad te Dorpium pro mea pusillitate effigiatum... Vbi legeris ne committas quin proxima quaque occasione remittas. Siquidem preter istud, exemplar aliud habeo nullum. Vnum quidem per amicos ad Erasmus missum est basilyam, &c.: *MSGerMor.*, 274 v.

unique copy. It takes up a quire of four double folio leaves, which in the stately volume of the Brussels Archives bear the pagination *f* 243 to *f* 250. The letter to Thierry Persyn, with an ornate initial *G* for the address and an *S* for the letter itself, starts at the top of the first page and terminates at the bottom of the second ¹⁾. The text of the biography, with a larger *M* as initial, begins on the first line of page 3 ²⁾ and goes as far as page 15, of which it occupies two thirds ³⁾; the last third of that page, as well as the entire following page, were left blank. Throughout the letter and the biography, Morinck made several corrections : some at the time of composing or of writing, as the corrected word follows on the uncorrected one on a line ; others were made at a subsequent reading, exceptionally in red ink ; finally some phrases were simply crossed off, or replaced by others added in the margin, and in one instance, about the end, a considerable passage was added ⁴⁾. The document folded up lengthwise shows, on the last page, signs of having been handed about before it found its place in the folio volume of St. Trond Abbey. The Benedictine who adorned the book ⁵⁾, availed himself of the spaces left blank by Morinck : on the lower end of page 15 he added in his heavy angular gothic writing a few latin rhyming verses about the great utility of study, and the best ways to practise it ⁶⁾. On page 16 he copied a considerable passage from ' Dionysius a rijckel ' ⁷⁾ on the duty of a monk to study,

¹⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 243 r, v.

²⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 244 r.

³⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 250 r.

⁴⁾ Cp. *Dorp Vita*, 188-192, 391-396, 631-640. These additions are indicated as carefully as possible in the textual notes, and the words crossed off are given as far as they can be deciphered from under the heavy lines in orange paint.

⁵⁾ Cp. *supra*, pp. 73-74.

⁶⁾ These verses are written like prose, e. g. : Si puer hoc sciret. quantum doctrina valeret. Numquam dormiret. sed nocte dieque studeret. &c. : *MSGerMor.*, 250 r.

⁷⁾ Dionysius van Leeuwen, born at Ryckel, near Looz, in 1402, studied in Cologne, 1422, entered the Carthusian convent, Roermond, 1423, and died on March 12, 1471, leaving an amount of excellent treatises on exegesis, ascetism and ethics, besides fine poems : Hurter, II, 909-17 ; *BibBelg.*, 185-190 ; *Wimpf.*, 521 ; Baumgartner, 487, 502 ; Keussen, I, 234.

though submitting that study to the rules of the order and to Christian humility; also two shorter quotations from ‘Carolus Fernandus ¹⁾ in speculo discipline’ ²⁾: one condemning the custom of abbots to care more for their kennels than for their guest-houses; the other showing the danger of one blind man leading another. The same monk further adorned Morinck’s manuscript by a profusion of lines in a deep orange paint, adding a ¶ to, and underlining, the title and the first words of the document, covering the words which had been crossed off before, so as to make them nearly illegible. That adorning is far more profuse for the parts added on the spaces originally left blank: for there every capital is traced over with orange, and the short clauses of the sententious style are separated by heavy drops of pigment.

The text of Dorp’s biography is reproduced here according to the same principles and with the same restrictions as the other documents in this volume ³⁾.

DORPII VITA

Summary.

1-102: Introductory letter: Morinck writes this *Vita* out of gratitude, offering materials for a final biography.

103-150: Dorp and his Family:

Birth and birth-place (103-121); his father (122-127); his personal appearance (128-136); his first instruction (137-150).

¹⁾ Charles Fernand, the pious humanist and musician, brother of the blind scholar John Fernand, was born in Bruges about 1450; he explained Terence and other Latin poets in Paris University. He was a great friend of Robert Gaguin, Gilles of Delft and Jer. Balbi, as results from his *Epistole*; he retired to the Benedictine convent of Chezal-Benoist in 1492, and died there in 1517: *BibBelg.*, 120-21; *SanBru.*, 23; Renaudet, 118-22, 131-3, 189, 272, &c.; *GallChrist.*, II, 162-5, Paquot, VII, 405-413; *Budé*, 18-19, 21-2, 25, 42; Imbart, II, 350, 365, 378-9; &c.

²⁾ Probably his *Speculum Monasticæ Disciplinæ*, printed in Paris in February 1515.

³⁾ Cp. *supra*, pp. 74-75.

151-269 : Dorp in the Faculty of Arts :

His studies in the Lily (151-184); his ability in sophistry (185-236); his teaching of letters (237-261); his eloquence (262-269).

270-406 : Dorp & Theology :

His theological training (270-314); study of the Bible (315-348); his teaching (349-372); study of the Fathers, of St. Jerome and St. Augustine (373-406).

407-586 : Dorp's Accomplishments :

His writings (407-464) ; maturity of later years (465-486).

487-538 : Dorp as Man :

His ways and manners of life (487-538) ; ability shown as Rector (539-559) ; his defect, vanity, and its sequels (560-572) ; endeavours to reach human perfection (573-588) ; he abandons all studies and pursuits that are not helping him to be an ideal theologian (589-602).

603-732 : Dorp's Decease :

Fatal illness and Christian death (603-626) ; his last declarations (626-687) ; general judgment about him (688-710) ; his will (711-718) ; — Morinck's wish for a definite biography (718-732).

733-743 Final Greetings.

The Text.

GERARDUS MORINGUS VENERABILI VIRO D. THEODORICO PERSINIO, AMSTELREDAMO, LOUANIJ APUD CARTUSIANOS PRIORI DIGNISSIMO SALUTEM DAT.

Sapientissimus ille Ecclesiastes, Vir Ornatissime, cum pressius cum animo repeteret quanto interuallo ab imperito peritus, a stulto sapiens discreparet, et tamen vtrosque nullo discrimine mortalium memoria deponi,
 5 sapientissime in hec verba proloquitur: 'Non erit memoria sapientis similiter et stulti in perpetuum, et futura tempora obliuione cuncta operient. Moritur doctus similiter vt indoctus, et iccirco tæduit me vitæ meæ'.

Textual Notes. — MORINGUS] after his name M *or* and *er* theologus THEODORICO] M first *or*, then *er*, Joanni, adding Theodorico under the line, and after the name PERSINIO, Amstelredamo, also under the line 5. sapientissime ... verba] M *ul* 5. in] M₂ added over line 5. proloquitur] M₂; M₁ subijcit 8. tæduit] M crossed off before this word a mistaken form of tædere

Quam utique sententiam — cum in innumeris alijs
 10 qui tot retro sæculis fuerunt, — veram esse, tum vero
 hac nostra memoria in viris plerisque eminentissimis
 deprehendimus. Siquidem, ut vetustiores omittam, quis
 iam sanctissimi Pontificis Hadriani recordatur? Quis
 præclarissimi viri Joannis Briardi Atensis, quibus tamen
 15 velut oculis et luminibus omnis grauioris eruditionis
 Theologica Schola censi solet? Sed et quotusquisque
 Martini Dorpij pridem immatura morte defuncti memo-
 riam obtinet? Quo tamen viro Louaniensis Academia, ut
 plerosque singulis dotibus, certe in vniuersum omnibus
 20 instructiores vix quemquam extulit, absit verbo inuidia.
 Nonne penitus e pectore excussus? nonne ab hominum
 animis velut derasus videtur?

Floruit utique dum vixit, omnium præconio oreque
 celebratus, cognitus doctrinæ commendatione Germanis,
 25 cognitus Gallis, Britannis, Hispanis, quorum creberrimis
 literis ad mutuam amicitiam certatim inuitabatur. Pro-
 tinus vero ac præsentium conspectum fato compulsus
 effugit, pariter et respectus eius depositus est. Adeo
 mature lachrymæ inarescunt ut rhetor Apollonius dicebat:
 30 Et nihil fidum in rebus mortalium, ut humo ne condi an
 obliuione inuolui celerius contingat, propemodum nescias.

Quo stultius facere videntur, quibus prima cura est
 nomina sua æternitati mandare, ignari nimirum præsen-
 tes præsentibus demum colere, cæteros ut qui ab oculis
 35 absint leui momento in obliuionem cedere.

Hec multis agebam cum viro pio iuxta ac erudito
 Domino Joanne Heemstedio, contubernali tuo, cum ille
 me pressius vrgere cepit, velim aliquod Dorpij simula-
 chrum primis lineis designare: fortassis futuros qui quod
 40 rudius primo coelo inchoassem, exactius absoluerent:
 certe præclaros aliquot viros, quorum haud dubie moni-

9. sententiam] M₂ adds over vocem M₁ wh. is not er 12. ut ...
 omittam] M₂ adds over line 14. tamen] id 23. Floruit] M floruit
 29. Apollonius] M₂; M₁ Appoll- 33. præsentibus] M ul 37. Domino]
 M₂ D. correcting another D wh he er 37. Heemstedio] M₂ wr over
 a word er, prob also Heemstedio 39. designare] over this w M₂
 wrote and er deliniare 41. viros] M wr here, and then er ad
 ornandum Dorpium

menta irent in sæcula, ad ornandum Dorpium adducendos, qui alioqui se intra silentium continerent. Super hec rationibus aliquot premebat. Primo, quia ob domesticam cum viro consuetudinem, familiarius mores, dotes, eruditionem, indolem perspexissem. Atqui neminem fidelius posse tradere hec, quam qui oculatus testis fuisset. Deinde, quum præceptor mihi fuerit et amicus summus, debere aliquo pignore grati animi significationem dare, ne ex ea sim hominum nota, qui beneficiorum memores in vita sunt dum astrui plura queant, post fata cum nequeant, mox omnium obliuiscuntur.

Cui equidem ex aduerso rationibus aliquot occurri : quod dicerem laborem hunc superuacuum esse, præsertim quum eruditi omnes Dorpium satis celebraturi essent : in primis facundissimum Erasmum non commissurum quin in honestando suo conterraneo quem tanti putarit in vita, alicubi toto, quod dicitur, pede consistat. At indignum esse illius incomparabili facundiæ meam infantiam ingerere : illius luci meas tenebras interfundere, illius tenui deductoque dictionis filo, mea crassa subtegmina permiscere, ne dum in præceptorem officiosior esse studeam, ipse mei rationem parum habuisse videar. Sed ne multa : cum vir pius in omnes preces descenderet, et insistendi, vrgendi, inhærendi denique nullum nec finem faceret nec modum, non aliter improbam redimere molestiam licuit, nisi voto eius subscriberem, et quod cuperet propediem confecturum confirmarem.

Testes erunt amici aliquot qui nonnumquam coram adfuerunt ; quamquam illud multo maximum ad hanc rem momentum est, quod Dorpiano nomini tot titulis obæratum sum : nec enim ignoro quantum beneficijs cumulari onus sit. Illi ego discipulus tum publice tum priuatim fui, tocies doctissimis eius colloquijs ad bonam

43. continerent] *M*₂ *corr* from -netur *M*₁ 48. mihi] *after this* *ω* *M* wrote & *er* præceptor 50. ne] *before it* *M* *er a ω* 51. queant &c.] *on f* 243 *ν* 54. præsertim quum] *M*₂ ; *M*₁ cum præsertim 55. Dorpium] *M* wrote *first* Dorpij, *corr* -ium, *then* *er* and *wr* anew 55. celebraturi essent] *M*₂ ; *M*₁ celebra<rent> 58. quod dicitur] *M*₂ adds over line 61. illius] *before it* *M* *wr* & *er* aut

75 frugem excitatus, tocies sanctissimis hortatibus non ad
 literas amœniores modo, sed ad grauiiores disciplinas
 quoque benigne euocatus. Porro quas dignas vices disci-
 puli praeceptoribus tribuant, cum quibus, si audimus
 Aristotelem, nihilo magis quam cum dijs et parentibus
 80 parem ponas calculum ! Ille patronus et Mecænas sum-
 mus, sicubi fide sua et opera esset opus : id quod non raro
 re ipsa ostendit.

At quis rite culpet, si, quod solum possum, animum
 memorem prestitero, et tam vberem eius in me munificen-
 85 tiam aliqua gratitudinis tessera agnouero ? imo adeo quis
 non iure optimo culpet si tamquam statua immobilis non
 agnouero ? Conabimur igitur sub tui nominis auspicio, Vir
 Integerrime, qualemcumque Dorpij nostri imaginem velut
 in tabula describere, simul vt ingrati notam defendamus,
 90 simul vt iuuentus tanti viri exemplo acrius vehemen-
 tiusque ad bonam frugem bonaque studia acuatur et
 inflammetur. Quod si conatum ingenij culpa destituerit,
 non est cur fraudi nobis sit. Promittimus quod poterimus,
 si quod volumus non licebit. Certe non omnino bene
 95 merendi animus improbandus etiamsi vires non responde-
 rint. Si quis vero Apelles aut Phidias accuratiora dederit,
 non bona gratia modo per nos licebit, verum etiam gra-
 tias ingentes agemus quod tanti viri eruditionem, dotes,
 virtutes posteris ad imitationem tradere sit dignatus. Nos
 100 satis habebimus syluam quamdam rudem et intornatam
 subiicere, vnde artifices feliciores viuos ducere vultus,
 spirantemque exprimere queant imaginem.

MARTINUS igitur DORPIUS, anno a partu Virgineo
 105 quinto et octogesimo, vt opinor, supra millesimum
 et quadringentesimum, nascitur in pago Hollandiæ (siue ea
 Bataua est), ab insigni oppido Delphis bis mille passus

86. si] *after it* M *wr & er* non agnouero 90. exemplo] M₂; M₁
 <præiuditio> 91. bonam] M₂; M₁ bonas 91. frugem] M₂; M₁
 <mores> 93. poterimus] M *corr from* possumus 95. etiamsi]
 M₂; M₁ <vbi> 103. Martinus &c.] *on f 244 r* 106. insigni] M₂
added over line in red ink

dissito, cui nomen Naeldiceno. Locus est plurimum frugum fertilis, quum reliqui circumiecti agri non fere nisi pecori boni et pascui sint. Habet et inter cætera decora
 110 Collegium Canonicorum, non perinde amplo censu vt egregijs viris conspicuum, quorum quinque cuiusque disciplinæ doctores fuisse memini, theologos, iurisperitos medicos, vt taceam baccalaureos et reliquos nihilominus peritos. Viri fere graues sunt atque honorati, qui bonum
 115 ocium studijs honestisque occupationibus solantur, non depotationibus aut alea, vt plerisque in locis. Inter hos consobrinus mihi fuit non pridem fato functus, Henricus Zassius, iuris vtriusque professor non in postremis doctus, cum quo Dorpio nostro tam arcta intercedebat familiaritas et necessitudo, vt non temere inuicem nisi fratris
 120 nomine compellarent.

Parentes habuit honoratos satisque opulentos; testimonio est Dorpiorum cognomentum apud Hagios et Delphos non incelebre. Pater plerumque inter præcipua
 125 offitia Domini Abbatis Egmondani fuit, vir adeo viridi senectute, vt anno paulo minus octogesimo etiam tum mente sensuumque vigore constaret.

Forma fuit non omnino illiberali: facie in vniuersum albenti, decentique rubore permixta, sed oculis sat grandibus acieque difficiliori, quorum alter quum impeditius
 130 altero prospiceret, nonnihil speciem deformabat. Capillo subalbido, statura procera et aliquanto iusta maiore, corpore solido et succulento, jncessu decenti et maiestatis pleno, ac qui excelsi quoque animi haud obscurum specimen præbebat. Vestitu nitido et honesto, non splendido
 135 nec infami.

Post vbi primos annos domi sub parentum ac nutricis cura decurrisset, literis latinis meruit sub viro modis

112. fuisse] M_2 added over line 122. satisque] M_2 corr over et M_1
 123. Delphos] M_2 ; M_1 -phios 124. plerumque] in *mg*; possibly added afterwards by M or M_2 124. inter ... (125) fuit] M_2 (præcipua added over line); M_1 : ad vltimam fere ætatem apud Hagam magistratum gerebat 128. Formæ] M fforma 129. sed] M added over line 130. acieque] M_2 ; M_1 et acie 130. impeditius] before it M or & *er* disti 131. altero] M over line 137. parentum] M pēntū

omnibus summo, et theologo eminentissimo, Egidio Del-
 140 pho, sub quo, vt erat ingenio celerrimo, tantos breui
 progressus fecerat, vt ea res Louanium venienti plurimum
 adiumenti attulerit, cur cæteros literarum peritia tanto
 post se interuallo reliquerit. Neque enim nugis penitendis
 aut sordida barbarie tenellum pectus imbutum erat, sed
 145 literis literatis, poetis et oratoribus purioribus, longe sane
 felicius quam ea ferret ætas. Quippe qua rudis sæculi
 situs nondum deteresus, neque Huguities, Glossa notabilis,
 Florista, Grecista, reliquique eius generis adhuc de gradu
 depulsi : si quis vero cæteris paulo incorruptior et limatior
 150 esset, miraculi erat vice et quasi Cicero habitus.

Vbi iam his iactis fundamentis grauioribus disciplinis
 maturus videbatur, tamquam ad ditissimum scientiarum
 omnium emporium et mercatum Louanium concessit. Et
 primum se philosophiæ permisit in præclarissimo gym-
 155 nasio Liliano. Atque hic quoque mox ita ante cæteros
 enituit, vt cum summo eius studij honore insigniretur,
 inter præcipuos locum obtineret.

Porro post acceptum honorem, tum vero incredibile
 dictu quam huc nervos omnes contenderit, quam ardenti
 160 pectore, quanto spiritu cuncta penetrarit ! Nihil ita minu-
 tum, nihilque ita abditum in Dialecticis quod non exac-
 tissime peruestigasset vt ea de re libellum dare non dubi-
 tauerit. Nihil in Physicis tam in longinquo positum, nihil
 tam retrusum quod non exquisitissime erutum euigila-
 165 tumque haberet. Ad hec nihil in Metaphysicis, in rebus
 ad orbes coelestes, ad elementorum vim et naturam atti-
 nentibus, quod non accuratissime excussisset. Syderum
 defluuia, eorumque positus, planetarum cursus et recur-
 sus, tarditatem, celeritatem, lunæ labores, solis defectus,
 170 tonitruorum, grandinum et pluuiarum rationem, et quic-
 quid tandem ad meteoriam pertinet tanquam nomen
 in promptu habuit. Quid quæris ? Philosophorum sectas

142. tanto] *after it* M *wr & er* interuallo 146. Quippe] *before*
it M *wr & er* Si quid- 147. Huguities] M 148. Florista] M florista
 152. videbatur] *after it a w is er* 154. se] *added over line ; after*
it a w is er 154. philosophiæ &c.] *on f 244 v* 161. Dialecticis]
 M₂ *corr over* Logicis M₁ 165. nihil] M *adds over line*

et familias omnes inuiserat, nihilque deerat quod ad absolutum, nullaue ex parte cessantem philosophum
 175 desyderasses. Declarant quod dico duo eius alumni viri docti, Petrus Curtius, nuper theologicæ laureæ factus candidatus, et Georgius Gandauus, quorum vterque eius institutione principem inter condiscipulos philosophiæ insudantes locum obtinuit. In his erat noctes et dies,
 180 nullam temporis partem, nullum momentum agitatione studij vacuum transmittens, vt vix Carneades, qui inter accumbendum præ studio cibum capere cogitabundus obliuisceretur, aut Solon, qui fato iam pressus nondum discendi satur erat, philosophiæ addictior esse potuerit.
 185 Nam Sophisticen, quam a germana philosophia velut scoriam separare lubet, ita tenuit (si modo id in laude ponendum) vt si in hanc demum studiorum omnium oleum et operam impendisset. [Vis exponibilia ? nihil magis exponebat. Vis obligationes ? nihil magis obligabat.
 190 Vis insolubilia ? nihil nectebat insolubilius. Vis respectus ? nihil respiciebat oculatius : vt haud sciam an id temporis Louanij sophista maior fuerit.]

At vero mirum quam male hanc postea oderit. Audiui eum plus millies, cum se infelicissimum exclamaret, qui
 195 tot bonas horas tam male locasset, tot nihili tricas, tot nenias plusquam aniles, tam irato suo genio sectatus esset. "Vtinam", inquit, "per id tempus aut Ciceroni aut Sacris Biblijs vacassem, impendio melius laboris ratio constaret". Mentiar nisi idem apud id amicos plurimos, in
 200 quorum sinum nonnumquam consilia animi secretiora deponebat, ingenue confessus sit. Sed et epistolis multis ipsum illud scriptum reliquit, in quarum vna adeo grauiter in Sophisticen statuit, vt grauius in ipsam vix tyranni Siculi statuam. Quod sane nullus in vniuersam semel
 205 philosophiam dictum interpretetur, quæ vt plurima, ex

181. qui ... (182) cibum] M²; M₁ : qui semper studio intentus cibum 183. iam] M adds over line 184. esse] M wr over line & er vix 186. id] before it M wr & er illud 188. Vis ... (192) fuerit.] this passage was crossed off, possibly by M₂ 204. Quod sane] M₂ corr over Quamquam 205. interpretetur] M₂ corr under interpretabitur M₁

confesso frugifera habet, sine quibus reliquæ disciplinæ
 mutilæ sint et mancæ, atque adeo nihil efficiant. Jta
 mentem flexibilem reddit, et agitatione quadam exacuit
 ad grauiora facilius celeriusque percipienda. Tametsi non
 210 desidendum hic, vsque dum annos meliores transegeris :
 rursus nec tantopere desudandum, vt ingenium peruellas
 et extenuas magis quam exacuas, vt postea ad altiora
 tempestium nihil egregium, nihil supra vulgum præ-
 stare quæat, non aliter quam pes spinis dispunctus ingredi
 215 nisi impedit non potest, quum res celeritatem desyderet.
 At si quis ad tempus moderato labore in his præludat :
 adeo operam non in irritum fuderit, meo iuditio, vt rectius
 locare posse non existimem. Scorium vero ac feces philo-
 sophiæ quis sanæ mentis non damnet, quibus cum tempus
 220 sine fruge extrahitur, tum miseris modis adolescentulorum
 ingenia excarnificantur ? Libeat paulisper rem vero æsti-
 mare. Quo mihi, quæso, tot contradictoriarum examina,
 tot equipollentiarum leges, nulli nationi custoditas ?
 Quorsum tot conuersionum centuriæ, quot perlegi olim
 225 moris erat, tot syllogismorum formæ, quas nulla Spinx
 connectere, nullus Oedipus dissoluere posset ? Tot cau-
 sales, conditionales, conditionata extrema, copulatiuæ,
 copulata extrema, quorum nullus modus esse solet ? Vt
 mea fert opinio — pace aliorum dixerim — præstabat hec
 230 leuiter attigisse, quantum nimirum præsentī loco expli-
 cando suffecisset, ac deinde ad cætera magis conducibilia
 properasse. Nunc præpostere ad ea demorabamur male
 feriatī vnde gradum factum, quæque summis pedibus
 transcurra oportuit : contra vbi pedem figere conueniebat
 235 plusquam Pegasos agebamus. Quamquam hanc docendi
 rationem longe iam mutatam video. Sed ad Dorpium.

Interea temporis nihilo segniorem operam in literis
 bonis ponebat quas propemodum primus Louanio inuexit;

206. habet &c.] on f 245 r. Before this word a whole line is crossed
 off : imo necessaria cognitu habet : ita nemini vtique contemnenda
 est, maxime iuuentuti 207. Jta] after it M wr & er inuentis 213.
 præstare] M₂ ul 214. quæat] M₂ ; M₁ quæas 214. spinis] after
 it M wr & er confixus 217. non] M adds over line 225. Spinx]
 M ; r Sphinx 229. pace ... dixerim] M adds over line 232. Nunc]
 after id M wr & er male feriatī 235. plusquam] M adds over line

quarum commendatione, cum supplementum in Plauti
 240 Aululariam et Dialogum Veneris et Herculis, Cupidinis ac
 Virtutis, item alia quædam in lucem dedisset, mox cele-
 bris clarusque esse cepit, non Louanij tantum, sed etiam
 vulgo per circumiectas regiones : vtrobique enim pluri-
 mum valebat, siue carmen pangeret, siue orationem libe-
 245 ram strueret, quamuis liberam postea impensius coluerit.
 Stilus erat neruosus (vt Erasmi testimonio simul et verbis
 vtar) et solidus, fluens ac exuberans, qui animum non
 sanum modo argueret, sed et foecundum. Si quid repre-
 hendi poterat, illud fortassis erat, quod nonnumquam
 250 concitator esset ac luxuriosior. Cuius tamen vitij aliquod
 remedium est, si creditur Quintiliano, quum sterilia nullo
 labore vincantur. Nihil autem erat politiorum authorum
 quod non aut attentissima cura euoluisset, aut certe
 quantum satis erat, non degustasset. Historias probe
 255 tenebat; Poetas, maxime satyricos, in promptu habebat;
 similiter et Comicos; quorum Terentium adeo contriuerat,
 vt vix vocem inesse putem cuius non et actum et scenam
 expeditissime dixisset. Oratores denique et rhetores
 studiosissime versarat, vt, non admodum barbatulus,
 260 inter philosophos maxime politus, inter politos maximus
 philosophus haberetur.

Sed nec extemporali dicendi facultate omnino destitue-
 batur. Audires ex ore loquentis verba munda, lecta, signi-
 ficantia, minimeque affectata. Audires sermonem clarum
 265 et perspicuum. Audires sententiarum lumina, exemplo-
 rum dignitatem, historiarum monimenta. Atque per hec
 quidem studia vitam totam consumpsisset, nisi vir omni
 laude cumulatus Joannes Briardus Atensis, inter theologos
 id temporis facile præcipuus, ad theologiam euocasset.

270 Videbat videlicet elegans ingeniorum spectator, adoles-
 centis aciem haud vulgarem; videbat mentis bonitatem
 ad disciplinas omnes mirifice lubentem, vnde plurimum
 bonæ frugis in publicum postea dimanaret. Videbat pos-

248. reprehendi] *M*₂ *corr over* desyderari 251. quum] *M*₂; qcū
*M*₁ 254. satis] *after it M* *wr & er* esset 254. probe &c.] *on f* 245 *v*
 256. et] *M added over line* 256. Terentium] *M*₂; *M*₁ The- 257.
 vocem] *M ul*

tremo doctrinis prophanis abunde satis præluisse. Com-
 275 modum igitur visum est persuadere amplissimæ spei
 adulescenti quod Democritus Protagoræ proditur, nempe
 maiora esse melioraque quæ agere posset. Quod vtique
 pari exemplo plerisque adulescentibus Louanij persuasum
 cupiam. Namque si literæ (id quod omnibus conuenit)
 280 tantum nitidus quidam amictus sunt et ornamentum, quo
 cæteræ disciplinæ ad speciem amiciuntur et ornantur :
 quorsum tibi amictus, si deest quod amicitias ? Quorsum
 ornamentum, si quod exornes parare supersedes ? Habet
 sane gratiam magnam lingua pura et polita, sed quem,
 285 quæso, fructum, nisi rerum adsint pondera, nisi aliarum
 scientiarum momenta socientur ? Et arbores nonnullæ
 gratissimis frondibus patulisque ramis oculis adlubes-
 cunt, sed quando fructum nullum edunt, non admodum
 magno habentur precio.

290 Dorpius igitur ad artium omnium facile reginam theo-
 logiam se contulit. Et primum doctoribus neotericis, qui
 de humanis actis et euentis pensiculatiùs disserunt, curam
 accommodauit. Et cum tanto quidem effectù, vt anno
 ætatis octauo et vicesimo theologicæ laureæ candidatus
 295 crearetur. Nam quando laurea donatus sit parum com-
 peri, nisi quod non multo post donatum scio. Omnia
 autem gymnasij munia felicissime obibat : siue disputaret
 et conflictibus illis solemnibus interesset, siue publice
 profiteretur, ad omnia natum et sculptum diceres. Obij-
 300 ciebat vt qui acutissime. Respondebat vt qui solidissime.
 Explicabat vt qui clarissime. Denique vt Carneades in
 vtramuis partem summa gratia, summaque commenda-
 tione disputare potuit. In obijciendo ea erat vehementia,
 eo ardore, vt si alius quispiam pari tum pondere tum
 305 acumine obijceret, tamen præ Dorpio eneruis, torpidus et
 ignauus videretur. Rursus in respondendo ea copia et
 amplitudine, vt si doctorum omnium vniuersa dicta ad
 manum posita, atque adeo ante oculos habuisset : quam-
 quam postea ætate prouectior, potius prudentia quadam

291. se contulit] M₂; M₁ <defecit> 296. non] M *adds over line*
 298. et] *before it* M *wr & er* siue 302. summaque &c.] *on f 246 r*

310 ex rerum vsu petita quam cuiusquam doctoris præsceptis
 addictus respondebat. Jus quoque Pontificium plusquam
 vulgariter tenebat, cuius aliquod specimen dedisse me-
 mini in quæstionibus quotlibeticis quas vocamus. Post
 vbi qua satis iudicabat, doctoribus neotericis inseruisset,
 315 tota animi contentione, totisque viribus in literas sacras,
 priscosque Ecclesiæ patres incubuit, quantum autem cum
 bona fruge, etiam me tacente notum ac prouocatum est.
 Opinor nec apicem in Sacris Biblijs inesse quem non
 intentissime discusscrit. Fidem faciet codex manu eius
 320 notatus. In harum laudes (vt æquum erat) plenis tibijs
 personabat. Has religiosissime venerabatur. Hæ semper
 in labris natabant, in animo semper oberrabant, quippe
 quæ solæ consummatam scientiam traderent, solæ veram
 sapientiam redolerent : neque sapientiam modo, sed et
 325 eloquentiam, cordatam illam ac masculam, salubribus
 sententijs sanctissimisque monitis refertam. Adde quod
 omnes oratorum rhetorumque leges, tropos, et schemata
 his inesse affirmaret, id quod item alij affirmant, præser-
 tim Augustinus in libro de Doctrina Christiana. Qua de
 330 re libellum molitum esse scio, sed an absoluerit, incertum :
 saltem in scrinijs eius non est repertus.

Porro cum in vniuersum literas sacras summa venera-
 tione prosequeretur, tamen præcipue secundum Euange-
 lia Epistolas Paulinas, quas non dicendis encomijs semper
 335 decantabat. Documento est oratio eius in harum præco-
 nium edita. Has aliquando publice professus est, sed
 Deum immortalem ! quanta cum laude, quanta maiestate
 atque gratia ! Videres omnifariæ eruditionis ditissimum
 penu. Videres vetustatis omnis quasi condum et promum
 340 pectus. Videres nihil illectum, nihil inexploratum præter-
 ijsse. Neque enim quicquam erat authorum veterum,
 quod non densissime repeteret, qua instituto seruirent.
 Ne dicam quanta verborum vbertate, quanta foecunditate
 et varietate. Subinde in medio cursu cum omnia copio-

317. ac] M *added over line* 319. Fidem] M *ffidem* 330. an]
after it M *wr & er* edid 332. cum] M *added over line* 338. atque]
 M₂; M₁ et 338. gratia] *before it* M *wr & er* *celebritate*

345 **ssissime explicuisset, vt explicare copiosius ne Cicero**
quidem posset, tamen exclamabat etiamtum : “ Verba
deesse ” : nondum ex animi sententia et pro dignitate rem
sibi explicatam.

Mitto quanta luce et claritate auditorem in rem præ-
 350 **sentem ducere, quasique ad verum oculis subiungere vide-**
batur. Mitto quanto spiritu et flagrantia. Alij docent :
Dorpius ritu Periclis fulgurabat tonabatque. Alij disse-
runt : Dorpius perpetuo tamquam orabat et declamitabat.
Alius quocumque modo auditoris animo illabi satis habet :
 355 **Dorpius non contentus leniter illabi, auditoris pectus vi**
scindebat, mediumque perrumpebat. Jn alio subinde lan-
guida, diluta, iacentia videas : jn Dorpio semper rapida,
actuosa, erecta. Jn alio denique docta quidem : jn Dorpio
etiam aculeata et affectibus plena. Suspendebat sententia-
 360 **rum pondere, rapiebat orationis actu et lacertis. Capiebat**
vocum emphasi. Premebat epiphonematibus. Obruebat
rerum multitudine et argumentorum turba. Nec tamen
quicquam aut triste in eo aut inciuite. Afficiebat violenti-
us, non terrebat asperius ; ducebat instantius, non coge-
 365 **bat amarius ; suadebat vehementius, non iubebat impe-**
riosius.

Atque ea ipsa docendi dexteritate valebat si quando ad
 populum Germanice contiones sacras haberet, nisi quod
 iniquus sui æstimator, induere hanc persuasionem num-
 370 **quam potuit. Jtaque raro aut numquam Germanice con-**
tionabatur nisi in Hollandia, vbi gregem curæ suæ con-
creditum habebat.

Jam quid commemorem doctores priscos, e quibus cum
 præcipuos studiosissime contriuerat, tum neminem temere
 375 **esse contendo quem non vel ad calcem vsque, vel ad bene**
magnam partem euoluerit. Liquebat dum publice diceret
aut doceret, adeo vt fama etiam vulgo percrebresceret

346. Verba deesse] *M ul* 347. rem] *after it M wr & er explicuisse*
 352. Periclis] *M ul* 353. orabat &c.] *on f 246 v* 356. mediumque]
after it M wr & er perrupit 368. contiones] *M ; cp. l. 370 : con-*
tionabatur 371. nisi] *after it M wr & er fortassis* 374. temere]
M adds over line 375. esse] *after id M wr & er opinor*

Dorpium theologum ecclesiasticum esse. Memoria repeto cum se epistolam ab amico accepisse diceret hac fere
 380 inscriptione : “ Martino Dorpio, vetustæ theologiæ profes-
 sori eximio ”. Sic appellabat, quisquis is fuit, propterea,
 vt opinor, quod doctoribus priscis, quorum grauissima
 apud Ecclesiam autoritas est, impensius quam neotericis
 operam nauaret. Ad horum lectionem crebris me literis
 385 inuitare solet, in quarum vnis inter reliqua hec insunt
 verba : “ Ama veteres, ama literas bonas, ama græcam
 linguam, quod tu quidem per ætatem potes. Beatum te,
 si isto in proposito perseueres ”. Et paulo mox : “ Jn his
 beatissima disserendi vbertas, aureum eloquentiæ flumen
 390 exundat. Hic ardent spirantque omnia. Si quid hinc
 hauseris purum est, certum est, syncerum est ”. Cui sane
 commonitioni omnibus accedendum puto, modo ad tem-
 pus certum iustam prius in neotericis operam reposuerint.
 Quando enim hi fere concisius res ac particularius expli-
 395 cant, faciunt vt veteres maiori cum iuditio minusque
 periculose legantur, imo certius veriusque accipiantur.

Cæterum inter omnes Diuum Hieronymum laudibus
 efferebat, et rarum erat vt in gymnasio nisi cum summi
 honoris præfatione ac elogio nominaret. Jn huius vene-
 400 rando pectore Tullij eloquentiam, Platonis sapientiam,
 Origenis theosophiam, item doctrinæ omnis tum sacræ
 tum prophanæ inexhaustum thesaurum residere dicebat.
 Quare etiam theologorum omnium longe principem palam
 fatebatur, tametsi postea dum Augustinum penitius in
 405 cute inspexisset, iuditij huius calculam reduxisse intel-
 lego.

378. ecclesiasticum esse] M_3 corr from veterem esse M_2 corr from
 ecclesiasticum esse M_1 379. fere] M added over line 380. vetustæ]
 M_2 ; M_1 ecclesiasticæ 391. (3rd) est.] after it M *wr & er* Hec ibi
 391. Cui ... (396) accipiantur] M_2 crossed off this passage in the text,
 and wrote it over again lengthwise in the margin 392. ad tem-
 pus certum] M_2 ; M_1 ad aliquot annos 393. prius] M_2 ; not in M_1
 394. concisius res ac particularius] M_2 ; M_1 particulatius concis-
 iusque res 394 fere] over line 394. res] corr over oīa 395.
 veteres] M_2 ; M_1 veteres qui tantum in genere, non raro versantur
 396. imo ... accipiantur] M_2 ; M_1 ac verius certiusque intelligantur
 396. imo] M_2 *wr & er* after it vero 398. gymnasio] M_2 corr over
 <consiliis> 401. theosophiam &c.] on f 247 r 405. intellego] M

Fecerat autem sibi ex Scripturis simul et doctissimi cuiusque monimentis commentarium aliquod, in quo in suum quicque locum dispensabat, si quid prudenter
 410 dictum, si quam sententiam insignem, si quod exemplum egregium, si quam historiam dignam, si quod apophthegma acutum vsquam lectitasset. Quæ res vt quam maxime ad memoriæ subsidium facit, ita plurimum adimit laboris, siue quis subita, siue meditata proferre
 415 velit. Sed enim quum tot modis pectus instructum stilumque tam paratum haberet, haud scio qui factum sit, vt non plura literis mandarit.

Sunt sane quædam non inerudita, sed quæ etiam quispiam multo inferiori ingenio præstet. Extat oratio de
 420 Assumptione Virginis Mariæ inscripta; tum alia in septem Artes Liberales; item alia in Epistolas Paulinas, ardens adeo et vehemens. Extant epistolæ aliquot ad Erasmus Rotterodamum et alios nonnullos. Extat supplementum in Plauti Aululariam, adeo nihil discrepans a reliquo filo
 425 Plautino, vt eodem ab artifice textum videatur. Extat denique dialogus Veneris, Cupidinis, Herculis et Virtutis, saneque amoenus, quo sub imagine Herculis virtutem amplectendam, voluptatem vitæque huius præstigiosas illecebras repudiandas docet. Sunt adhuc quædam in
 430 Plauti comœdias argumenta quæ deesse videbantur. Plura an extent ignoro. Tametsi quantula hec sunt præ ijs quæ Dorpius, hoc est, vir tam grauiter, tam serio eruditus, dare potuit? Et tamen scio quædam grauioris argumenti in manibus habuisse, velut libellum de Consuetudine
 435 Rituque Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, quatenus obliget, et quam late pateat. Super qua re ad quatuor perpetuas horas cum ipso attentissime disputasse me memini, quamquam tum libellum parturire non animaduertebam. Præterea para-

407. Fecerat] M ffecerat 420. inscripta;] after it M *wr* & *er* tum altera 421. alia] after it M *wr* & *er* de 425. ab] M added over line 428. voluptatem] before it M *wr* & *er* illecebras 429. quædam] after it M *wr* & *er* argumenta 431. præ ijs] M over line 437. -quam] M₂; M₁ -uis 437. tum] after id M *wr* & *er* hec 438. libellum] after it M *wr* & *er* protunc parturiisse 438. parturire] after it M *wr* & *er* non sciuerim 438. -uertebam] M₂; M₁ -uerti

clesim de Vita Christo Domino Instituenda. Horum duo-
 440 rum libellorum meminit in epistola quadam ad R. D.
 Abbatem Egmodanum, D. Menardum Mannium, quamuis
 ‘rudes ac informes etiamnum meritoque lambendos ac
 fingendos adhuc’ appellet. Ex quo suspitio incidit, non-
 dum ad purum vltima manu absolutos fuisse. Accepi
 445 præterea varia non indigna editione secum habuisse, nisi
 quod conuictor aliquis eius, nescio quis, scrinia eius a
 morte suppilasse fertur, omniaque neglectius reposita
 surripuisse : cui tamen nulli sint vsui qui surripuit,
 quantum intelligo. Hoc certe affirmare mihi permiserim,
 450 si omnes eius ad amicos datæ epistolæ in vnum contrahe-
 rentur, iustum sane volumen asserrecturum esse. Verum
 quatinus harum exempla ipse non retinuit, infiniti negocij
 atque adeo impossibile esset vndiquaque ab amicis colli-
 gere, sed neque expediret fortassis. Quippe deponimus
 455 nonnumquam in auribus amicorum quæ non protinus
 foras efferri velimus. Palam itidem est præter hec ora-
 tiones aliquas habuisse publice, quæ tamen et ipsæ non
 extant, sed neque quorsum euanuerint scitur. Succurrit
 eum orationem, flagrantem adeo, habuisse in Euangelium
 460 Matthæi, quem id temporis enarrandum suscepserat. Tum
 autem quiddam in genere didactico de Sensu Scripturæ
 Allegorico, ex allegoria ne firma probatio colligatur :
 dignum certe quod ad publicam exiret vtilitatem si
 inuenire vsipiam liceret.

465 Quamquam si longiora vitæ spacia diuina benignitas
 indulsisset, Deus bone, quam grauiā, quam cedro digna ab
 illa diuini pectoris officina expectare licuisset ! Quid foecun-
 dum illud et idem facillimum ingenium, illa certa fidaque
 memoria, illa infatigabilis et perpetua legendi continentia,
 470 in publicum prodidissit ? Quid illa torrens felixque dicendi
 vis et maiestas ? Illud exuberans plenumque eloquentiæ

441. Egmodanum] M 446. eius] *before it* M *wr & er* ipsius
 447. omniaque &c] *on f 247 v* 447. neglectius] *before it* M *wr & er*
 negleg 451. asserrecturum] M 452. quatinus] M 452. harum]
before it M *wr & er* harum 454 neque] *after it* M *wr & er* forte
 457. et ipsæ] M *adds over line* 471. vis] *before it* M *wr & er* vbertas
 471. maiestas] *after it* M *wr & er* perfecisset

flumen quid quæso posteris reliquisset? Jam enim eruditio ad fastigium et maturitatem vergere ceperat. Sæculum istud turbulentum et fatale multa cauere, multa prudenter agere docuerat. Juditium iam vsu rerum auctius.
 475 Affectiones illæ quibus fere in adulescentia et iuuentute affines sumus, minus feruidæ. Haud dubie non commisisset deinceps vt sibi tantum caneret et Musis, iuxta dictum Antigenidæ. Nouerat probe quam Dominus sæuierit in seruum
 480 socordem qui talentum concreditum sine spe frugis terræ infoderat. Rursus Petrum hortari vt suam quisque gratiam et dotem inuicem expromamus. Est vero longe præstabilius, ad grandia et sublimia aliquanto silentio apparare, quam leuibis nugis chartas oblinendo, frigidius tempus ducere.
 485 Sed de eruditione sat dictum sit: restat vt ad reliqua pergamus.

Moribus erat commodis: humanus, affabilis, omnibus obuius et expositus. In amicos supra quam cuiquam credibile fidus; ingenio sincero simplicique et (quæ popularis maxima virtus) aperto, vita integra et incorrupta. Ob
 490 morum ingenuitatem pariter et eximiam eruditionem Philippus Burgundio Traiectinorum præsul eum sibi a suffragijs vehementer expetiuit, tanto quidem salario quantum non alias cuiquam delatum fuit. Et vsus sane fuisset
 495 Dorpius oblata conditione, nisi quædam cauisset in quibus præsulis aures haud satis faciles habuit.

Sermo plerumque aut de studijs aut de rebus grauibis: interaccumbendum, si conuiuium alicuius precij habuisset, aliquid fere ad doctrinam aut bonos mores faciens in
 500 medium adferebat; sin autem familiarem aliquem subinde animum soluebat a curis tristioribus, hac tamen fere cautione ne nimia dissolutio in lasciuiam et mollitiem procederet. Quod si forte exterus quispiam incidisset, pro cuiusque ingenio et studio sermonem temperabat. Siqui-
 505 dem habuit hoc natura attributum, vt cuius hominum

478. caneret] M ul 478. Antigenidæ] two last letters corrected by M₂ 482. inuicem] before it M wr & er in alios expromat
 485. eruditione] before it a word was wr & er 485. sat] before it M wr & er eius 487. affabilis] after it M wr & er iustus 499. aliquid &c.] on f 248 r

ordini populariter gratioseque seruire posset, modo vellet :
 dotem sane magnam et quam nonnumquam in magnis
 viris requiras. Equidem millies cum eo colloquia miscui,
 sed non fere alia nisi vel de calamitoso præsentis temporis
 510 statu, vel peritis huius sæculi, eorumque scriptis, quid in
 eis eruditum, quid professioni nostræ consentaneum, quid
 repugnans, quid pium, quid impium. Interim mihi acrius
 ad bona studia, interim ad bonos mores stimulos subdebat,
 vt vere dixerim numquam ad eum inuisisse quin aut
 515 doctior redirem aut melior aut certe minus malus. Illud
 ei frequens adagium vsurpabatur : οὐδέεις οὐκ εἶχῃ λέξι, τοῦτο
 μοι οὐκ ἐκβήσεται· nemo non temere dixerit, hoc mihi non
 eueniet. Verbum sane dignum quod in æs incidatur,
 altissimaque mente omnes repositum habeant. Namque
 520 si humana quouis Euripo mobilia sunt, quis adeo in
 hac vita felix adeoque prolixè Fortunæ bonis cumulatus
 cui compertum sit Fortunam perpetuo hoc pede constat-
 turam, — quum præsertim eam Scythæ sine pedibus esse,
 manus et pinnas tantum habere affirmant, cum manus
 525 porrigit, pinnas quoque comprehendendas non dare ?
 Quis tam potens, tot clientum et amicorum, tot stipato-
 rum turba septus, qui non aliqua occasione his omnibus
 semel destituatur, imo vero ad vltimam inopiam rediga-
 tur ? Contra quis tam miserijs opertus, quis tam abiectus
 530 qui non aliquando sortem commodiorem speret ? Quis tam
 vilis et humilis notæ, vt non aliquo gradu ad meliora
 conscendat, modo ne prorsus stupidus et inuitis plane
 Gratijs natus ? Rerum vices æstuariæ sunt. Et regum
 535 sceptræ in ordinem coacta ; et a rastris nonnullos in impe-
 rium missos, memoriæ traditum est. Monet quoque pru-
 dentissimi viri verbum, præsentis rerum incommoditate
 non nimis indolendum, successu sublatius non inso-
 lendum.

Quid referam quam rerum esset peritus, cum contra

515. redirem] m corr by M₂ 516. τοῦτο] M 517. last Greek
 word corr by M₂ and written out again in mg 523. quum] wr by
 M₂ over qucum M₁ 524. pinnas] M₂ ul 529. abiectus] before it M
 wr & er vilis inter 533. Gratijs] before it M wr & er gratijs
 539. esset] after it M wr & er prudens

- 540 plerumque qui libris assidue assident, minus res calleant.
 Testatum fecit in functione ea quem Louanij Rectoratum
 appellamus. Hanc enimvero tam splendide gessit tantaque
 cum laude, vt omnium calculis dignus iudicaretur qui
 non academiam modo, sed regiones administraret. Con-
 545 sultabat circumspecte, decernebat fideliter, exequebatur
 fortiter. In rebus controuersis sollers, in obscuris per-
 spicax, in perplexis ex tempore fatalem quemdam Dæda-
 lum præstans. Ipso loquente omnes ab ore loquentis
 dependebant. Et quamuis suffragium non ferret (cuius
 550 ferendi ius nullum habet eum honorem obtinens, sed
 dumtaxat ex plurimis aliorum suffragijs constituendi)
 tamen extra ordinem sententiam dicente, tantum ponderis
 habuit et authoritatis vt quam plurimi non aliud ferrent
 suffragium quam quod a Dorpiano ore sublegissent. Non
 555 iam dicam quanta maiestate quantaque esset dignitate,
 si quid ad patrum concilium referret. Taceo quanta
 facundia et lepore verba faceret. Breuiter, eloquentiorne
 an prudentior, in rerum medio, an domi inter libros versa-
 tor appareret, non erat fateri.
- 560 Vnum illud in viro tanto in peius notauerim, quod
 animo esset plus satis excelso, quod in causa fuisse opi-
 nor cur iniuriarum impatientissimus esset, et nonnum-
 quam in iram immoderatiorem erumperet. At vero vitium
 hoc vel naturæ vel ætatis fuisse, ostendit extremis vita
 565 annis, quibus nihil prius habuit quam ad omnium imbe-
 cillitates se deponere, cum omnibus pacem et concordiam
 firmare, quod quidem in se esset. Si quem antea incle-
 mentius læsisset, sibi reconciliabat; si calamo impru-
 dentius perstrinxisset, factum mutabat; si iniuriam
 570 intulisset, deprecabatur: sin accepisset, lubens ex animo

540. qui] *before it* M *wr & er* accidit vt qui lib 541. Testatum]
before it M *wr & er* Declarauit effect 541. quem] M 550. eum] M₁;
 M₂ eam; *after it* M *wr & er* dignitatem 550. obtinens &c.] *on f* 248 v
 551. ex] *after it* M *wr & er* alienis 554. a] M₂ *wr* *over* ex M₁ 555.
 iam] *before it* M *wr & er* tam 556. referret] M₂ *corr* *from* referebat
 M₁ 557. facundia] *after it* M *wr & er* et verborum venustate 557.
 et] *after it* M *wr & er* ve 561. plus] *before it* M *wr & er* plus
 564. vita] *maybe* vitæ 566. se] M₂ *ul* 569. si] *before it* M *wr & er* fa

condonabat. Tantum de hac affectione anni decoxerant, tantum rerum vsus et sacra lectio limauerant.

Neque hoc tantum vitium, sed et quicquid tandem in deteriorem partem conspiceretur, in melius reformare
 575 studuit. Adeo afflatu diuino in alium hominem mutatus erat, vt eumdem vix diceret. In gymnasio, quoties ad se docendi periodus redierat, non iam perinde docere vt inflammare auditorium, non ita eruditius vt melius redere insistebat. Quid quod domi apud conuictores antea
 580 subinde alia, nunc semper pia, diuina, aliquid e sacris literis petitum commentabatur. Quid quod antea aliquo nonnumquam auocamento animum leuabat, nunc raro aut numquam, sed grauis, serius et nescio quid cum animo diuinum et coeleste fere trahebat. In sacro porro peragendo attentior, in precibus horarijs et admissorum confessione religiosior esse cepit. Erga viros pios, Deoque deditos longe studiosior; postremo erga omnes Christiana charitate affectior ac flagrantior.

Sed et de studiorum ratione multum demutarat. Siquidem
 590 abdicatis fere authoribus prophanis quibus ad id temporis furtiuis horis vacauerat, totus in literas sacras immigrarat; quarum lectione in dies in melius proficere animumque propius in Christum transformare laborabat. Has numquam de manibus, numquam ab oculis, numquam
 595 ab animo deponebat, vix tum quidem cum vel somnum inire vel cibum capere, corporis necessitas suaderet. Quid moror? spes blandiebatur si vita longior diuina benignitate contigisset, eum theologum fore non eruditione modo sed et moribus ac modis omnibus summum, omnibusque
 600 calculis absolutissimum: vnde non dico Louanium, sed vniuersus orbis Christianus incredibilem fructum et vtilitatem collegisset.

Sed o spes fallaces mortalium! O vota incerta! Demessa rubens rosa est, dum iam collectum foliorum corymbum

583. sed] *after it* M *wr* & *er* fere 585. horarijs] M₂ *corr* 2nd r; *before it* M *wr* & *er* horat 596. necessitas &c.] *on f* 249 r. A *strange hand wr in top margin*: Vir alioquin magnus et / suspi-
 ciendus / eruditionis 598. modo] M *over line* 603. spes] M *wr* & *er* mo

605 ambitiosius exinuare meditaretur. Fractum preciosum
 margaritum (nam Hieronymiano verbo libenter vtimur),
 et contrita smaragdi gemma, dum iam viroris gratia se
 publice commendare inciperet. Decessit anno ætatis plus
 minus quadragesimo, eo morbi genere implicitus quam
 610 medici choleram appellitant. Originem mali dicunt immo-
 deratam studij intentionem, quodque sibi nimium impe-
 raret mox a prandio et coena: quo fiebat vt dum stomachus
 in concoquendo distraheretur, multum in intestinis noxio-
 rum humorum contraheret, quos deinde, dum natura
 615 modis omnibus vomitu et deiectione per acutissima
 tormina expellere niteretur, tandem et mora et pondere
 fatigata defecit. Accessit et aliud malum, quo dentes solue-
 bantur gingiua et tota prope maxilla corrumpebatur: quid
 vero istud morbi esset, aut vnde natum, medicis ipsis
 620 satis obscurum erat. Porro habuit in eo se morbo pro eo
 omnino, vt ingenue Christianus debet, quicquid incideret
 cruciatuum, quicquid aculeorum, quicquid torminum, for-
 tissime perferens. Nihil ab ore ægrotantis audisses præ-
 terquam sancta, pia, coelestia. Nihil aliud quam vt plura
 625 longe diuina benignitas immitteret, modo ita demum futu-
 ræ vitæ cruciatus redimere liceret. Cumque iam se prorsus
 deploratum depositumque animaduerneret, vt spes salutis
 reliqua nulla superesset, ante omnia solemnibus Ecclesiæ
 sacramentis muniri curæ habuit, de contractis noxijs
 630 sacerdoti confiteri, sacrosanctum Corpus Dominicum sus-
 cipere, summa perunctione illini. Sumpturus autem Corpus
 Dominicum, religiosissime Domino gratias egisse fertur,
 qui ad beatitudinem sempiternam sua ineffabili benefi-
 centia ipsum condere dignatus esset, qui impendio vitæ

605. exinuare] M; r exsinuare 505. Fractum] M ffractum 612.
 et] M₂ corr over aut M₁ 614. contraheret] M₂ corr over contra-
 hebat M₁ 614. deinde] M₂ added over line 616. expellere] before
 it M wr & er repellere 617. soluebantur] M₂ added over line
 619. vero] id 620. erat] M₂ corr over fuit 625. modo] after it
 M wr & er hac leg 631. Sumpturus &c. to 640 mollibus] this
 passage is written lengthwise in the right hand margin by M, and
 connected by a line with this place 631. autem] after it M wr &
 er D 633. beneficentia] M₂ corr from beneficiæ <-tio?> 634.
 ipsum] before it M wr & er se

635 suæ a seruitute diabolica exemisset, qui sanctissimum
 suum Corpus vsui, Sanguinem potui indignis nobis homun-
 tionibus reliquisset. Et multa alia de diuinis in homines
 beneficijs quasi concionatus prodit vt ad vnum omnibus
 quantiquanti aderant vbertim lachrymæ caderent, etiam
 640 viris rigidis ac minime mollibus. Præterea rumorem illum
 quo aliquando falso Luteranismi traducebatur, longe a se
 alienissimum ostendit. Namque accersitis duobus e præci-
 puis theologis, testatus eos est, nihil se minus quam Luteri-
 nenij accedere, quinimo quicquid monstrum ingens euo-
 645 meret, atro semel carbone notare, demum mori velle
 in fide Ecclesiæ Romanæ, quam scilicet per multas sæcu-
 lorum vices ab apostolis vsque ad nos descendisse cre-
 deret. Jam eos qui, offitij gratia, de more assedissent ad
 nihil nisi ad salutare aliquid aut sibi narrandum aut a se
 650 audiendum inuitabat. Qua in re illius in mentem venit,
 quod docto cuidam viro supremum sui monimentum, et
 tamquam cygneam cantionem sanctissime occimuit in
 hanc fere sententiam : 'Vides, amice animo meo charis-
 sime, quo in statu iam colloca, quaque circumscribar
 655 necessitate ! Cogit inuincibilis morbi petulantia naturæ
 concedere. Cogor communi mortalium sorte iamiam leges
 ineuitabiles subire. Quid obsecro iam præsit multa lecti-
 tasse, vitam totam disciplinis varijs percipiendis, multa-
 rumque rerum cognitione anxie impendisse ? Quorsum
 660 tanta discendi siue auditatem siue auaritiam dicere
 oportet ? Ecce citor ad tribunal iudicis qui non scientiam
 sed virtutes ad calculum vocabit, non quantum cognou-
 eris, sed quantum ex cognitis bene egeris æquissima
 lance perpendet. Quod te oro, hortor, et moneo per tuam
 665 ipsius salutem, multo magis ad virtutem moresque Christo
 dignos quam ad præclaram eruditionem adlabores. Eru-

635. diabolica] *after it* M *wr & er* ipsum 638. prodit] M₂ *ul*
 639. quantiquanti aderant] M₂ *added over line* (*indistinct abbrev.*)
 640. ac] M₂ *corr over* et duris 646. Romanæ] M₂ *corr over* catholice
 646. quam scilicet] M₃ *corr from* eius ut M₂ *corr over* quam M₁
 647. descendisse crederet] M₂ *changed* -isset (M₁) *into* isse *and*
added crederet *over line* 648. offitij] M₂ ; offitio M₁ 652. sanc-
 tissime] M₂ *added over line* 652. occimuit] M ; r occinuit 655.
 inuincibilis &c.] *on f* 249 v

ditio ornat, virtus beat ; illa salutis tantum adminiculum est : hec vel sola seruat. Illa subinde a vita beata impedimento est, hec semper adiumento'.

670 Quam exhortationem si eruditi omnes ante oculos haberent, scriberentque in ostijs et limine domus, vt verbis Mosi vtar : melius haud dubie res Ecclesiæ irent hac tempestate, neque tantis malis, tot hæresibus desudaremus. Quid quod cum ab omnibus familiaribus, tum a
675 contubernalibus, professoribus, theologis suppliciter demisseque veniam petiuit, si cui in conuictu quotidiano grauior fuisset, si cui minus candide minusque Christiane se præbuisset, velit in gratiam Christi admissum condonare ; se vicissim ex animo concedere, quicquid vnquam
680 in se peccassent. Denique vsque dum vel aliquod spiritus vestigium in ægroto pectore palpitabat, nihil aliud quam Christi benignitatem et clementiam implorabat, nihil suis meritis, tantum crucis Christi fretus, nihil clamans nisi quod Psalmographus : Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam. Rursus : Si iniquitates obseruaueris, quis
685 sustinebit ; nihil obsecrans nisi ne sua fraus, sua culpa ad seuerum vnguem exigatur.

Ita ante tempus periijt in ipso virili robore vir quocumque respicias summus, dignus cui anni Nestorij contigissent, theologus peritissimus, philosophus grauissimus,
690 orator eloquentissimus : quem si vita processisset etiam ipsa inuidia vt maximum et exactissimum suspexisset. Periijt Academiæ nostræ clarissimum columen. Periijt theologicæ scholæ præcipuum ornamentum. Periijt regionum
695 harum lumen vnicum et decus incomparabile. Periijt studiosorum omnium absolutissima norma et specimen perfectissimum, in quo tot pariter dotes explenduerunt vt in vna aliqua ex pari eminere abunde magnum foret. Ludat me in virum amor, si plurimi præclari viri haud
700 sane obtusi pectoris diuersum sentiant. Clamant vno ore omnes sentire se quantus Dorpius fuerit postquam esse

681. vestigium] before it M wr & er in 681. palpitabat] M₂ corr from -auit M₁ 684. Domine] M₂ added over line 687. ad] before it M wr & er plectatur 690. theologus] after it M wr & er eloquentissimus

desijt. Cæterum quid quærimur? Contra stimulum calcare
 inscitia est. Omnes pari iure, parique conditione vitam
 accipimus: nempe vt aliquando reddamus; et obseruatum
 705 fere, eos maturius reddere qui diutius obtinere digni vide-
 bantur. Quod si ita Deo Optimo Maximo rerum vices
 dispensandi visa ratio est, quis ei dicat: Cur ita facis?
 Dominus est, inquit Heli sacerdos. Quod bonum existi-
 matur animo eius, omnes æquissima fronte probare
 710 necesse est.

Testamenti rationem parum comperi, nisi quod bene
 magnum pecuniæ modum in pios vsus legasse scio.
 Bibliothecam, quam habuit locupletissimam, ita dispertijt
 vt patres prisci et quicquid sacrorum esset voluminum
 715 vobis obueniret, id quod nosti; authores prophani et quic-
 quid foret neotericorum Petro Curtio. Funus, quod etiam
 constat, apud vos celeberrimo honoratorum virorum coetu
 sepulchro illatum. Atque hec quidem sunt, Vir Optime,
 quæ de Dorpio in vsum publicum dicenda videbantur:
 720 quibus si quis cui ditior scribendi vena est, aliquid
 auctarij admetiri velit, aut ipse nouam sui operis effigiem
 signare: nihil est in quo iucundius gratiusue faciat. Mihi
 sat superque erit si ad hec quantulacumque boni adules-
 centes studia moresque colliniare adlaborabunt, et tanti
 725 viri virtutes dotesque subinde tamquam speculum sub
 oculos reuocabunt. Porro vestri contubernij partes sint
 qui precibus apud Deum valetis Dorpianam cymbam,
 adhuc fortassis in portu de tranquilla statione satagentem,
 vt quam primum laboribus perfungatur, flagrantissime
 730 Deum optimum interpellare. Quando enim ille non omnino
 vestri immemor fuit moriens: vt eius inuicem memores
 sitis consentaneum est. Vale.

Salutabis officiosissime meis verbis virum eximium

702. desijt] *before it* M *wr* & *er* destitit 704. accipimus] M₂ *ul*
 707. dispensandi] M₂; M₁ -sare 708. Quod] *before it* M *wr* & *er*
 quod 711. Testamenti &c.] *on f* 250 *r* 714. prisci] M₂ *corr over*
 ecclesiastici 716. Funus] M *ffunus* 720. est] *er afterwards*
 732. Vale] *after it* M *wr* & *er* Louanij prima Julij 30 Junij An. 1526

D. Joannem Delphum, corpore quidem effoetum, at virtu-
 735 tibus florentem ac viridem, cuius precibus commendari
 nihil magis in votis est. Quis enim dubitet magno apud
 Deum loco esse, qui non primus modo coenobij huius
 structor fuerit, sed etiam in omni virtutum genere per
 summam laudem vsque ad decrepitam ætatem contu-
 740 bernio vestro primas præluxerit, adeo vt ne nunc quidem
 instituti vestri rigorem in omnibus sustinere supersedeat.
 Jterum vale.

Louanij, tricesimo die Junij An° 1526.

Notes concerning

Dorpii Vita.

THEODORICO PERSINIO] Thierry Persyn (Persin or Persijn),
 a native of Amsterdam, studied in Louvain, matriculating
 in February 1505 : *LibIntIII.*, 116 v. Having promoted
 Master of Arts in the Pedagogy of the Porc before 1509,
 he entered the Carthusian convent of Louvain, and was
 admitted to the *osculum* on Nov. 11, 1509. He received
 the vestments of the Order on Nov. 18 following, and
 made his profession on Nov. 18, 1510; on June 22, 1511,
 he celebrated his first Mass. Already in 1515, he was
 appointed *procurator* and when, in 1525, John Petri of
 Delft, the first prior, on account of age and infirmities,
 urgently requested permission to resign the dignity he had
 been invested with since 1504, Persyn was elected as his
 successor. He died, it seems, from the pest on Oct. 21, 1532
 at Delft, where he had gone to visit his brother, who was
 priest and monk there in the Charterhouse. In that house
 he also had, or had had, an uncle, his father's brother,
 who was *Doctor Vtriusque Juris*, prior, and *convisitator*
 of the order for the province : *ChronCartLov.*, 456 v, 462 r;
Mol., 303. This was probably the Theodericus Persyn of
 Amsterdam, who promoted doctor of Arts in Bologna, 1475,

734. effoetum] after it M wr & er et defectum 739. laudem] M₂
 corr over diligentiam M₁ 740. adeo] before it M wr & er adeo
 vt ne nunc quidem virium sui plane impotens est 741. in] before
 it M wr & er facile 743. Louanij] after it M wr & er p : cp. l. 732.

studied law, and was procurator of the German nation; on May 15, 1476 he stood the test of the doctorate *Vtriusque Juris* in Ferrara; he is recorded as returning home from Bologna on May 19, 1476, discontinuing the lectures which he had started in 1475 : Knod, 402. Leaving Italy, he reached Louvain, where he was admitted to the Faculty of Laws and to the University Council on Nov. 29, 1476, at the request of the town authorities, who appointed him in 1477 to the ordinary afternoon lecture of law, and to the corresponding prebend in St. Peter's, as successor to Gerlac de Bont. He did not remain very long in that function, as already in 1480 Ludovicus Roelants is registered as having taken over his lesson of law : VAnd., 156, 163, 167, 174. He may be identical with the Dirk Persyn, son of Jan Jansz Persyn, councillor of Amsterdam in 1476 (possibly on his return from Bologna, and before he accepted the Louvain professorate), and mayor in 1485 : Knod, 402. A Theodorus Persyn, but *ex stirpe Naeldvicena*, is recorded as dean of the Naaldwijk chapter in 1480 : HEpU., 424. Whatever this may be, the Persyn to whom Morinck dedicated this *Vita*, was one of the most famous of the Louvain Carthusians : Vern., 268. He was Dorp's intimate friend, and, without doubt, the link that bound him to the Charterhouse, which he favoured by his will, Thierry being one of the executors : cp. note to l. 711; ULExTest., 65 r, v. Prior Persyn may have been related to the Hippolyte Persyn, who, from a member of the Council of The Hague, became president first of that of Friesland, and finally of that of Utrecht; he was one of the Court of *Novemviri*, 1564, and died in Utrecht by the end of November 1568 : Hoyneck, i, i, 186, ii, 494, ii, i, 190, 361, ii, 46. Cp. ArchEcclBrab., 14960, 138 r.

CARTUSIANOS] The Charterhouse, dedicated to St. Magdalen under the Cross, was started in 1491, thanks to the generosity of several persons, chief amongst whom were Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, and the chaplain of her late husband, Walter de Waterleet, provost of Maubeuge and Scholaster of Brussels. It was managed first by John Scullinc, a Ghent Carthusian, to whom

succeeded in 1494/5 as rector John Petri, of Delft, who was elected as first prior in 1504. The community was incorporated into the University on February 28, 1521 : FUL, 2465. A circumstantial chronicle of the first years (1491-1525) reposes in the Royal Library Brussels (MS. 15043 = *ChronCartLov.*); it has been reproduced in *Analectes*, xiv, 228, *sq.* xvi, 210, *sq.* Cp. Mol., 295, *sq.*; Lips*Loc.*, 85; Gestel, I, 166; *PF*, II, 201; Bax*H*, x, 169, *sq.*; *Analectes*, xiv, 214, *sq.*; Reus*Doc.*, v, 565, *sq.*; FUL, 2465-7; *Louvain*, 487, *sq.* Dorp took a special interest in the Charterhouse : in Martens' edition of Plutarch's *De tuenda bona Valetudine Præcepta*, November 1513 (cp. note to l. 420), he published some verses (cp. *infra*, amongst the *Analecta*) composed for the stained-glass windows which adorned the chapel and the cloisters : *Louvain*, 489. Cp. *ArchEcclBrab.*, 14956-60.

- 5 Non erit &c.] *Ecclesiastes*, II, 16, 17.
- 13 Hadriani] *Cran.*, 73, ⁴⁻⁶⁹, 77, ⁴⁷, *sq.*; Morinck became the chief and most trustworthy of his biographers through the first-hand information supplied to him, especially by Thierry of Heeze : Burman, ***** 2 v.
- 14 Joannis Briardi] Briart, the leader of the Louvain theologians after Adrian of Utrecht's departure, died on Jan. 8, 1520; Moring wrote his *Vita* in deep gratitude for what he owed to his master (cp. notes to ll. 268-9), and dedicated it to his fellow-student Julian de Gaver, or Gavre, of Ath, who promoted licenciate in divinity on June 3, 1516 : de Jongh, 41*; he may have been a *convictor* of Briart's, who bequeathed to him his papers with the request to edit them. As he seemed remiss in fulfilling the wish of the deceased, Gaver was reminded of it by Ruard Tapper and by James Latomus, who on March 15, 1526 dedicated to him his *De Primatu Romani Pontificis* (Antwerp, M. Hillen, May 1526). Probably Morinck also wanted to induce Gaver to execute their master's bequest, and he may have planned the biography as an introduction to his complete works. The latter were never edited; an autograph copy of the *Vita Ioannis Briardi Atensis academice Louaniensis vicecancellarii, et sacrarum lite-*

rarum interpretis doctissimi, with the letter to Gaver, only dated 'Louanij altera Marcij', but apparently belonging to 1526 (as no mention is made of Briart's special friend Dorp), is kept in the folio from St. Trudon's Abbey, which contains so many of Morinck's writings, and of which it is the last document : *MSGerMor.*, f 392 r to f 398 v. Cp. *ChronCartLov.*, 461 r.

- 21 Nonne penitus &c.] that the remembrance of Dorp remained very vivid with his students is instanced by the great Nicolas Beken *Clenardus* : several years after having been his auditor, he refers to him as to an eloquent and well-spoken professor when describing the Alcoranists of Fez to James Latomus, April 9, 1541; and to John Vasæus he expresses his regret since his friend, being invited to make a speech, had not read that which Dorp had made in similar circumstances : 'alienus... sudor... aliquid rerum suppeditasset, quo necdum ætas tua possit aspirare' : Nov. 6, 1536 : *ClenE*, 46, 150.
- 25 creberrimis literis] cp. ll. 449-456.
- 29 rhetor Apollonius &c.] similar ideas are expressed *e. g.*, in Joannes Stobæus' *Loci Communes*, 280.
- 33 præsentēs &c.] cp. : Rari plane sunt amici post funus constantes... Nam in præsentia habere, præpollet. &c. : Stobæus, *Loci Communes*, 280.
- 37 Joanne Heemstedio] John Symons, son of Simon Nicolai, born at Heemstede (Eemstede or Eemste), near Haarlem, studied (possibly in Cologne, Nov. 1514 : Keussen, 737 ; for certain) in Louvain in the pedagogy of the Porc, and had promoted M. A. by 1520. He had an elder brother in the Louvain Charterhouse, Thierry Symons, who had started the study of the law, when, on Jan. 17, 1505, he entered the order : he took the habit on Febr. 21, and made his profession one year later, celebrating his first Mass on Febr. 2, 1506. He was excellent at drawing, painting and limning manuscripts; he became vicar of the house and instructor of the novices in 1506. He worked zealously in copying and illustrating books, and thus became known to Erasmus and Dorp. At the death of Francis of Edam, Dec. 2, 1539, he was elected (the

fourth) prior, and died in that function on April 3, 1542 with deep regrets for his abilities, and for his feeling and peaceful character : Mol., 302; Vern., 268 (Eurstedius); *ChronCartLov.*, 453 v; *PF*, II, 201. His brother John Symons entered the Charterhouse in 1520, being accepted 'ad osculum' on May 29, and taking the habit on June 10; he made his profession on June 10, 1521, celebrating his first Mass on June 24, 1522. He also was very clever in painting and illustrating manuscripts, and seems moreover to have been excellently trained in languages and humanistic studies : he was evidently one of Dorp's intimates, for Erasmus (whose acquaintance he apparently had made through Dorp or through his brother) wrote to him on Nov. 8, 1525, probably in reply to his announcement of their friend's decease and his burial; he even sent an epitaph, which, if approved of by Goclenius, was to be hung up at the burial place in the porch of the Chapel of the Charterhouse : Allen, VI, 1646. Without doubt, it led to a regular correspondence, for, on June 17, 1527, Martin Lipsius announced to Erasmus that he had seen his letter to Heemstede : Allen, VII, 1837, 51. A few months later, the latter was honoured by the dedication of the *Deploratio Mortis Joannis Frobenii* (who died by the end of October 1527), published in 1528 in the *Ciceronianus* with some epitaphs on Froben and some verses and prose laments on Dorp, which, however, were not reproduced in the subsequent editions, except in the reprints of the 1st, Paris, Lyons, 1528, Alcalá, 1529 : Allen, VII, 1900; *BibEr.*, I, 75. That dedication was the public acknowledgment of Erasmus' affection for Heemstede, who did what he could to deserve such a favour. Wishing to preserve the memory of his friend Dorp, he induced Morinck to write a sketch of his life and influence; he thus became interested in his work, and especially in his studies about St. Augustine's biography, which he mentioned to Erasmus. The latter, in reply, induced Morinck (before May 8, 1528) to let him have an idea of his researches on the subject : Allen, VII, 1994. It seems as if Heemstede also seconded Goclenius in keeping Erasmus informed about the Louvain events : thus he announced

him what had happened at the doctorate of Peter de Corte, July 12, 1530, mentioning incidentally Vives' oration to the University students, and Goclenius' most successful teaching : July 14, 1530 : EE, 1746, E-1747, B; *Cran.*, 56, ²⁶, 83, c, 95, e. In return Erasmus did not withhold the testimony of his esteem from this lover of learning, who withall was an exemplary monk, as results from the preface to the *Enarratio in Psalmos* by bishop Haymo, dedicated to him on February 28, 1533 (EE, 1462, E-1464, E; *BibEr.*, II, 29), as well as by the fact that he was appointed procurator of the Charterhouse at the death of Rudolf of Hertogenbosch in 1528 : Mol., 302; EE, 1747, B; *ChronCartLov.*, 461 r.

- 55 eruditi] Barlandus devoted to his deceased friend a chapter in the *Rerum Gestarum A Brabantiae Ducibus Historia* : Antwerp, 1526, and in the *Memorabilis Obsidio Ticini siue Papiae* : Antwerp, 1526, entitled *Mors clarissimi viri Martini Dorpij* : BarlHist., 231; BB, B, 274, ², 275, ³. The event was piously commented upon in the correspondence between More, Vives and Cranevelt : *Cran.*, 157, ²⁵⁻³⁴, 175, ³⁶, ⁵⁴, 177, ¹⁴. In the first edition of the *Ciceronianus*, Basle, March 1528, Erasmus edited some poems in memory of John Froben, and a series of epitaphs on Dorp : a Latin poem and a Greek distichon by James Volcaerd (*Cic.* <= *Ciceronianus*, edition printed by S. Colinæus at Paris, 1528 : cp. *BibEr.*, I, 75>, 167 v), on whom Erasmus wrote one since he had died in the mean time (4 ll. : *Cic.*, 167 v; *Cran.*, 189, ¹¹; *JSecOp.*, 213); seven distichs by Conrad Goclenius (*Cic.*, 168 r; VAnd., 102; *Cran.*, 95, e, h); a *Centon Homericus* in Greek and 14 *versus* by Francis de Cranevelt (reproduced in *Cran.*, xxix : *Cic.*, 168 r, v; *Cran.*, 175, ¹, ³⁶, 177, ¹⁵, 195, ¹⁻², 260, ⁸, 261, ³¹); a Latin poem of 17 lines by Erasmus (*Cic.*, 168 v; VAnd., 102; Allen, VI, 1646, ¹⁸⁻³⁵; *OpmHistMart.*, 35; *Cran.*, 175, ³⁷); a *Querimonia* by Barlandus (*Cic.*, 169 r; *Cran.*, 62, c); an *Epitaphium* wrongly ascribed to Vives (*Cic.*, 169 v; Bonilla, 603; *Cran.*, 261, ³²), and another by him, but wrongly printed as a running text (*Cic.*, 170 r; *Cran.*, 176, 175, ⁵⁴); an *Epitaphium* by Germanus Brixius (*Cic.*, 170 r); an

ἐπιχίδιον by 'Allard' of Amsterdam (*Cic.*, 170 v), and two shorter epitaphs by the same (*Cic.*, 173 r, v). Cp. *Cran.*, 152, a, 260, 8; Allen, vii, 1900, 130. Referring probably to these epitaphs, Alard of Amsterdam wrote to Martin Lips soon after Dorp's death, 1525 : Carmen istuc (volo diligenter evoluas : totum tuo permitto iudicio) propediem curabimus excudendum..... Dolorem tuum e Martini Dorpii morte natum, ut nos, tu etiam aliquo testator elogio, quod una cum istis nugis demus excudendum : LipsE, 756.

- 56 Erasmus] Erasmus expressed his sadness at Dorp's decease in writing to Barlandus and Max. Transsylvanus, July 2; to Germanus Brixius, Aug. 25; to John of Heemstede, Nov. 8, 1525 : Allen, vi, 1584, 1-17, 1585, 76, 1597, 20, 1646, 4, sq, vii, 1900, 130; also in his *Supputatio* against Beda, March 1527, and his *Ciceronianus*, Basle, 1528 : EOO, i, 1013, E, ix, 526, D, E; whereas in the first edition of the latter work he edited the epitaphs by his friends.
- 79 Aristotelem] Erasmus' *Apophthegmata*: Idem <Alexander> Aristotelem, cui puer formandus fuerat traditus, summa veneratione prosequatur, dicens, *se illi non minus quam patri debere, quod a patre vivendi, a praeceptore bene vivendi initium accepisset* : EOO, iv, 200, D. This saying is also used in *DorpConc.*, [A i] v.
- 94 non omnino &c.] cp. the old adage : Ut desint vires, tamen est laudanda voluntas (Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, iii, iv, 79).

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- 105 siue ea Bataua est] in the Spring of 1514 Martin van Dorp wrote an introduction to, and published, a letter of Chrysostomus Zanchius, of Naples, to the Count of Nugarole, describing Holland; he criticized him for doubting whether Holland were identical with the old *Batavia*; and referred to the authority of John of Delft, his master, who had made it most verisimilar in a pamphlet, which he contemplated editing one day as a tribute to the memory of his former preceptor : Dorp *Dial.*, F ii v, F iii v; *infra*, note to l. 430. That assertion occasioned a further study of the question amongst the Dutchmen in Louvain, and Gerard Gelden-

houwer considered himself entitled to state that *Batavia* was practically identical with the *insula Batavica*, and could only be applied to the country situated between the two arms of the Rhine, namely the proper Rhine with the Lek, the Waal mixing with the Meuse, and the North Sea. Against his opinion Alard of Amsterdam tried to rouse one of Holland's greatest erudites Cornelius Gerard Aurelius : in a letter dated Louvain 1515, he requests him to refute that assertion by arguments based on history, if necessary with the help of William Heda, the dean of St. John's, Utrecht : *BatIII.*, 76. Aurelius, on Alard's suggestion, wrote his *Defensio gloriæ Batauinæ*, 1514-15, comprising parts written as early as 1509-10, to which he added afterwards a second book, *Elucidarium Variarum Quæstionum super Batauina regione et differentia* : Allen, I, 17, *pr*, 78, *pr*. Both these books were dedicated to a friend, the Gouda physician Renier Snoy, who also was treating that question at the time in his History of Holland, as he announced to Erasmus : Allen, I, 190, ¹⁰, II, 458. Most probably Aurelius wrote those pamphlets with the wish to clear up the doubt « amice » and « citra calumniam », as Alard and his friends suggested (*BatIII.*, 76), without any intention of having them published. Geldenhouwer did not follow Aurelius' example : in his *Lucubrationcula de Batauorum Insula* (Sept. 19, 1520 : Antwerp, M. Hillen : *BarlHist.*, 251-4 ; Prinsen, 19, 55-59) he asserted his opinion, which he also mentioned in his letter of Nov. 28, 1522 to Cranevelt (*Cran.*, 27, ¹⁰⁻¹⁶). Erasmus added his views on the matter in his explanation of the adage *Auris Batava* (EOO, II, 1083, E-1084, E), and occasionally referred to it in his correspondence (letter of Oct. 1, 1520 to Peter Manius : Allen, IV, 1147, ²⁹). The question was still unsettled sixty years later, when Bonaventura Vulcanius in his *Batavia* (Antwerp, Plantin, 1586) edited Corn. Aurelius' *Defensio* and *Elucidarium*, with Alard's letter, as well as Geldenhouwer's *Lucubrationcula*, and other documents. That book was followed up by Adrianus Junius' *Batavia*, posthumously printed in Leiden, 1588 ; by Pontus Heute-

- rus' *De Veterum et sui sæculi Belgio*, Antwerp, 1600, and Philip Cluverius' *De Rheni Alveis*, Leiden, 1611, all expressing their opinions. Peter Scriverius reprinted several tracts on the question — also those of Vulcanius — in his *Batavia Illustrata, seu, de Batavorum Insula* (Leiden, 1609) and his *Inferioris Germaniæ Antiquitates* (Leiden, 1611), whereas in 1620 James Cool, Brassica, editing in Frankfurt his ancestor Renier Snoy's *De Rebus Batavicis Libri XIII*, brought into the controversy the views of that friend of Aurelius and Erasmus. Cp. *supra*, pp. 70-71; Guicc., 177; *BarlHist.*, 254-63; *BibBelg.*, T65, 11-12, 781-82; Allen, I, 190, 10; Prinsen, 19-21.
- 106 Delphis] Guicc., 184-5; *BarlHist.*, 250.
- 107 Naeldiceno] Naaldwijk, in South-Holland, about 14 kms W.S.W. of Delft and S.W.S. of The Hague : *BibBelg.*, T69.
- 110 Collégium Canonicorum] a chapter of six canons was founded in St. Adrian's, Naaldwijk, in 1307 by William, the knight to whom the place belonged; his son, or grandson, William brought the number up to twelve in 1369 : *BelgSChron.*, 119; *BibBelg.*, T69; *HEpU*, 422-4; *BatSacr.*, II, 246-7. About 1480 the chapter had as dean Theodorus Persyn, 'ex stirpe Naeldvicena', to whom succeeded James Hoeck, *Angularis* : *HEpU*, 424. Afterwards there was as dean Peter van der Goude, who was censor of books and delegate of the inquisitors, 1526-8 : *CorpInq.*, IV, 295, v, xl, xli; *HoopSch.*, 473, 479; *Cran.*, 56, b.
- 112 doctores] amongst them was the dean James Hoeck, *Angularis*, *S. Theologiæ Doctor*, who is said to have been parish-priest of Wassenaer, and who died in 1509, — or at any rate before 1513, since Dorp added an Epitaphium on him to his *Oratio de Laudibus Disciplinarum*, October 14, 1513 : *DorpLDisc.*, [F iii]v; *HEpU*, 424; *HoopSch.*, 87; *Lindeb.*, 161. He was known for his generosity, erudition and uprightness; being a staunch Nominalist he was consulted by John Wessel Hermansz of Gansvoort (1419-1489) about points of doctrine and practice which, not being defined by the Church, were open to discussion, in the heat of which wrong or excessive statements were

set forth and obstinately defended : *DogmGeschMZ.*, 651, *sq*, 661, *sq*; *Goch*, 189-191; Spahn, 216. In his sincere wish to promote general welfare, the famous *Magister Contradictionis* (Renaudet, 83, 86, 93, 224; *Goch*, 46; Keussen, I, 520 : Oct. 1449; *Voecht*, 155-6) apparently felt some misgivings about his opinions, and imparted them to Hoeck; nor did he take it amiss that the latter submitted some of his propositions to the Cologne divines, evidently without mentioning any name; for he was ready to accept any correction : WessO, 864-5; Ullmann, II, 323; *Wessel*, 110. Notwithstanding the scanty encouragement on Hoeck's part, Wessel further communicated to him in his letters his views on other matters, and even a lengthy memoir about indulgences : WessO, 866-7, 876-912; Ullmann, II, 325, *sq*, 491, *sq*; *Goch*, 49; Lindeb., 43, 54, *sq*. Of that correspondence, which testified to the gentle sympathy naturally resulting from a straightforward love of truth (Ullmann, II, 242, 316, 322, *sq*, 327; Lindeb., 43, 50-2), several documents were found at Hoeck's death by an ardent disciple of Wessel, Cornelis Henrici Hoen, a lawyer of the Hague Council : HoopSch., 86; Ullmann, II, 323, 547; Allen, V, 1358, ²⁶; *CorpInq.*, V, 261, &c.; Burman, 247, *sq*. With some friends he collected what writings could be found of Wessel, and edited them in 1521 at Zwolle as *Farrago rerum Theologicarum* : *Goch*, 67, 184. The spirit of that edition is shown by the fact that Luther wrote a recommendatory preface for it, and that he expressed the pleasure in finding his opinions confirmed by those of great men of the past : *Goch*, 184-5, 262-3; Prinsen, 13-14; Ullmann, II, 547-550; Lindeb., 55, *sq*; *Wessel*, 112-5, 280-3. Most probably the wish to provide more authority for Luther's doctrines prompted Hoen to compose a letter about the Last Supper, and send it to Wittenberg (c July 1522 : Enders, III, 424-5) apparently as if it had been found amongst Hoeck's papers : it roused suspicions, as it was in opposition with Wessel's acknowledged writings (Enders, III, 412-425; *Goch*, 184; HoopSch., 102; Wette, II, 433; *Wessel*, 112, 222, *sq*), and did not please. Consequently it was offered to Ecolampadius in

Basle after Nov. 16, 1522, by Hoen's friend Hinne Rode, who, with George Sagarus, had probably arranged the Wittenberg and the Basle reprints of the *Farrago*, the latter again with a preface by Luther (end of 1522 : Grisar, III, 938). The letter about the Eucharist was finally submitted to Zwingli, who edited it at Zurich in 1525 : Ullmann, II, 459-75, 484-5; HoopSch., 87-107; Wessel, 112; Enders, III, 412-25; Herminjard, I, 384; Lindeb., 159-62; Allen, VI, 1621, 18; *HermelMau.*, 126. Whatever may be the authenticity of those documents published on the doubtful authority of a man who probably tried to pass off his own compositions as if they were Wessels' (Enders, III, 424-5; HoopSch., 92-93; Allen, V, 1358, 26; Renaudet, 225, 254, 433), the writings attributed to that great Humanist were generally considered to have influenced the opinions of the Wittenberg group, notwithstanding Luther's very explicit denial; John Fisher expressed that suspicion in his *Defensio Sacerdotii ad Tonstallum* : Cologne, 1525 (Seck., I, 226-232; Goch, 70; *BrüdGemLeb.*, 39, 143-4; *Melanch.*, 75; Lindeb., 52, &c.). Wessel became considered as one of Luther's heralds (Ullmann, II, 532, sq; Goch, 43, 54, 64; *HermelMau.*, 56; Wessel, 280-3), and even Hoeck was suspected of having favoured heterodox doctrines : Ullmann, II, 323-6, 547. Still the presence of those documents amongst the dean of Naaldwijk's papers does not substantiate any conclusion about his own opinions, since it can be plausibly explained otherwise. Their letters, and even an impartial examining of the reproved propositions, show that they were merely matters subjected to the correction of an abler man (WessO, 864-5; Ullmann, II, 323), which lack of understanding or overhasty prepossession wrongly connected with the assertions of the Reformers : Wessel, 74, 223, sq, 232, sq, 280, sq; Goch, 184; HoopSch., 87; Lindeb., 52. Tradition is probably also mistaken in connecting Hoeck with Dorp : it has been said (WessO, [** 7] r) and repeated (*HEpU*, 424; Ullmann, II, 323; HoopSch., 87; Lindeb., 161, 227) that the dean of Naaldwijk was the uncle of the Louvain professor; that relation, however, is not men-

tioned in the latter's epitaph, printed with his *collatio* in October 1513 : Dorp *LDisc.*, [F iii] v-[F iv] r; *infra*, note to l. 420. Moreover it is hard to understand how a celebrated humanist, a keen theologian and an ardent editor of Agricola's and other authors' writings (*AgricCorr.*, 303-5; Iseghem, 248-9; *infra*, notes to ll. 420, 430; *Cran.*, 96, b) as he proved to be, should have let go out of his hands documents which he was better qualified to deal with than the Hague advocate. For although Dorp may have known Hoen, their friendship cannot have been very intimate, and certainly did not go back to the time that they were class-fellows, as it is said, under John of Delft at Utrecht : for Dorp was considerably much younger, not being forty in 1523, when Margaret of Austria mentioned Hoen as 'eagie (agé)' : HoopSch., 86; Erasmus had already praised the latter for his studies, although in *publica munera*, before 1499, when he dropped his intercourse with Cornelius Gerardi Aurelius (Burman, 247; Allen, I, 17, *pr*), at a time that Dorp was not even ready for the *trivium* in Louvain. The complete absence of all reference to that relation in this *Vita* is even more conclusive : for Morinck, as Dorp's *convictor* and Zassius' *consobrinus*, must necessarily have known of it. His evident wish to show his master's connection with the Chapter of his native town, would have made him mention, besides his friendship with one of the canons, the tie which bound him to the dean, the more so as his uncle would have been the young student's natural protector, and his efficient promotor to a prebend or a benefice.

- 117 Henricus Zassius] most probably the 'Henricus Sasse de civitate Traiectensi' who matriculated in the University of Cologne for arts in March 1446 and studied there theology : Keussen, I, 491.
- 123 Dorpiorum cognomentum] in 1523 and 1524 an Adrian van Dorp, 'scabinus', sustained with Ysbrand Oom van Wyngaerden a suit against the Delfflant lock-keepers before Mechlin Parliament : he may have been the *amicus* whom Martin van Dorp recommended to Cranevelt in

Sept. 1523 : *Cran.*, 74, 1, 85, 89; *GrConsMal.*, 823 : 437; *id.*, 312 : 72, 82, 134. Other namesakes in his country are a Cornelius van Dorpe, deputy of Delft, 1481 : *Brug&Fr.*, vi, 64; Jerome van den Dorpe, president of Gelderland Court in 1506 and 1512 : Bergh, i, 50, ii, 21; a van Dorp, appointed bailiff of Rotterdam in 1528 : HoopSch., 528; a 'Theodericus Dorpius de Hagiis', son of Julian, who matriculated in Louvain, June 25, 1529; and a 'Segerius Dorpius Hagensis', in April 1533 : *LibIntIV.*, 14 r, 55 v; further Arnoldus van Dorp, dean of St. Peter's, Utrecht, 1433 : Hoyneck, iii, i, 241; Josse van Dorp, naval captain about 1545 : Henne, iii, 238; Maria van den Dorpe, 1542 : *Mechelen*, ii, 157, 304; Jacob van Dorp, *Scabinus* of The Hague in 1564 : Fruin, 529; &c. The name evidently was not uncommon, and not even exclusive to Delft : a few weeks before Martin, on Nov. 3, 1501, matriculated in Louvain 'Cornelius filius magistri Cornelij de Dorp, de arendonck, leod. dioc.'; on April 28, 1469, 'Johannes Dorpe', of Cambrai diocese; on Sept. 4, 1553, Henricus van den Dorpe from Mechlin : *LibIntII.*, 70 v; *LibIntIII.*, 92 v; *LibIntIV.*, 294 v. A Peter Dorpius, canon of Utrecht and Antwerp, called *Brabantinus*, is criticized by Cochlaeus in a letter to John Faber Heigerlin, Oct. 28, 1534 : Friedensburg, 39; Roland van den Dorp is recorded as printer in Antwerp, 1494-7 : Lambinet, 441; 'Magister Johannes Dorp (called Adam Dorp in Louis XI.'s edict against nominalists, 1473/4), wrote a *Commentum super Summulas Buridani*, printed in 1487, 1494, 1499 : Renaudet, 92-104, &c.; Ullmann, ii, 275; *CatSél.*, 70; cp. also Keussen, iii, 310; *BB*, v, 93; *BrugCad.*, 373; *BrugTon.*, 486, 490; *Brug&Fr.*, ii, 112, iv, 437, v, 150, 272, vi, 184; Brom, i, 26, 27.

- 124 Pater] judging from the inscription in the Louvain matriculation register (*LibIntIII.*, 93 r) and the register of Man's deeds (*ArchEcclBrab.*, n° 17307 : iii v), van Dorp's father was called 'Bartholomeus Henrici'. The *Vita* makes him one of the stewards or receivers for Egmond Abbey, administrating some of the property in the southern part of Holland. Morinck had first written that, until his

last years, Dorp's father had filled a magistracy at The Hague; he crossed off that detail and replaced it by the mention of the office in the abbot's service, probably because he preferred connecting him with the famous Abbey, seeing that Dorp always prided himself on it, and made it an occasion for a constantly recurring expression of gratitude: such as that in the opening paragraph of his *Apology*: *DorpApol*, 11-14.

Although the name Dorp is not mentioned, it is evident that Martin's father is identical with the *Mees* (or *Meus*) *Henricz* — *bartolomeus henrici*, as he signs on June 18, 1513: *EgmCart.*, 154 v, — who in the deeds of the Abbot Man is repeatedly mentioned as his 'faithful vassal and steward'; from June 9, 1510, he is a party to several of the enfeoffments by which the newly-elected prelate stated his rights to, or took possession of, fees and properties situated in Delfland, Schieland and Rijnland: *EgmCart.*, 48 v, 51 v, 52 v, 53 v, 56 r, 63 v, &c. He also stepped in for the Abbey at sales and purchases, at contests and arrangements in those districts; one of two small accounts in the archives of Egmond in *AlgRijksArch.* about the management of the Abbey property there, *memorie- & kostery-goederen*, shows that Mees Henricz was already invested with that office in 1494: the second dates from 1506. From July 1510, his son William, *Willem Meesz* — who on June 18, 1513 signed *wilhelmus bartolomei*: *EgmCart.*, 154 v, — appears as *rentmeester*, steward, and vassal of Egmond Abbey together with his father: *EgmCart.*, 51 v, 61 r, 71 r, &c. He evidently had succeeded him about 1519-20, when he made up the account (now in *AlgRijksArch.*) for the property formerly managed by *Mees Henricz*, whose name appears for the last time in Abbot Man's deeds on July 31, 1518: *EgmCart.*, 112 v, for property at Boskoop.

Dorp's father was evidently prosperous, for in the records of several Delft convents (*AlgRijksArch.*) he is mentioned as buying rents. In one, dated March 1, 1501, belonging to the records of the St. Barbara Convent (regist n° 18) *mr Claes Jacobsz* and *Barbara Jacobsd*,

his sister, sell to *Bartolomees Henrixz* of *Naeldwijk* a rent of 4 *lbs* Dutch yearly from two acres of ground in Honterland, Naaldwijk : *Sernie*, 133 ; *Drossaers*, *passim*.

Bartholomew van Dorp soon afterwards left Naaldwijk and settled in The Hague, where he became councillor ; he was already a *scabinus* or alderman in 1510, with which dignity he was re-invested in 1515. To this period belongs a charter, now amongst the records of the St. James's Church of The Hague (regest n° 46 : *AlgRijks-Arch.*), dated September 13, 1515, provided with the seal of '*Mees Henrixz*', alderman. That seal has three lion's heads (cp. *infra*) and is similar to the one which Martin van Dorp used for four of his letters in the Cranevelt Collection :



Cran., 21, 74, 111, 123 ; *infra*, Epp. Martin van Dorp's seal

39, 42, 44, 46. Although the coat of arms of the 'lords' of Dorp and Benthuisen also bears three silver lion's heads with red tongues on a field of sable, quartered with a gold fesse in a field of gules, as results from the records of the noble family of Dorp, especially from those of 'Jonkheer Arend van Dorp', Governor of Zierikzee in 1573 (in *Alg-RijksArch.*), no other connection seems to exist between them and Martin or his relatives : *EgmCart.*, 51 v. His father was still a member of The Hague Council or *vroedschap* in 1517, whilst his brother Willem Meesz was treasurer in 1516 ; the latter's sons continued that tradition : John Willemsz van Dorp was alderman of his native town in 1542, and James Willemsz van Dorp, who on February 28, 1557 was admitted there as notary, was repeatedly invested with that dignity between 1544 and 1565 : J. de Riemer, *Beschrijving van 's-Gravenhage* : The Hague, 1730-37 : II, 100, sq ; Fruin, 529.

124 plerumque] prob. *dele*, as it refers to the text erased.

125 viridi senectute] about 1517 Dorp's father had been in Louvain, and meeting Erasmus in Arras College, he had had a most agreeable conversation with him. Two years later, on Nov. 28, 1519, Dorp, writing to his friend from The Hague, sent the greetings from his father, *uir senex*

ac pene octogenarius, explaining at the same time the origin of the acquaintance which he might have forgotten : DorpLPaul., 1351-55; Allen, iv, 1044, 61-64.

- 130 quorum alter &c.] to this defect, which probably made Dorp appear as squinting, ' Chonradus Nastadiensis ' alludes in his *Dialogus Bilinguim* : *DiaBiTril.*, 237.

- 139 Egidio Delpho] Gilles of Delft studied in Paris where he promoted M.A., 1479, and doctor of divinity, 1492; he was University Rector from December 1486 to March 1487. He spent the greater part of his life in Paris, studying classic authors, philosophy and the New Testament. He occasionally came to Belgium : he delivered an oration against a levy on the clergy at Bruges, 1501, and on a controversy between the clergy and the Franciscans in Ghent, 1506. He stayed for a time in Louvain, dating from the College of the Lily, May 31, 1519, his preface to his *Conclusiones in Sententias*, printed by Th. Martens, June 1519 : cp. *supra*, pp. 194, 257; EOO, i, 1013, F; Allen, ii, 456, 87; Renaudet, 118, 129, &c.; *BibBelg.*, 25; Iseghem, 233; B. Kruitwagen, in *Handelingen van het 9^e Nederlandsche Philologencongres*, 1919 : 71-74. These few details are sufficient to show that Gilles of Delft could not have been Dorp's preceptor in the last years of the fifteenth century. Evidently Morinck made a mistake in the Christian name, as results from Dorp's letter to his countrymen prefixed to the description of Holland by Chrysostomus of Naples, in which he refers to ' Ioannes Delfus præceptor meus ', who had composed a ' libellus ' about the identity of Batavia and Holland, which he proved ' coniecturis... & quidem simillimis veri '. Dorp intended editing that work, as it was worth publishing, and as it thus would save from oblivion the memory of a man who was an erudite on many subjects, but before all on history : DorpDial., F ii v. This ' Johannes Delfus ' is most probably identical with the ' Johannes Symonis de Delft, cler. Trai. dioc. ', who matriculated in Cologne on May 19, 1468, and studied arts, possibly theology : Keussen, i, 769. He taught for a time in the Hieronymus School of Utrecht (HoopSch., 33, 87), but hardly can have

- had as pupils at the same time the full-grown Cornelius Hoen and the young Dorp : cp. l. 112 n.
- 147 Hugutio] Ugucione of Pisa, or of Verceil, Bishop of Ferrara († 1212), the first commentator of Gratianus, wrote about the beginning of the thirteenth century, in connection with Papias' *Elementarium Doctrinæ Rudimentum* (about 1063), a *Liber Derivationum*, in which he grouped words by their roots according to a most fanciful etymology : *Wimpf.*, 123; *AgeEr.*, 45-8; Sandys, 1, 666.
- 147 Glossa notabilis] either the well-known biblical glossary *Mammotrectus* (μᾶμμοτρεπτος), ascribed to Marchesini of Reggio (c 1300), or one of the numerous treatises of law, amongst which the *Glossa ordinaria* of Francesco Accorso († 1260) was most famous : Sandys, 1, 667; *AgeEr.*, 53-55.
- 148 Florista] that name was given to a syntax in verse beginning with the words : *Flores grammaticæ propono scribere*, composed in 1317 by Ludolf of Luchow, canon of Hildesheim : *Wimpf.*, 109; Sandys, 1, 668.
- 148 Grecista] Everardus, or Ebrard, of Bethune, his native town, a French grammarian and controversist, was made famous through his versified grammar and vocabulary, ascribed to (1124 or) 1212; the 8th chapter, on derivations from Greek, *Græcismus*, gave its title to the whole book, and the name *Græcista* to the author : Massebieau, 20-26; *AgeEr.*, 39-41; Sandys, 1, 667; Renaudet, 28, &c.
- 148 de gradu depulsi] Erasmus, who still had studied from treatises like *Florista*, *Hugutio*, *Papias* and *Græcista*, in Deventer (Renaudet, 261), satirized them all in his *Conflictus Thaliæ* (EOO, 1, 892, E, F) and throughout his writings; cp. *AgeEr.*, 35-65.
- 153 Louanium] 'Martinus filius bertholomei de naeldwyck' matriculated in Louvain on December 4, 1501 : *LibIntIII.*, 93 r; *Excerpts*, 93.
- 155 gymnasio Liliano] in the pedagogy of the Lily, founded by Charles Viruli, Menneken, which about 1500 was the 'primum apud Lovanienses politioris literaturæ domicilium' (cp. *infra*, Ep. 12), Dorp found as regent, one of Erasmus' oldest friends, Leo Outers, and as legentes John

Maerschallck of Raetshoven, Racour, S.T.L. (*ULExTest.*, 219), Thomas Pauli, of Biervliet, possibly Paul Haghenryck, of Hoogstraeten, John de Neve, the future regent, Gerard Cannyf, of Meuwen, John Ceusters, of Brecht, Cornelius Heymans, of Axel; amongst the senior students and tutors were the famous grammarian John de Spouter, of Ninove, and the Latinist John Becker, of Borselen : cp. *supra*, pp. 125-7; *LibActArtV.*, 149 v; *Cran.*, iv; *ReusDoc.*, iv, 244-5; *BB*, D, 294, 3, 4. Nicolas Vernulæus alludes to Dorp's connection with that pedagogy : In Liliensi Gymnasio pulcherrimum ipse Lilium, & cum Rhetoricam Philosophiamque docendo gratissimum odorem effudisset, in Theologum eximium effloruit : Vern., 272.

- 157 inter præcipuos] having stood the *actus determinantæ* on Dec. 2, 1501 after finishing his course of logic, ' *Martinus van dorp de naelwyck* ' promoted M. A. on April 2, 1504, having obtained the fifth place in the competition amongst the students of the four pedagogies : *LibActArtV.*, 189 r, 212 v; *PromRs.*, 67. The student who was proclaimed the fourth was John Doye, or d'Oye, of Ouvaing, near Valenciennes : he became professor of Divinity, in which he promoted doctor on June 14, 1530 : *VAnd.*, 106, 271, 288; *Paquot*, vi, 250; *de Jongh*, 181, 19*, 20*, 40*, 55*, 60*, 61*.
- 158 post acceptum honorem] soon after his promotion of M. A., Dorp started teaching philosophy in the Lily : by the end of 1513, when dedicating the *Dialogus Veneris et Herculis* to John de Neve, he mentions his nine years' lecturing : *DorpDial.*, [A i] v. He is recorded to have often presided in the Lily at the actions preparatory to the obtaining of degrees, between June 1508 and Sept. 1511 (the records from June 1504 to June 1508 and those after Sept. 1511 being missing) : *LibActArtV.*, 279 r, 289 v, 298 v, 303 v, 305 r, 307 r, 317 r. In 1509, also on Jan. 5, 1510 and on Jan. 4, 1511 he was appointed as ' *temptator* ' or examiner of the students at the tests for the general promotion : *LibActArtV.*, 274 v, 288 v, 307 r. On Feb. 28, 1510 he was admitted to the University Council as a member of the Faculty of Arts (*VAnd.*, 102), and on Dec. 3, 1510 he delivered an *Oratio in honorem Aristotelis*

before the University, in which he vindicated scholasticism against Lorenzo Valla : cp. l. 420 *n*, and *supra*, p. 131; Iseghem, 245-6; Renaudet, 81. Three years later, on October 1, 1513, in the turn of his Faculty, he pronounced the *collatio* in the refectory of the Augustines opening the *ordinarium* of 1513/14; in the (now destroyed) *Liber V Actorum Universitatis* it read on f 250 v: 'Ipso die Remigii et Bauonis <Oct. 1, 1513> post collationem latinam nomine et ex parte facultatis artium per <Mgr. M.> Dorpium de Naeldwyck factam, et statutorum Uniuersitatis publicationem, tenta fuit Congregatio Uniuersitatis'; — after which the assembly went to attend the University Mass, probably in St. Peter's : cp. l. 420, and *supra*, pp. 136-7; de Jongh, 51-52; *ULStat.*, 604.

- 161 Dialecticis] cp. further ll. 185-192. Referring to his teaching in the Lily Dorp, writing to his regent John de Neve, said that he had exercised his knowledge of classic Latin : 'dum Dialecticam docerem, eamque, vt Aristotelicam, ita adeo perplexam, flexuosam : anfractibusque ancipitem, vt nisi acerrimum intendas ingenium nunquam expedire queas' : Dorp*Dial.*, [A i] v. Cp. Mol., 581, *sq.*
- 162 libellum] probably a textbook or *compendium* for the use of his students.
- 163 Physicis &c.] in the dedicatory letter to the *Dialogus Veneris et Herculis* he mentions that he studied Latin classics 'dum naturæ miracula & ipse accuratius exquirerem : & auditoribus explanarem' : Dorp*Dial.*, [A i] v. More, knowing of this interest, mentions in his admonitory letter of October 1515 the translation of Aristotle's *Meteorologica* by Th. Linacre : More*Luc.*, 416; Allen, III, 868, 70.
- 176 Petrus Curtius] Peter de Corte, of Bruges, was Dorp's pupil in the Lily from 1509 (he matriculated on Sept. 3, 1509 : *Excerpts*, 96) to 1513, in which year he obtained on April 16 the second place in the general promotion of M. A., Morinck himself being the first : *PromRs.*, 70; he passed the final acts for that degree, the *inceptio* and *birretatio* under 'Mgro. Martino Dorpio in S.Theol. Bacc. formato' on July 11, 1513. On October 2, 1515 he was admitted to the council of the Faculty of Arts, also with

- Morinck : *AFAExtr.*, 85-86. Successively he was *legens* and *regens* in the Lily, pleban of St. Peter's and professor of divinity, and finally first bishop of Bruges : *Cran.*, 83, *a-h*; *supra*, p. 130, and *infra*, note to l. 711; Paquot, iv, 440, vii, 403; VOO, vii, 184.
- 176 nuper] Peter de Corte promoted licenciate in divinity on June 5, 1526 : de Jongh, 53*; *Cran.*, 188, ⁸⁻¹³, 189, ⁵, 191, ²³.
- 177 Georgius Gandauus] George de Backere of Ghent, a student of the Lily, obtained the first place in the promotion of M. A. for the year 1511 : *PromRs.*, 69, and fulfilled the last act for that degree, the *inceptio*, on July 23, 1511, Dorp presiding : *LibActArtV.*, 311 v, 317 r. He afterwards studied divinity, became licenciate, and was appointed to the first vacancy of the Abbot of Egmond — evidently through Dorp — on March 10, 1517 : *LibNomI.*, 84 v, 119 r, v, 160 r. He afterwards became parish-priest of St. James, Ghent, as well as canon of St. Bavo's of that town; he died Sept. 25, 1554 : Hellin, 162, 323.
- 178 principem] Dorp in his dedicatory letter to the *Dialogus Veneris et Herculis* mentions that he had many pupils : 'ingenio tamen quam numero magis estimandis, vtpote flandris, ex quibus aliquot etiam ad primam, e<l> primæ proximam (quæ hic in medio est posita) studiorum palmam meo sedulitate perduxì' : Dorp*Dial.*, [A i]v. Besides the eminent pupils already recorded (*supra*, pp. 129-30) Dorp had amongst his audience from 1504 to 1510, the son of the Louvain secretary, Louis de Schore, who illustrated himself as lawyer, and became member of Mechlin Parliament and President of the Council of State. On Nov. 13, 1524 Dorp recommended this new colleague to Cranevelt and expressed the hearty affection that united pupil and former master : *Cran.*, 110, *c-f*, ¹⁰, *sq*, 123, ⁵⁷⁻⁶⁶. Another illustrious pupil was John de Fevyn, of Furnes, who as canon and scholaster of Bruges continued Dorp's teaching and followed with great interest his moves towards, and away from, Erasmus : *Cran.*, xxxvi-xlii, 91, ¹⁷⁻²⁰. About the same time as de Fevyn there was amongst Dorp's auditors the son of Jerome de Busleyden's sister, 'Cornelius Erfdorf de Lussenburgo', as he is noted

down in the matriculation register on Aug. 31, 1506 : *LibInt* III., 128 v. This young man, later on entrusted to the exclusive care of Becker (Allen, II, 320, ¹¹⁻²³), did not answer his uncle's expectations; he unfortunately died prematurely : *BuslOp.*, 134-6, 140-1, 201, 203-5, 244-250. Without doubt, besides a common love of good letters, he was as an introduction to the great Maecenas : after Becker had communicated the *complementum* to Plautus' comedy, Busleyden took an interest in Dorp's literary achievements, insisting on their being printed, and praising effusively each of the forthcoming booklets. The *Tomus Aululariæ* being dedicated to him in the last weeks of 1513, Dorp avails himself of the occasion to thank his literary patron, who invited him, on his next journeys to Holland, to stay and reside 'in edes... artificio quidem ornatissimas, sed domini humanissima liberalitate ornatior(e)s' : Dorp *Dial.*, D ii r, v, and *infra*, Dorp's *Correspondence*.

- 181 Carneades] Valerius Maximus, *De Dictis et Factis Memorabilibus*, VIII, vii, 5 : Ita... ut, quum cibi capiendi causa <Carneades> recubisset, cogitationibus inhærens manum ad mensam porrigere oblivisceretur : *Invl.*, 106.
- 183 Solon] allusion to Plutarch, *Vita Solonis*, II.
- 186 si modo &c.] Morinck must have felt the dubiousness of the praise that he was bestowing : probably on that account he crossed off the passage ' *Vis exponibilia* ' (l. 188) to *maior fuerit* (l. 192) of the first draught, which has been reproduced here between square brackets to show Dorp's former dispositions towards the branch of learning which he afterwards condemned. Morinck's testimony is most interesting : as he was a student of the Castle, he had not had Dorp as his regular reader in philosophy : still he must have attended some of his debates, at least those of the *Quodlibeticæ*, which were the best means to bring out the qualities of a sophist; it thus appears that for a good while Dorp was considered to be the ablest, even the invincible, debater in Louvain, which naturally flattered his native pride, and explains his eagerness in the pursuit of a fame which was diametrically opposed to his achievements as humanistic professor.

- 193 hanc postea oderit] Dorp condemned the *sophisticen* as useless and dangerous in several passages of his introduction to St. Paul's Epistles (Dorp*LPaul.*, 594-792), of his letters (cp. l. 201 *n*), and of his apology to the abbot Man (Dorp*Apol.*, 297-384); in that memoir he mentions how some of his own masters tried to keep the students away from those childish and wasteful 'meditationes': Dorp*Apol.*, 318-323. Consequently he seems to have neglected their advice, possibly through a wish to prove worthy of his appointment as *legens*; more probably in consequence of his natural propensity to vanity, to which no more welcome incentive could be found than these continual grapplings and jousts against all kind of adversaries about all kinds of subjects, not by the power of comprehension, but by the ability in the use of intricate syllogisms, which made them fall far short of the real truth-loving debates: no doubt it was on that account that Dorp later on regretted having spent so much time on that degenerate philosophy. Cp. Dorp*LDisc.*, [A 6] v.
- 201 epistolis] e. g., his letter to Cranevelt, written in the beginning of January 1524: *Cran.*, 85, 114, 117-121, 126-135, 258, and the one to Lethmaat, of December 29, 1522, reproduced amongst the *Correspondence*: Ep. 40.
- 202 in quarum vna] evidently his Apology to Meinard Man: written in the form of a letter: Dorp*Apol.*, 297-384.
- 203 tyranni Siculi] Horace, *Epist.*, 1, 2, 58. Cp. Erasmus' *Apo-phthegma* about Dionysius II tyrannus Siciliae: <dixit> se multos alere Sophistas, non quod illos admiraretur, sed quod per illos admirabilis esse studeret: EOO, IV, 236, F.
- 204 vniuersam... philosophiam] evidently, before all, sound dialectics: Dorp*Apol.*, 385, *sq.*
- 206 frugifera] cp. Dorp*Apol.*, 385-410.
- 210 non desidendum hic &c.] cp. Dorp*Apol.*, 411-417.
- 230 leuiter attigisse &c.] in his Apology to Man, Dorp insists on shortening the time generally spent on the so-called philosophy: Dorp*Apol.*, 398-422; cp. de Jongh, 189-190.
- 237 in literis bonis] Dorp started teaching 'rhetorics' in the Lily, at least on his appointment as *legens*, and he followed the lead of John Maerschalk, John Ceusters and John

de Spouter, who, breaking off with the antiquated method of teaching Latin from Alexander de Villedieu's treatise on grammar, had begun checking his statements and rules by comparing them with the language and constructions of the originals, which led to de Spouter's famous treatises. Dorp went one step further in that direction, and based his teaching exclusively on literary texts; still he was cruelly handicapped in his choice, having to resort to the comedies of Plautus and Terence, which nowadays are banished from the forms as much for philological reasons as for their baneful influence on ethics. On that account several masters of the sixteenth century were led to create texts which, ranging from Reuchlin's *Henno* (1497) to Stymmelius' *Studentes* (1545), were more appropriate to Christian youths. Nor had Dorp responded to another impulsion when he wrote his *Dialogus Veneris et Herculis*.

- 238 propemodum primus] Dorp was the first in Louvain to break off with the tradition of explaining only parts of texts and quotations from *collectanea*, let alone of making the whole training consist in reading and commenting some *Florista* or *Græcista*. Still he was not the first protagonist of Renaissance in the Belgian schools : brisk as the relations between this country and Italy were in those days, it cannot have lasted long before the want of a more rational teaching of Latin was felt by Petrarch's countrymen who had settled in our towns, or by Belgians who had spent some time on the other side of the Alps, and had enjoyed the lectures of a Marsuppini or a Guarino. To be true, a lesson of Latin, called *Rhetorica*, had been instituted in the Faculty of Arts at the creation of the new prebends in St. Peter's by the grant of Eugene IV. in 1443; it was remunerated by one of these prebends, under the joint management of the Town authorities and the Faculty. The first 'Rhetor' John Block was appointed on Oct. 7, 1444; on March 4, 1446 it was decided that the lectures, fixed on Tuesday and Thursday afternoons, were to be given in the School of Arts, and to be attended by all Bachelors of Arts, as the Rhetor was to testify by signa-

ture. At Block's decease, 1453, the Arts tried to interest the other Faculties in that lecture, as it had been instituted for the general benefit; they wanted their help to appoint an eloquent man of a wider culture, who could interest the students of various sciences, and whose fame should adorn the University. Still, as the Town authorities meanwhile had nominated a successor, whom the dean of the Chapter had accepted, no difficulties were raised, and the Louvain senate and mayors remained in possession of the right to appoint the *Rhetor*: VAnd., 245-7. No doubt that 'home-baked' Latinist disappointed all those who had ever heard a Filelfo or a Lorenzo Valla; at any rate the dissatisfaction with the teaching of Latin extended chiefly amongst the richer and more refined of the *cives academici* (Prinsen, 121); in so much that at the request of the Faculty of Civil Law, and on the advice of the Duke and Duchess of Brabant Maximilian and Mary, the Town authorities decided on founding a second lecture of Rhetorics on January 19, 1478. That was the genesis of the lesson of Latin Literature, called *Poetica*, 'poeterien', to distinguish it from that of the Arts, '*Rhetorica*', and for which the Louvain town authorities paid an annual fee of 'xl. peters' or 50 crowns. The spirit which caused that new chair to be created, unmistakably revealed itself at the appointment of the lecturer who was to fill it. The first professor was Ludovicus Bruno, *Brunus*, of Acqui, doctor of laws and poet-laureate, who matriculated on July 31, 1477: VAnd., 167. He afterwards became Bishop of Acqui, 1483-1508 (*PastPäpste*, III, 29), and served Maximilian for several years as *orator* or ambassador, although, when necessary, he could safeguard the interests of the Church and the Pope: *PastPäpste*, III, 912-16; *Savonarola*, 356; H. Ulmann, *Kaiser Maximilian I., auf urkundlicher Grundlage dargestellt*: Stuttgart, 1884-91: I, 411. Some of his poems about Maximilian's coronation, his entry in Belgium and his marriage — which may have brought him to the Emperor's notice — were long kept in Tournai Cathedral: VAnd., 167; *BibBelgMan.*, I, 212. Bruno started teaching in January 1478, and gave full

satisfaction to his auditors ; consequently his yearly wage of 50 crowns was raised on Febr. 3, 1479, so as to allow him to keep a footman. Judging from the accounts, he taught regularly for over eight years : he is mentioned as having been paid the last time for a period ending on June 11, 1486, and he took his final leave on June 17, 1486, to enter on his new duties : *ArchLouv.*, 3983 : 78 r to 83 r ; Tiraboschi, vi, 990 ; FernE, [c 6] r, v. As his successor was appointed another poet, said to have been born at ' Peedemont ', namely Cornelius Vitellius, who, against a stipend of 30 guilders, started lecturing on February 1, 1487 : when on Nov. 24, 1487, part of his wages were paid in advance, Nicolas Viruli of the ' leelye ', evidently Charles's son (cp. *supra*, pp. 125, 181-2 ; *Excerpts*, 96, 98 ; *ChronCartLov.*, 448 v ; *Lib-NomI.*, 108 r, 125-177), stood warrant in case of decease or departure from Louvain before the money was earned ; unfortunately all further records about his teaching are missing : *ArchLouv.*, 3983 : 83 r ; Tiraboschi, vi, 1128. This Vitellio was born from a noble family of Corneto, or Cortona, in the Romagna ; having lectured in Venice, he had had to leave on political grounds, and came to Oxford in 1475, where he was appointed lecturer of Greek in New College : chancellor Chaundler, who had engaged him, also pronounced the oration in reply to his inaugural lesson. He does not appear to have enjoyed great success, which Erasmus seems to have attributed to his limited abilities (EOO, i, 1010, c) ; he remained, however, several years, although not until 1489, for he evidently was at work before that time in Louvain as professor of ' poetry '. From Louvain he probably was invited to Paris in 1489 ; he did not stay very long : for Balbi drew him into his quarrel with the newly-arrived Andrelini, who accused Vitelli of corrupting Latin in his writings. By the end of 1489 he had left Paris, and in 1491 he was again professor of Greek in Exeter College, Oxford : probably he worked there at his commentaries on classical authors : Schirmer, 79, 80, 163, 170, 173 ; *DNB* ; *Budé*, 22-3 ; L. Thuasne, *Roberti Gaguini Epistolae et Orationes* : Paris, 1903 :

i, 84, 92, *sq*; Renaudet, 122. He may have continued or taken up again his lecturing in Louvain during the intervening two years (1489-1491) : at any rate no other professor of Latin seems to have been appointed there after Cornelio Vitellio until December 1, 1492, when the services of Francis of Crema, *Cremensis*, were secured, who matriculated on January 11, 1493 (*Excerpts*, 91). That lesson of 'poetry', still belonging to the Faculty of Law, thus existed by the side of the lesson of Rhetorics in the Faculty of Arts, then given by John des Marais, Paludanus, who, since 1490 was Rhetor or *Professor Rhetoricæ*, and who, as a worthy friend and host of Erasmus, worked his teaching up to the height of his Italian colleagues, in such a way that he even made the lecture of 'poetry' seem superfluous after a few years, whereas he continued his lesson with great success and renown until his death in 1526 : *Analectes*, xxxix, 277-293; *Cran.*, 1, c; de Jongh, 73-74; *ArchLouv.*, 3984 : 160 r, v. Francis of Crema, a poet-laureate, was also a learned lawyer : about 1472 and 1475, he had written and published his *Singularia* at Bologna. He filled the post of professor until April 1499 ; he offered a hearty hospitality to Erasmus on his passing through Louvain in June 1498 : Allen, 1, 76, ₃₁. He was afterwards appointed as preceptor to Charles V., thus working for a time with Adrian of Utrecht after 1507, as he writes in his *Assedio di Cividale dell' anno 1509* (Venice, 1859). He spent the later years of his life in that Civaldel del Friuli, and died there on July 14, 1525 : Tiraboschi, v, 93-4. — The readership of poetry, vacant since 1499, was granted in the summer of 1504 to Balthasar Hockma, or Hockema, who occupied that post until November 1510, when he left Louvain : *Analectes*, xxxix, 285-6. — The Louvain magistrates, impressed with the success of Dorp's teaching and its efficiency, shown by his public representations of classic dramas, offered to him that lecture, and to induce him to accept, they stipulated that the stipend should be much higher than ever had been paid before. Dorp refers to that offer in the dedicatory letter of his *Oratio de Laudibus S. Pauli* to Beatus Rhenanus, Sept. 22, 1519, adding that

many men of note can attest to it; he says that it was made 'annos abhinc decem' : that statement suggests that Hockema already thought of leaving in 1509, which supposition is made verisimilar by Dorp's mention that the post was offered by the Town authorities at a time that he did not expect it in the least : 'publica professio', he wrote, 'mihi ne cogitanti quidem tale quicquam... ultro... oblata' : RE, 175. Still the *annos... decem* may be meant approximatively, and refer to 1510; at any rate John Briart and his colleagues, the professors of divinity — most likely the *optimæ fidei viri*, who can testify to all this, — persuaded him to abandon the teaching of letters, which he had started so successfully, and, instead, to take up earnestly the study of theology, at which he had meanwhile been nibbling. At any rate Dorp did not accept the appointment, and John Paludanus was entrusted with the lectures of Latin literature, the 'poetry', for the Faculty of Law, in addition to those for the Faculty of Arts : he consequently was renumera- ted for the latter by his prebend in St. Peter's, and for the former by annual wages of '.xl. peters' paid to him from Nov. 1510 to 1522 : after that year no further mention is made of that stipend neither in the accounts for him, nor in those for his successor, and the lecture itself is not any longer referred to : *Analectes*, xxxix, 285-293; de Jongh, 73-74. Those lectures of Latin, which at least from 1478 to 1498 were given in Louvain by disciples of the great promoters of refined language and literature of Italy, themselves erudites and clever professors, had an immense influence on the studying youth, as Dorp gratefully recorded in his *collatio* : DorpLDisc., [A 5] r ; history has failed to mention them, and rash insufficiency has proclaimed absolute independence of humanism in this country from Italian renaissance (*Wimpf.*, 13; Renaudet, 265). Still they constitute the glorious links between the generation that wrote the helpless Latin of the University records of the first half of the xvth century, and that which hailed Dorp and Erasmus : without a Bruno or a Crema, there would not have been a Ceusters nor a Becker, and

Garland's *Compendium* would not have been thrown aside so soon for de Spouter's treatises.

- 239 Plauti] Having lectured on the *Aulularia* in 1508, Dorp gave more reality to his explanations and an effective practice to his pupils, by making them act that comedy in public, as Pomponius Lætus is said to have done in his Academy in Rome : Tiraboschi, VI, 896; Nève *Mém.*, 118-121. To that effect he composed a *complementum* to the fragmentary play, as well as a prologue and a short invitation to attend the performance in the big schoolroom of the Lily on the Sunday of the annual Louvain fair, September 3, at nine in the morning : Dorp *Dial.*, D iii r-E i r. As the performance had given complete satisfaction, the master shortly afterwards represented the *Miles* or *Pyrgopolinices*; on that occasion, he again composed a prologue, as well as an invitation in verse, requesting thereby the audience not to dine or drink too copiously, so that they might be saturated by the play which the 'Gre^x Lilianus' was going to act in their big class-room at two o'clock on that 'bacchico die', — evidently Shrove-Tuesday, February 20, 1509 : Dorp *Dial.*, [E ii] v-F i r. It seems as if the only objection raised against the representation of those plays was the choice of their author — almost as much for his not being a Christian, as for his lack of refinement. Indeed the century in which Dorp lived, judged by another standard than we do at present, as results from a glance at the comedies and the writings even of men as religious and as exacting as Peter Nanning, the author of *Vinctus*. Consequently, a few months later Dorp wrote and represented a *Dialogus* in which a young man is advised to flee vice and practice work and virtue : that Christian theme is represented as a temptation into which Hercules is led by beings whom we scarcely will meet as such in modern textbooks; and victory is not due to real virtue, but to a completely hedonistic consideration : cp. *supra*, pp. 128-9. At any rate the influence of those representations was very great : they were praised by letters to the enterprising *ludimagister*, and even more by imitation : for, like his friend Adrian Bar-

- landus in Louvain, so the teachers in the principal towns of the country gave similar representations : ‘ adeo... vt & crebris litteris & in celeberrimis etiam oppidis actionis calculo <viri doctissimi> comprobrauerint ’ : *DorpDial.*, D ii v; *StuCE*, 196); in so much that if Deventer reprinted Plautus and Seneca’s plays, it was Louvain that provided the example of that most effective way of making students fully enter into the subjects of their studies : *NèveMém.*, 117-121, 398-401; *Creizenach*, II, 55-57; *Massebieau*, 48, 154-5; *Rottier*, 24-6; also *infra*, notes to ll. 423 and 424.
- 240 *Dialogum Veneris &c.*] cp. further, note to l. 426, and *supra*, p. 129; also as the author of humanistic or neo-Latin drama, *Dorp* was the very first in the Netherlands : *Creizenach*, II, 57.
- 268 *Joannes Briardus*] *John Briart*, *Briaert*, of Belœil, near Ath, *Athenis*, matriculated on Aug. 30, 1478, as a student of the Falcon (*LibIntII.*, 135 r), in which pedagogy he taught philosophy for several years, entering on that account the University Council on January 6, 1495 : *LibActArtV.*, 133 v; he promoted Doctor of Divinity on February 11, 1500, thanks to the generosity of Margaret of York, who appointed him as one of her ‘ domesticos consiliarios ’ : *PF*, I, 52; *de Jongh*, 150. In 1506 he succeeded *John Bourgeois*, who resigned his professorship in Theology and his prebend in St. Peter’s on becoming bishop of Cyrenen and suffragan of the Bishop of Liège : *VAnd.*, 78, 93. He took a leading part in the Faculty of Divinity, especially after the departure of *Adrian of Utrecht*, whose friend he was, and whom he replaced for years as Vice-chancellor of the University : cp. *Cran.*, 76, a, 81, a, 213, d; *supra*, pp. 116-7. Although small of size and weakly in constitution, *Briart* exercised a great influence on students and colleagues (*supra*, pp. 135-6), on account of his wide erudition and his strong character, which at any opposition developed a wild irascibility : *ZwOL*, VII, 387. He was not averse to the study of languages and literature, and felt for the new movement, although divinity and the weal of faith and Church was to him of paramount importance. When *Erasmus* left Cambridge for

Brabant, Briard felt the antagonist in the smallish and weakly man, and started the fight vicariously through his pupil Dorp, evidently with a view to prevent the editing of the *Novum Instrumentum* (cp. *supra*, p. 144). When at the appearance of that dreaded book, his apprehensions vanished, he decidedly wanted to make up for the past suspicion and for the difficulties caused. He himself was not blind to the abuses in the Church, as results from his *Questio Quodlibetica* about the dispensations and indulgences granted against contributions towards the costs of dikes, which his antagonists printed in October 1519 in Leipzig, evidently to favour Luther's cause : de Jongh, 95-7. At any rate he opened the venerable Faculty of Divinity to Erasmus, who accepted the offer (Allen, III, 663, ¹⁰¹⁻²), and considered Briard from then on as his preceptor and his protector, although the name he had given to him in the period of struggle, *Ate, Noxa*, stuck. For although Briard, with one short exception (cp. *supra*, p. 194), was in full agreement with Erasmus (*supra*, pp. 198-200) and procured him a peaceful sojourn in Louvain ¹⁾; although he did what he could to avoid

¹⁾ The stay of Erasmus in Louvain from June 1517 to Autumn 1521 has been — ignorantly or maliciously — represented as a period of unspeakable sufferings : the University is represented as a camp of foes, as a place covered by threatening clouds &c. (Reich, 201), although he writes on Nov. 16, 1519 : *nec unquam vixi magis ex animi mei sententia* : Allen, III, 714, ²⁴⁻⁵. Certain it is that with the short exception of the days of September 1519, he enjoyed there a peaceful sojourn in the midst of the theologians — not to mention the great number of staunch and affectionate friends and admirers — from June 1517 to the beginning of 1520 : de Jongh, 144. Even in 1520 and 1521 he did not live in the hostile atmosphere which is depicted e. g., by Altmeier, Nisard, Rottier (181), and especially by Kalkoff, who sees 'terroristische Mitglieder' and 'Heisssporne' (Kalk *AnfGeg.*, I, 69-81 ; Kalk *VPoLE.*, 24, sq) in all those who were of a different opinion : the most conclusive proof that the sensitive Erasmus, notwithstanding the annoyance of irritating and short-sighted contradictors, did not find life so unbearable in Louvain, is that he wanted Goclenius and Dorp to hire a house for him, a *nidum paratum*, on June 8, 1521, and that, when he went to Basle to see through the press works which neither Martens nor Hillen could take in hand, there was so little appearance of him being chased from Louvain, or driven out of the country, that he left his books and his

any friction, he could not prevent the suspicions he had helped to create, from subsisting and increasing amongst some theologians (*Cran.*, 152, 2); and whereas there was never any dissension between the great Humanist and the Faculty as a body, and even the chief professors, personal grievances made some of the contradictors so excited that they searched for flaws in his writings or utterances, and cruelly availed themselves of the advantages offered by their position and by the orders to which they belonged. In the last weeks of his life Briart did what he could to stem those criticisms, and even declared himself to be at peace and in friendship with Erasmus (*supra*, p. 226). He died on January 8, 1520, and was buried in the chapel of the Carthusians, amongst whom he had some friends (*ChronCartLov.*, 461 r). Some of his *Quæstiones Quodlibeticæ* were printed in August 1518 by Th. Martens, and once again, joined to those of his friend Adrian of Utrecht. Vives dedicated to him his *Genethliacon* on Jan. 1, 1519. He founded a scholarship in the Holy Ghost College by means of a rent on the house which he possessed in Provost Street; it had once belonged to Adrian of Utrecht, and after he had come to live there — at least since 1515 —, it got the name of *tHuys van Aeth*; it was bought in 1589 by John of Stryen, to become part of the Royal College of Philip II. : *LibNomI.*, 74 r; *ULExTest.*, 196; *FUL*, 1660, 1807, 1838, 3332-3; *Mol.*, 500, 510, 623; *VAnd.*, 97, 121, 290; *Bib-Belg.*, 467-8; *PF*, I, 52; *Paquot*, II, 50, XIII, 45; *BaxH*, II, 175; *Iseghem*, 233, 237, 246, 284; *Analectes*, XIV, 292; *Bludau*, 74-5, 81-84, 93; *Allen*, III, 670, 852, 62, IV, 1029, 3, 1053, 296; *Bonilla*, 73; *de Jongh*, 149-52. — The 'Magister Johannes de Aeth', canon of Breda, who died on Sept. 20, 1496 (*Hoyneck*, III, i, 399), is evidently a different person : *cp.* *Keussen*, III, 174; *PF*, I, 52; *ULExTest.*, 258.

furniture in his room in the Lily, and deposited his accumulating savings in the hands of his friend Goclenius, so as to find a home on his return to Brabant, which his friends were yearning for, and which he contemplated until his dying day : *Allen*, IV, 1209, 1-5, 1233, 188, 1239, 19, V, 1257, 10, 1322, 1351, &c.

- 269 ad theologiam euocasset] in the last months of 1513, in his dedicatory letter of the *Dialogus Veneris et Herculis* to John de Neve, Dorp declares that he had decided on dividing his activity equally between philosophy and good letters, and had even acted upon it for a time, when Briart called him and advised him 'efficacissimis... monitis... vt a poeticis blandimentis, in sacrosanctæ Theologiæ castra deficere<t>', thus making it impossible for him to devote as much time as he had wished to literature : Dorp*Dial.*, [A i] v, A ii r. A few weeks later, on February 11, 1514, dedicating to Briart his *Concio* he asks : To whom should I offer the *primitiæ* of my theological studies except to you 'qui oscitabundum alioqui me, & quum Poetarum deliciis, tum Philosophantium argutiis immersum nunquam destitisti quodam vocis tuæ quasi classico ad sacræ Theologiæ palestram excitare' : Dorp*Con.*, [A i] v. Still that Briart was not the only one who induced Dorp to study theology, follows from what he wrote on October 5, 1513, to Meinard Man, whom he thanks for having made him abandon the wild schools for the study of theology : 'tu me scholaribus tumultibus eripuisti', he wrote, 'tu sacræ theologiæ mancipasti' : Dorp*LDisc.*, A ii v ; cp. *supra*, pp. 132-3. Especially he owed to Man the appointment to a benefice, which was not the least reason why he had abandoned literature for divinity : Dorp*Apol.*, 5-11 ; Dorp*DedQuotl.*, 34-8 ; *CollectGeld.*, 151. Once the decision had been taken, Briart kept Dorp under his protection : he introduced him to the Faculty for his degree of *baccalaureus biblicus* ; he was the 'licentiæ gradus auctor, impulsor & dator', as Dorp gratefully declared in the dedication of the *Concio*, Feb. 11, 1514, thanking him for doing more than his own father, *parens animæ ac recte vivendi*, and not only *corporis viuendique* : Dorp*Con.*, [A i] v ; cp. *supra*, pp. 133-5.
- 276 Protagoræ] cp. note to l. 301.
- 279 si literæ &c.] a similar argument is developed by Dorp in his *Apologia* about the inanity of learning 'disciplinæ' which are never put to use : Dorp*Apol.*, 398-410.
- 295 quando laurea donatus] on June 27, 1510, Dorp was

- S. Theol. Baccalarius* (*LibActArtV.*, 298 v), evidently *biblicus* (cp. *supra*, p. 134); on Aug. 4, 1511 he is recorded as *S. Th. Baccalaureus formatus* (*ArchEcclBrab.*, 17307: v, r). The title of *S. Th. Licenciatus* is used for the first time for the *Concio de diue virginis Assumptione*, published by Th. Martens on Febr. 18, 1514, whereas on the preceding publication *De Laudibus... Disciplinarum*, brought out on Oct. 14, 1513, he is merely called *theologus*: Iseghem, 240, 245. Consequently he promoted Licentiate in Theology between Oct. 14, 1513 and February 18, 1514, probably in the last part of 1513, which coincides with the indication given on ll. 293-5 as to his 28 years of age. As has been mentioned already (*supra*, p. 151), the date of his *laurea* or doctorate is unknown: for certain he promoted before August 30, 1515, when he was admitted to the Council of the Faculty (de Jongh, 39*), whereas on September 30 following, he was allowed to lecture and was endowed with a prebend of the second foundation in St. Peter's, succeeding to Lucas Walteri de Conitio (*Lib-NomI.*, 75 v, 83 v; *ULExTest.*, 216): VAnd., 78; de Jongh, 40*. On Febr. 29, 1516 he was appointed by his colleagues as their deputy for the election of the rector, or, in the academic style, 'datus est *intrans* ex facultate theologiae (VAnd., 31) dominus ac magister *Martinus Dorpius*', according to a note taken from the *Liber Actorum Univ. Lovan. Quintus*, destroyed in 1914: FUL, 54.
- 297 gymnasij munia] evidently the lectures, *responsiones* and other exercises prescribed by the Statutes of the Faculty: Mol., 1014-5, 1018-9; which he declared to have done in his justification to Man: *DorpApol.*, 448-455; *supra*, p. 134.
- 299 ad omnia natum &c.] Dorp's ability in debating and objecting, and his great aptitude in using speech and syllogism, which is attested to in several other passages of this *Vita* (cp. ll. 262, *sq.*, 349, *sq.*), shows the inanity of the supposition that he should have been deprived of the rhetorical ability to defend his sympathy for Luther against his colleagues in 1520, because he humbly apologizes for not being more eloquent in his *Oratio* to vindic-

cate the advantage of classical studies for the better understanding of the Bible. The fact that at the meetings of the Faculty of Divinity of July 28 and Aug. 4, 1520, much was discussed and no decision reached, does not imply a 'rhetorische Unfertigkeit' in the one who was to be reprimanded : KalkVPolEr., 24.

- 301 Carneades] Seneca, *Epist. Mor.*, xiii, 88, 43, records a similar aptitude of Protagoras : 'ait de omni re in utramque partem disputari posse ex æquo'. The danger of Carneades' being able to persuade anything, is indicated by Cato in Plutarch's *Vitae : Marcus Cato*, xxxv.
- 313 in quæstionibus quotlibeticis] Dorp was *quodlibetarius* one December after July 1516 and before Sept. 1519, as results from an allusion in his *Oratio de Laudibus Pauli*; he then would have defended the necessity of the knowledge of Greek and of comparing the Vulgate with the Greek texts, as was well known, had it not been for the fear of offending some people by that novelty taught by a novice : 'ne quorundam aures nouitas offenderet, a me præsertim profecta homine (ut ipsis uisus sum) nouo' : DorpLPaul., 971-8.
- 329 Doctrina Christiana] in ch. 7 of bk. iv : AugO, iii, 93-95.
- 335 oratio] the *Oratio in prælectionem epistolarum Diui Pauli*, which was published by Michael Hillen, Antwerp, on September 27, 1519, had been the introduction to his vacatual lectures : *supra*, 160, sq; NèveMém., 69, 126-28.
- 352 Periclis] Plutarch's *Vitae : Pericles*, x; DorpLDisc., [A s] v. Cp. *Cran.*, 85, 156.
- 371 gregem curæ suæ concreditum] already about 1509 Dorp had tried to obtain a benefice, evidently to provide for his living and studying in Louvain. He had applied to Jerome de Busleyden : after a first unsuccessful attempt, the latter advised him to secure against a pension a certain living, which then was held by a Burgundian theologian, the brother of an imperial secretary : two letters of Busleyden to Dorp refer to that scheme, one dated Dec. 29, probably 1509, the other a few weeks later : BuslOp., 268-70, 215-7; cp. *infra*, *Correspondence*, ns. 5 and 6. The scheme apparently was never executed, and

Dorp turned to the friend of his family, Meinard Man; possibly Briart seconded him in his application. At any rate, on Saturday, Aug. 9, 1511, in the abbatial hall of Egmond John de Noortich, canon in the collegiate chapel of the castle of The Hague, freely resigned in favour of Martin van Dorp, son of Bartholomew Henrici, *S. Th. Baccalarius formatus*, and *clericus* of the Utrecht diocese, the church and parish of Overschie, near Schiedam; the abbot Man, who authenticated that act, proposed him as the *personatus* of that church to the archdeacon of Utrecht diocese : *ArchEcclBrab.*, 17307 : *iiii v, v r*. That rectorate, secured thanks to the beneficent protection of Meinard Man, was the *amplum sacerdotium* which procured Dorp the *ocium ad studia tranquillum*, to which he gratefully referred in his dedication of his *Oratio in Laudem Omnium Artium* : October 5, 1513 : *Dorp-LDisc.*, A ii v; *DorpApol.*, 6-7. Several years later when Peter Opmeer described how the Carthusian monk Judocus of Schoonhoven, one of the Gorcum Martyrs, 1572, fleeing from his pursuers, reached the village of 'Ouwerschich', he mentions Dorp : 'pagus hic quinque millia distat ab urbe Delphensi, ubi quondam pastoralis sacerdotio functus est Martinus Dorpius Naeldubicenus, Poeta ac Theologus insignis : quem etiam defunctum D. Erasmus eleganti Epitaphio prosecutus est' : *OpmHistMart.*, 35. It has been said that Dorp also possessed the rectorate of Schiedam : *BatSacr.*, II, 205, 247; F.V. Goethals, *Lectures relatives à l'histoire des sciences et des lettres en Belgique* : Bruxelles, 1837 : I, 41-42; *NèveRen.*, 175; Altmeier, I, 320; still Schiedam is clearly a mistake for Overschie, which seems to be the only parish entrusted to his care. He evidently made use of a *locum tenens*, and the lengthy stays which he made in his native country, may have been occasioned not only by the wish to visit his father and his family then living at The Hague, but also to supervise his parish in the near neighbourhood. Probably on one of such visits he was ordained at Utrecht; as a licenciate in divinity he was supposed to be "ad aliquem sacrum ordinem... promotus" (*Mol.*, 1019), and

he is mentioned for the first time as a *presbyter traieciensis dioceseos* in the minutes of the Faculty of Arts nominating her members to benefices in the case of their falling vacant, on the strength of the privilege which had been granted to them by Leo X. on Sept. 19, 1513 : FUL, 4680-81. On Thursday, June 14, 1515 'M. Martinus Dorp de Naeltwyck presbyter traieciensis dioceseos, artium magister, et jn sacra theologia licentiatu, vndecim annis promotus, quj plusquam sex annis legit, de concilio Facultatis <Artium> existens', was nominated and admitted in due form to the future collation of the Abbot of Egmond, in presence of the witnesses John Hosdy, of Valenciennes, and John of Chièvres, both masters of art and *clerici*, the one of the Cambrai, the other of the Arras, diocese : *LibNomI.*, 81 v. On the strength of that nomination he may have tried to secure an increase in his income which would have allowed him to continue his work in Louvain ; his appointment as professor to a prebend in St. Peter's, September 30, 1515, made that precaution superfluous. Meanwhile he had been appointed to the chaplaincy of Noordwijk, 'capellania siue perpetua vicaria ad altare Scti. Veronis in Ecclesia parochiali de Noordewyck'. That benefice was dependent on the abbot of Egmond ; when John de Pauw, *Johannes Pavo*, the last possessor, resigned it on February 27, 1514, Meinard Man granted it 'honorabili ac docto viro Mgro. Martino Dorpio de naildewyck, in theologia licenciato, clerico ... dioc. Traiect.', by an act passed in the 'aula abbatiali' : *EgmCart.*, 13 r, v. Dorp enjoyed both these benefices even after his appointment as professor of Divinity : they were still in his possession at his death. His friend Albert Pigge, who about that time was Clement VII.'s *Cubicularius secretus*, requested that the parish of Overschie and the chaplaincy of Noordwijk should be granted to him by provision, which they were indeed, as he joyfully wrote to Herman Lethmaat, on Aug. 12, 1525 : *Almeloveen*, 68-70. When he imparted that news, which he thought Lethmaat had already heard, he expressed some misgivings about whether his provi-

sional appointment would be acknowledged in Holland :
 ‘ Utinam succedant omnia illic tam feliciter, quam hic
 cesserunt ’ ! His fears proved quite founded, for a John
 Pelsken was appointed in Overschie, who, however, died
 in 1526, as Pigge announced to Herman Lethmaat on
 November 9, 1526 : Almelveen, 71-2 ; *Cran.*, 97, *k*, 152, *b*.
 As to the chaplaincy of Noordwijk, it was granted to
 Henricus Alberti on Dec. 31, 1525 by Meinard Man, this
 time in his room in Egmond Abbey, probably on account
 of age and of the illness which may have been fatal : it
 is the latest act booked in his register : *EgmCart.*,
 30 *r*, *v* ; *supra*, p. 71.

- 404 Augustinum] besides the direct drawing from the ‘ clear ’
 sources, which was as the formative principle of the new
 method in study (Renaudet, 415), the large part and the
 great importance attributed to St. Augustine’s theories
 and teachings, is as the chief characteristic of the huma-
 nistic theologians of the sixteenth century (Goch, 229,
 246). Dorp was not an exception, as clearly results from
 the number of references to his works in the Apology to
 Man, which is so great that the *Oratio in Laudem S.*
Pauli seems as if it was founded on them and built up
 with them. Cp. *DogmGeschNZ.*, 39, *sq* ; &c.
- 418 Sunt sane quædam &c.] bibliographical details about
 Dorp’s works are supplied by Sweerts, 528 ; Miræus, 11,
 18 ; *BibBelg.*, 648-9 ; Foppens, 852-3, *SaxOnom.*, 36, 59,
 584 ; Lindeb., 226-37 ; *NedBib.*, 736-9 ; Goethals, 1, 45-6.
- 420 de Assumptione] the book (= Dorp*Con.*) came out under
 the title :

Martini Dorpij Maldiceni / sacrae Theologiæ Licenciati
 Concio de diue virgi-/nis deiparae in cœlum Assump-
 tione Dicta Louanii / Anno Millefimo Quingentesimo
 Decimo /// Prostant venales in edibus / Theodrici Mar-
 tini Aloftensis Louanii e regione / scholæ iuris ciuilis
 qui & impreffit.

The book contains 14 quarto leaves, signatures A⁴ B⁴ C⁶.
 It has on [C *g*] *r* the colophon : ‘ Louanii in ædibus Theo-
 derici Martini Aloftensis Anno Mil/lefimo Quingentesimo
 Decimo quarto duodecima Kalēdas/Martias. Reg. Maxi.

Aug. & Car. Austrio. P. S. D.' — The book has on [A i] v a dedicatory letter dated from the Lily, February 11 <, 1514>, to John Briart. On A ii r begins the text of the *Concio* which Dorp pronounced on Aug. 15, 1510 before the University, thus following the prescriptions imposed on bachelors in Theology : cp. *supra*, 134. The *Concio* is written in a style saturated with bible texts and learned allusions ; it extends to f C ii v, and is followed on C iii r by : ¶ Oratio in laudem Aristotelis dicta a M. Martino / Dorpio. Louanii. tercio Nonas Decembres Anno / Decimo. — which extends to f [C 6] r. That *oratio* delivered to the University professors and students, denounces Lorenzo Valla, who attacks Aristotle and his followers, preferring Plato. It vindicates the Peripatetic master, who is rightly called *monosophus*, first by arguments of authority, showing how all great men of antiquity and even Plato himself praised and followed him. Dorp also advocates the exclusion of the study of all other philosophers, at least for those who want to enter the Church (cp. *supra*, pp. 130-1 ; *AFAInd.*, 6) ; thus, he argues, the storms of doubt and of quarrel are avoided, and the vessel, obeying one commander, gets out of the tempest into a safe port. In conclusion he intreats the students to study Aristotle, and to defend him against all the “ canes ” that bark at him. Cp. Renaudet, 81 ; Mestwerdt, 53-4, 321, 328-31.

- 420 alia in septem Artes] this refers to Dorp's *collatio* of October 1, 1513 (= Dorp*LDisc.*), celebrating the various sciences and Louvain with her University (cp. *supra*, pp. 136-7 ; Vern., 15, sq ; VAnd., 397 ; Nève*Mém.*, 113-117), which was published under the title :

Oratio Martini Dorpij / theologi de laudibus sigillatim
cuiusq3 discipli- / narum ac amenissimi Louanii
academiæq3 loua / niensis dicta Kalendis octobri-
bus, anno M. ccccc. / xiii. in frequentissimo totius
academiæ conuētu / quū post æstiuas studiorū ferias
docendi : audien/diq3 officia publice renouanda indi-
cerentur. /// Prostant venales louanij / in ædibus Theo-
derici Martini Aloftenfis / & in taberna libraria
Hērici a diegheem prope / templum diui Petri // Cum
gratia et priuilegio.

The book contains 32 quarto leaves, signatures A⁸ B⁴ C⁸ D⁴ E⁴ F⁴. On ff [A₁] v-Aii v there is a dedicatory letter to Meinard Man, abbot of Egmond, dated from the Lily, October 5 <, 1513>: cp. *infra*, *Correspondence*. On f A iii r the *collatio* begins; it finishes on f [F₃] r with this notice: ¶ Absoluta est hæc oratio Martini Dorpii : in edi / bus Theoderici Martini Aloftensis Louanii an / no millesimo quingentesimo decimo tercio pridie / idus octobres '. Then follows on f [F₃] v 'Epitaphium eruditissimi atque optimi viri Magistri Iacobi angularis, artiū & sacræ theologiæ professoris decani Naldiceni' (27 lines); on [F₄] r : 2 verses 'In fonticulum lauandis manibus suspensum'; 'In salina dono missa M. H. (4 ll.); 'Jodoci Delfi vtriusque iuris doctoris Epygramma ad Martinum Dorpium' : 14 verses; and finally, by way of colophon: ¶ Optima est ars sine arte : & odiofa f_p affectatio'. [F₄] v is blank. The bookshop of 'Henricus a Diegheem prope templum diui Petri', was probably in Oak Street, *Eyckstrate*, afterwards called, on account of the importance of that *taberna*, Bookshop Street, *Librairiestrate*, since Jasper van der Borch established himself there in 1516, probably as van Diegheem's successor: ClenE, 8; *Louvain*, 235; *Iseghem*, 240-241.

Without doubt Dorp's *Oratio* was a success, for the the various copies of that book which have come to us ¹⁾ suggest that Martens brought out more than one impression from the same formes ²⁾, for they offer variants

¹⁾ I have compared with each other — by means of photostats of sample pages, — the copy of the British Museum (8357. aa. 19; = BM), the two of the Royal Library Brussels (A 1909; = B₁; and A 1910; = B₂) and the two of the Louvain University Library: one (Rés. 5. A. 4233; = L₁) was presented by the Royal Library of The Hague, where another copy still reposes (= H); the other (G. A. 3556; = L₂) will be described more fully in the next lines.

²⁾ The various copies all show the same particularities, which could not be reproduced at a second composition: not only is the distribution of the text on the pages quite identical (cp. McKerrow, 181, sq), but it offers the same printer's mistakes, as: *qni*, *qnanti*, *cmnibus*, *suppellex*, *eloquentia*, *Danid*, &c.; it joins, or divides, the same words; it uses the same defective characters in the same words; it offers the same irregularities in the disposition of letters, which sometimes stand higher or lower than the line; it shows in the same places marks of leads or small blocks used for the spacing; &c.

which imply some time intervening between two issues. As the material used was not so very considerable, the composition of the whole book may have been kept for some weeks; during that time it was printed off once more, and some small changes were introduced, which hardly can have been made whilst the work was in progress. To be sure some mistakes may have been set right whilst the sheets were printing: thus on [C₅] v, l. 12, *sentinũ* was probably rectified into *sentinã*¹⁾; and on [C₆] r, l. 4: *horsuu* into *horsum*²⁾. Even the correcting of the year date in the colophon, which in some copies is *anno quingentesimo*³⁾, and in the others *quingentesimo decimo tercio*⁴⁾, may have been done whilst the printing was going on, — although it is quite as probable that the work was over before the mistake was detected. For certain the change of the verbs on ll. 6 and 7 of f [A i] v of all the copies *maturarem ... ederentur ... censuissent*⁵⁾ into *maturem ... edantur ... censuere* (or vice versa), as L₂ seems alone to have, was not introduced during the printing process, as there was no pressing need for it; it rather seems to be an alteration by the author when after some time he re-read his first composition. The supposition thus deferring that change to a later period than that at which the *Oratio* first appeared, is corroborated by the special conformation of L₂, which is a most remarkable volume, though hitherto it has passed off for a copy of the first — and only known (*NedBib.*, 738) — edition; the Louvain University Library acquired it after 1920⁶⁾. The title offers no variant, and the first

¹⁾ Corrected in B₂ and L₂, not in B₁ nor L₁; the two latter have also on C₆ r, l. 20, the *r* of *liber* far below the line, which is put in its place in the two former.

²⁾ Corrected in B₂, not in B₁ nor in L₁.

³⁾ Namely in H and L₁.

⁴⁾ Viz., BM, B₁ and B₂.

⁵⁾ These forms are found in B₁, B₂, L₁, Nélis.

⁶⁾ The volume once belonged to <Sylvain> van de Weyer; it is bound up together with (2) Dorp's *Concio de Virginis Assumptione* and (3) his *Dialogus Veneris et Herculis*, both printed in Febr.-March 1514; it goes under the press-mark G. A. 3556.

pages afford a text which is certainly printed off from the same formes as the other copies ¹⁾).

The book contains 30 quarto leaves, with the signatures A⁸ B⁴ C⁸ D⁴ E⁶. The dedicatory letter to Meinard Man takes up ff [A i] v to A ii v. The text of the *collatio*, which begins on f A ii r, is apparently identical with that of the other copies — at least as far as f [C s] v, at the end of which it stops in the middle of a sentence. From f D i r, another text, beginning in the middle of a sentence, is printed in the same manner as Dorp's *Oratio* : namely that of the Latin translation of the 25th and the following chapters of Plutarch's Ὑγιεινὰ Παραγγέλματα, which finishes on f D ii v. On f D iii r, v, there is a letter from 'Hadrianus Barlandus Ioanni Murmellio eruditissimo', dedicating to him a translation from Plutarch ²⁾. Extending from f [D 4] r to f E iii r, is Lucian's *De luctu Erasmo interprete*. On E iii r follows a letter : 'Doctissimis in Selandia, ac deo dicatis uiris Ioanni Borsalo, Nicolao Buscoducensi & Hadriano Cordato ³⁾ Hadrianus Barlandus' : in that undated letter Barlandus refers to the text of Erasmus' translation, which having been sent from Holland full of mistakes, was corrected less through his care, than through that of their Dorp : f E iii v. On that same page, E iii v, are printed four distichs : 'Martinus Dorpius in historiam Susannæ vitris pictam ad Carthusios Louanii', and one distich : 'In Rotam fortunæ Mar-

¹⁾ L₂ has the same particularities as e. g., L₁, B₁ and B₂; it has the corrected *sentinam* instead of *sentinum* on [C 5] v, l. 12; also a better disposition of *liber* : [C 6] r, l. 20; on the contrary it has on [A 7] v, l. 4, *anintmorū*, which may be a careless correction of *animorum* of L₁, B₁ and B₂, in which the *i* seems defective : the compositor, in putting in another *ni*, apparently left in the first by mistake so that he had to use the abbreviation for the final *m*. On f [A 8] r, l. 17, where L₂ writes together *stētorea* and *q3*, which L₁, B₁ and B₂ divide, he probably made another mistake himself on the same line, changing the correct *vbi* into the wrong *ibi*.

²⁾ The letter mentions Alard of Amsterdam and the taking of Tirlemont by the French, — referring to the ruthless sack of that town by the victorious bands of Charles of Gelderland and Robert de la Marck on September 29, 1507 : Barl*Hist.*, 208; Henne, I, 160, sq.

³⁾ Adrian Cordatus, of Wissekerke : cp. *Gran.*, 71, a, 145, 17.

tinus Dorpius'. On [E₅] *r* are found nine distichs : 'Disticha aliquot Martini Dorpii ascribenda vitris in quibus picta est parabola filii prodigi'. Finally on [E₅] *v* are eight lines of advice : 'Martinus Dorpius Lectoribus' ¹⁾, the *Errata* and the colophon : '¶ Imprimebat Louanii Theodericus Martinus / Aloftensis Anno a partu virgineo Millefi-/mo Quingentesimo Terciodecimo : mē/se Nouembri. Leone Decimo Pon-/tifice. Max. & Maximiliano / Cæsare orbi terrarum pre / fidentibus.'

It follows that the two last quires of L₂ belong to the edition of *Plutarchi Chæronensis, De tuenda bona valetudine præcepta, Erasmo interprete*, which was printed by Thierry Martens in 1513 ²⁾; John Becker mentioned it on April 19, 1514 in his letter to Erasmus : 'Donauit mihi Augustinus Aggeus recens tum impressum Plutarchi librum De tuenda bona valetudine. Is nuper, vt omnia tua plausibilia sunt doctis, quia a te Latinitate donatus, Louanii excusus est' ³⁾. Most probably Dorp helped to correct the text of that translation, and suggested adding to Martens' issue of November 1513 (possibly a re-issue) the text of Erasmus' rendering of Lucian's *Luctus* (EOO, I, 194), which had been brought from Holland 'scatens mendis'; two letters from Barlandus were joined to it to explain the circumstances of the edition. As there was some space left, Dorp published some of his verses and a list of *errata*, so that the colophon, dated November 1513, came on the last page but one ⁴⁾. That these two quires were added to the three first of Dorp's *Oratio* in

¹⁾ The text of Dorp's poems and his advice is reprinted *infra*, *Analecta*, Nov. 1513.

²⁾ Iseghem, 243; *NedBib.*, 1743. Martens reproduced the first edition by Rich. Pynson, London, July 28, 1513, together with the dedicatory letter to John Yonge, Jan. 1, 1513; it was subsequently reprinted at Cologne, by Cornelius de Siricksee, Jan. 17, 1514: Allen, I, 268, 273, 3-5, III, p. xxiv. An English translation appeared in 1543: *AmHerb.*, I, 519.

³⁾ Allen, I, 291, 36-9.

⁴⁾ I have not seen the volume printed by Martens, *De tuenda* &c., as recorded by Iseghem, 243 (from an older catalogue), and described in *NedBib.*, 1743; so I am unable to indicate the authority for the date, November 10, 1513, quoted with reference to it: Allen, I, 268, *pr*.

Martens' office — for the mistake can hardly have taken place anywhere else — suggests and implies that his *Oratio* and Plutarch's treatise were in hand at the same time. As both books had been corrected by Dorp, and as each finished by two pages of his verses, and probably by an identical colophon, the confusion of the quires by the stitcher is quite conceivable ¹⁾. It thus supplies an argument in favour of the existence of a second issue of the *Oratio*, as the stock of the first probably soon sold out; being comparatively small, the volumes printed in October must have been made ready for sale in a few days, and it is most unlikely that a confusion of quires could have been possible for two books brought out at an interval of, at the least, three or four weeks.

Dorp's *Oratio* was once more reprinted, viz., at the Louvain University Press (cp. FUL, 228-248) by the librarian Corn. Francis de Nélis (FUL, 219) between 1760 and 1768; some notes (cp. Nélis, 54) date from 1753, as they refer to the Louvain canal being made ready; it was intended to be part of the first volume of *Analecta* (Nélis, A 1 r to E 1 v : pp. 1-66) which were never published. Collections of the finished sheets of that book repose in the Louvain University Library, in the Brussels Royal Library, and in the Bodleyan.

- 421 in Epistolas Paulinas] that oration delivered in July was published under the title (in a fine frame) :

MARTINI DORPII SA / cræ Theologiæ p̄fessoris Ora /
tio in prælectionem epi / ftolarum Diui / Pauli / De
laudibus Pauli, de literis sacris edif-/cēdis, de elo-
quētia, de pernīcie fophifti/ces, de sacrorū codicum
ad græcos / caſtigatōne : & linguarum / peritia. ///
Epiftola ERASMI ad Dorpium. ///

The book consists of 18 quarto leaves, with the signatures a⁴b⁴c⁴d⁶. It contains a letter from Erasmus to Dorp, July 10 <, 1516> on [a i] v; the dedicatory letter to Beatus

¹⁾ That this 'mistake' in the making up of the book was never noticed before, may be owing to the out-of-date matter treated; besides, librarians are often jailers and one-talent servants as regards rare specimens, which prevents them being manipulated with time and leisure.

Rhenanus, Sept. 22, 1519 on ff a ij r, v; the *Oratio* takes up ff a iij r to [d 5] v; on [d 6] r are three lines of corrections and the colophon: 'Michael Hillenius Antuerpiæ imprimebat quinto Calen-/das Octobres Anno a Chrifto nato Vndeugefi-/mo fupra Sefquimillefimum.' : cp. *supra*, pp. 214-216; *BullBiB.*, xix, 160; *NedBib.*, 739. This *Oratio* was reproduced by Froben: first in January 1520: RE, 204; *CatSél.*, 313; Allen, II, 438, *pr*; and a second time in March 1520 (=DorpLPaul.), under the title, in a frame by Hans Holbein:

MARTINI / DORPII SACRAE THEO / logiæ profefforis
Oratio in / prælectionem epifto- / larum diui Pauli. //
De laudibus Pauli, de literis fa- / cris edifcendis, de
eloquētia, / de perniciē fophiftices, / de facrorū codi-
cum / ad Græcos caſti / gatione, & / lingua- / rum peri-
tia. // Epiftola ERASMI ad Dorpiū.

The book contains 28 quarto leaves, with the signatures A⁴ B⁴ C⁴ D⁴ E⁴ F⁴ G⁴, and is paginated <1> to 55. On p. 2 is Erasmus' letter to Dorp of July 10, 1516; on pp. 3-4 Dorp's dedication to Rhenanus of Sept. 22, 1519; the text extends from p. 5 to p. 51; Dorp's letter to Erasmus, from The Hague, follows and extends to p. 55, which has the colophon: 'BASILEAE IN AEDIBUS IO. / FROBENII MENSE MAR / TIO AN. M. D. XX.' The last page has the printer's mark: NèveMém., 69, 126-8; Goch, 45; Imbart, II, 406. — The *Oratio de Laudibus Pauli* was reproduced by Hermann von der Hardt, in his *Studiosus Græcus*. Editio secunda <the only one available for me>: Helmstadt, 1705. Dorp's speech is announced on the title page as '2^o Martini Dorpii, celebris gemino abhinc seculo Lovaniensis Academiae Theologi, præclara *Oratio*, *De Linguarum studio novissimis seculis resuscitatio*'. Page 61 bears the title of the *Oratio*; p. 62 has a notice: 'Lectori Salutem', in which Dorp is praised for having brought light to Louvain University; the author 'resuscitates' him, that he might encourage the study of Greek. On page 63 is the title of 1519. From p. 64 to p. 128 follows the reproduction of the *Oratio* with the two accompanying letters: that from Erasmus to Dorp, July 10, 1516, and Dorp's dedication to Beatus Rhenanus, Sept. 22, 1519.

422 epistolæ ... ad Erasmum] Dorp's letter of September 1514 by which he took the author of the *Moriæ Encomium* to task (cp. *supra*, pp. 139, *sq*), was edited first in a bundle under a title in red and black :

Contenta in hoc libro. / D. ERASMI ROTERO-
DAMI SACRAE/Theologiæ Profefforis vndecunq3
doctiffimi/Enarratio in primum Pfalmum Dau-
idicum, po-/tiffimum iuxta Tropologiam. // ¶ Mar-
tini Dorpii itidē sacrae Theologiæ Profeffo/ris
ad eundem Epiftola, de Moriæ Encomio, deq3 / noui
teftamenti ad Græcos codices emendatione.// ¶ Eras-
mi ad Dorpium fuos labores defendentis / copiofa
& plæna eloquentiæ Apologia. // ¶ Theo. Mar.
Aluftenfis ad Studiofos. /// <a letter follows> //
Louanij Theodoricus Marti / nus Aluftensis suis
typis excudebat.

The book has 44 quarto leaves with the signatures A⁸ B⁴ C⁴ D⁸ E⁴ F⁴ G⁴ H⁴ I⁴; the colophon announces : ¶ Louanii Theodoricus Martinus typis suis excudebat / Menfe Octobri .M. D. XV. — Cp. Allen, II, 304, 337; Iseghem, 255-7; *NedBib.*, 814. Dorp's letter was joined to the *Moriæ Encomium* by Badius : Paris, May, 31, 1519 & June 24, 1524 : BB, E, 852, 866. A second letter by Dorp to Erasmus was published in Froben's reprint of the *Oratio in Prælectionem Epist. D. Pauli* of March 1520 : it is dated from The Hague, November 28, 1519 : DorpLPaul., 1279-1377; Allen, IV, 1044; in that letter he requested Erasmus to show that they were on excellent terms by publishing their epistles 'si quæ erunt idoneæ quæ imprimantur' : DorpLPaul., 1340-43; Allen, IV, 1044, 51. When that wish was expressed Erasmus had already given satisfaction to it : for in the *Farrago noua Epistolarum*, published by Froben in October 1519, occurs Dorp's letter dated Louvain, July 14, 1518 : Allen, III, 852, besides one from Erasmus to him, Antwerp, February 21, <1517> : Allen, II, 536. — On the other hand Erasmus' apology to Dorp for his *Moriæ Encomium*, and his projected *Novum Instrumentum*, May 1515, appeared first in a bundle printed by John Froben in June 1515, of which

the first item was *Jani Damiani Senensis ad Leonem X Pont. Max. de expeditione in Turcas Elegia* : *BibEr.*, i, 90 ; *CatSél.*, 404 ; it was inserted in all the editions of the *Moria* printed after that date : *RE*, 602, Allen, iii, 749, 4 ; *supra*, p. 145, *sq.* More's apology to Dorp, of October 21, 1515, was first published in Basle 1563 : *MoreLuc.*, 365-428 ; *supra*, pp. 154, *sq.* ; it was reprinted under the title : *Thomæ Mori V. C. Dissertatio Epistolica, de aliquot sui temporis Theologastrorum ineptijs ; deque correctione translationis vulgatæ N. Testamenti : ad Martinum Dorpium*, by Elzevier, in Leiden, 1635, together with Erasmus' letter to More, Louvain, <Nov.> 1520 (Allen, iv, 1162) : Sampson, 439. Cp. Reich, 131-2 ; Rottier, 87-91 ; Mestwerdt, 23, 321, 328-31 ; Audin, 126-9, 154 ; Pennington, 102 ; Geiger, 339 ; Gasquet *Veille*, i, 191-2 ; Renaudet, 678 ; *RéfAngl.*, 133, 504.

423 et alios nonnullos] a list, as complete as possible, of the letters sent by, or written to, Martin van Dorp which have survived, is given at the end of this *Vita*. His letter to his countrymen in the *Dialogus Veneris et Herculis* is referred to in the note to l. 426.

423 Extat supplementum &c.] the *complementum* to the fragmentary *Aulularia*, which Dorp had composed on the occasion of the representation of that play, Sept. 3, 1508, to which were joined the *invitatiuncula* and the *prologus* ; also congratulatory letters received on that occasion from de Neve, Becker and Halewyn ; a poem by Jod. of Delft ; the *prologus* to the *Miles* and some verse by Dorp and Jodocus of Delft, were published without doubt in a volume under the title : *Tomus Aululariæ Plantinæ adiectus cum prologis aliquot in Comœdiarum actiones, et pauculis carminibus*. The bundle was dedicated to Jerome de Busleyden, to whom Dorp mentions the similar work of Antonius Codrus ; also the great success of his representations five years before ; he reminds him that those compositions shown by John Becker had been as the introduction to their acquaintance : 'quæ omnia tui ... nominis auspiciis ... edere volui, quod olim recens composita, quum ad te misisset litteratorum candidissimus

Ioannes Borsalus Canonicus Middelburgensis, fores aperuerint amicitiae inter nos mutuae, quam tu quidem ... sedulo foues' : *DorpDial.*, D ii v. Dorp also enumerates the various dramatical compositions in the bundle, and closes with the request : ' Te igitur oro, Clarissime Busleydi, vt Dorpii tui dicationem gratanter accipias : neque tam librum ad te mitti tibi persuadeas quam ipsum animum mittentis. Vale ' (*DorpDial.*, D ii v). It follows from that passage that this bundle of dramatic pieces was edited by itself, so as to form a book worth offering to Busleyden : since the dedication refers to the representation of the *Aulularia* of Sept. 3, 1508 as having happened five years before, it is most probable that the volume was published in the latter months of 1513 (cp. Nève-Mém., 398-401). Of that first edition no copy seems to have survived ; it was reprinted after a few months by Thierry Martens in a collection of which the first part reproduces the *Dialogus Veneris et Herculis*, also already issued before, and the last brings some new material about the description of Holland and Zeeland, the most recent document being dated February 28, 1514 : cp. note to l. 426. That volume (= *DorpDial.*) has on f D ii r, v the dedicatory letter to Busleyden ; on D iii r begins the *Inuitatiuncula*, on D iiii v, the *Complementum* to the *Aulularia*. On that *Complementum*, which goes to E i r, follow the letters : from John de Neve, E i r, from John Becker, E i v, and from George of Halewyn, [E₂] r ; also the laudatory poem by Jodocus Delphus, [E₂] v. On that same page, [E₂] v, starts the *Prologus* to the *Miles* ; and on [E₄] v comes his poem *Dorpius candidis lectoribus*, ending on the top of F i r, where begins Dorp's *Carmen Iambicum* to John Becker, followed by his *Epitaphium* on Margaret of York : F ii r. — That this edition — which dates from the last day of February or the beginning of March 1514 — was not the first, is proved by an undated letter in which Jerome de Busleyden expresses his praises of the *Dialogus* and of the *Tomus Aululariae*, and returns thanks for Dorp's dedication of the latter, but requests the publishing of the *Concio de B. Virgine* :

BuslOp., 210-215. That wish was repeated in a subsequent letter : BuslOp., 250-252, and finally given satisfaction to on February 18, 1514, when Martens printed it : l. 420 n ; BuslOp., 256 ; Iseghem, 245-6. It follows that the *Dialogus* and the *Tomus* had been published before February 18, 1514 — and even a good while before it, as results from the same letters (cp. *Correspondence*, ns. 17, 18 & 21), which suggest a considerable delay in executing such a big man's demand. Whether they were printed together, cannot be inferred from these letters ; on the contrary the mention of the title *Tomus Aululariæ Plautinæ additum* by Busleyden, suggests that they were separate books ; moreover it is hard to conceive how a bundle of literary compositions dedicated to an imperial councillor and an influential prelate, could be made to appear otherwise than by itself, as a separate volume ; it would have been a disgrace to offer to him what serves as a sequel to another piece of work, dedicated to a man of a much lower station : which is certainly the case for a first edition, when there is every reason for making the part dedicated as agreeable and worthy as possible. That no longer applies to a later edition, which the printer arranges for his own profit. The matter composing this *Tomus* was re-edited after two hundred and fifty years by Cornelius Francis de Nélis, in an unfinished and never published bundle of *Analecta*, printed at the Louvain University Press : it follows on the *Oratio de Laudibus Disciplinarum* (Nélis, 67-94) : the fact that the invitation to the representation of the *Miles* is followed here by an *Epigramma* by Josse of Delft, praising Dorp as the glory of Holland, found in the October issue of the *Collatio* (Nélis, 93 ; DorpLDisc., [F 4] r), suggests that Nélis did not reproduce his texts from those in the *Dialogus Veneris et Herculis*, in which there is no such *epigramma*, but from the first edition containing only that dramatical matter, of which he must have found a copy in the Old Louvain Library entrusted to his care. From that first issue probably he derived the title *Martini Dorpii Tomus Aululariæ Plautinæ adjectus, cum prologis aliquot in comœdiarum*

actiones, et pauculis carminibus (Nélis, 67), which the second edition also reproduces (Dorp*Dial.*, [A i] r, note to l. 426), but with a mistake : ‘*Thomus*’ instead of ‘*Tomus*’, which is corrected in the *Errata*. That both Nélis’ reprint and the second issue had as model a copy of the first edition is proved by the fact that of the four *Errata* indicated (in Dorp*Dial.*, [G 4] r) for the part they have in common, two are corrected in Nélis, — probably by reproducing correctly the first issue, — viz., *Thomus*, of the title, and *iis* instead *is*, on Dorp*Dial.*, D iii r, 26, Nélis, 73, 3; whilst two are found in the two copies, evidently because they offer a plausible sense : *potuisse* instead of *potesse*; *quouis, quo vis*, for *quouis* (Dorp*Dial.*, [D 7] v, 1, [D 8] r, 24; Nélis, 80, 25, 82, 22) : they evidently were found in the first edition; if the precise editor that Nélis was, had reproduced his text from the *Dialogus Veneris et Herculis*, he would not have missed availing himself of the corrections in the *Errata*, — probably made by Dorp himself whilst the printer was waiting for Geldenhouwer’s letter.

- 424 nihil discrepans] Dorp had been praised for the exactness with which he had imitated the language and the style of Plautus, as results from the gratulatory letters, not only from colleagues like John de Neve and John Becker; but also from George Halewyn, to whom de Spouter had shown the author’s manuscript at Comines, and from Josse of Delft, J. V. D., who honoured it with a few verses. These congratulations were expressed immediately before, or soon after, the public performance of the *Aulularia*, September 3, 1508, and were edited with the *Complementum* : Dorp*Dial.*, E i r-[E ii] v (cp. Nève*Mém.*, 117-121). In April 1511 Matthias Schürer printed in Strassburg ‘*Aulularia Plautina, comediarum lepidissima, quæ etsi alias incompleta a Codro Urceo tamen est perfecta*’; in 1513 was published in Leipzig Plautus’ *Aulularia*, ‘ab Antonio Codro Urceo’, so the title announced, ‘utriusque linguæ doctissimo, pristinæ formæ diligenter restituta : illius enim finis antea desiderabatur’. This Urceo (1446-1500), a Bologna professor of Greek, who

wrote good Latin poems (Tiraboschi, vi, 1108-11 ; Nélis, 69-70), had composed the continuation of the *Aulularia* to the very end, whereas an anonymous author had not reached so far : Bahlman, i, 55. It has been said that an edition of Plautus' works printed at Deventer in 1482 had already published that *complementum*, but modern bibliographers call even in doubt the existence of that edition, which only Panzer mentions : Creizenach, i, 571-2. Consequently it seems as if the *complementum* by Urceo only appeared in his own *Opera*, and in the Strassburg and the Leipzig edition of the *Aulularia*, 1511-1513. It is evident that Dorp had not Urceo's *complementum* when he read the play in the Lily, and contemplated having it acted by his pupils, for he would not have thought of composing another. Still he may have heard of its existence either then or afterwards, which, in his letter to Busleyden, makes him say that, even if he had had Urceo's addition, he would have composed another, for the sake of making himself acquainted with that kind of style, irrespective of the danger of being accused of vanity : Dorp *Dial.*, D ii v. It was probably the rumour of Urceo's *complementum* being edited that induced the vain Dorp to save the honour of his composition by publishing it as well, and by quoting the praise it had merited from the foremost erudites in the country. Thomas More joined most heartily in that recommendation two years later, appreciating both the elegant style and the facetious verses : More *Luc.*, 423-4. Most interesting is the comparison of the two ends, not so much as pieces of literature, appealing more to taste than judgment — though some authors attribute the palm to Dorp, or condemn Codrus' work as lacking all beauty : Nélis, 86 ; Tiraboschi, vi, 1111 ; — but as continuators of Plautus' plot and structure. Codrus continues the play, interpreting in his own way the enigmatic catastrophe indicated in the author's synopsis : from a mean miser, Euclio spontaneously becomes a happy-go-lucky man, who suddenly stops pining for his stolen treasure, and in an outburst of abnegation gives to the despairing lover both his daughter and his gold. That

unwarranted metamorphosis in the chief actor of the play may lead up, apparently appropriately, to the leave-taking *Plaudite* (Creizenach, I, 573) : it is, without doubt, in complete contradiction with the unwritten law of Latin Comedy, which, above all, requires truth and consistency in the characters. Nor is the slave Strobilus treated more consistently : for his liberty-loving principles sound as an anachronism, being completely unknown before the time of Renaissance. A third change, that of the metre, is at least arbitrary : it certainly gave the author more ease and freedom ; in so much that the advantage which Urceo's verse and style might have over that of Dorp, is counterbalanced by the appreciation of the latter's conscientious efforts to continue writing in so-called 'versibus Comicis'. His *Tomus* for certain is quite in keeping with the kind and the play : unravelling the desperate-looking plot, he makes the slave Strobilus give way to his master Lyconides, which is far more consistent and verisimilar. In his gratitude, he promises to deliver up the stolen golden *aula*, as soon as Lyconides will be accepted as son-in-law by Euclio. He tells the latter that he has either to give his daughter as wife to Lyconides with the gold as dowry, or to miss the gold all together ; consequently the old man agrees to the wedding, and is invited to share his children's home, whereas the thief gets nothing but a promise of good treatment. A happy find is also the final advice which Strobilus gives to the *Eucliones* of the audience, telling them to hasten home for fear of their treasures also being stolen.

- 426 dialogus Veneris &c.] this refers to the colloquy between Hercules, Venus with Cupido, and *Virtus*, celebrating the victory of virtue and study over love and laziness. Dorp composed it to counterbalance Plautus' conception of life by a play bringing the Christian views ; at least so he thought : for the atmosphere of pagan allegory pervades the whole composition, in which there is not anything Christian except *Virtus*, and that only by name, for she hardly moves except by the most vulgar motives. Dorp's dialogue was acted by his pupils in the Lily : 'in

tuo celeberrimo gymnasio', as he wrote to the Regent John de Neve, 'coram doctissimorum corona', meaning professors and erudites and students : *DorpDial.*, A ii v. Most likely that representation followed closely on those of *Aulularia* and *Miles*, and may have taken place in 1508 or 1509, at any rate before Dorp started studying theology in all earnest. This *Dialogus* was most successful, for it was transcribed in many copies immediately after its composition, although, as the author afterwards thought, the style was rather careless, for in his youthful eagerness he had come forward with a rough draught, — which was still a habit with him in 1524, as results from his letter to Cranevelt : *Cran.*, 85, ²³¹⁻⁵. When in the last months of 1513 he wanted to publish that *Dialogus*, he decided to have it printed in its rough form. Consequently in his dedicatory letter to de Neve, he expresses, besides his thanks to his master and friend, his apologies for what the colloquy may want in finish : referring to the nine years he had been teaching in the Lily, he explains that after John Briart induced him to take to theology, he has had hardly any time to devote to literature ; he therefore begs to have the *maculae* excused : 'Quota alioqui portiuncula studiorum meorum hiis lusibus est tributa ? vt ne illud addam, non separasse me compositionis operam ab expolitione, sed vti hæc pridem subito, & iuuenili calore in siluam quamdam verborum connessera<m>, ita eandem nunc rudem emittere, cuius rei testes fuerint exempla, in quæ plurima recens compositus dialogus fuit transcriptus' : *DorpDial.*, A ii r, v. Without doubt this *Dialogus* was printed by itself with the dedicatory letter : cp. note to l. 423 ; indeed it is quoted as an independent item by Valerius Andreas and other bibliographers : *BibBelg.*, 649 ; *Lambinet*, 313. That first issue probably was printed in October-November 1513, which would make up the *novennium* of lecturing in the Lily, starting probably in October 1504, as Dorp had promoted Master of Arts on April 2 of that year : cp. *supra*, p. 128. No copy of that issue seems to be extant : the only edition known is that

of a collection (= *DorpDial.*; cp. *NedBib.*, 737) which appeared on February 28, or the first days of March 1514, under the title :

Martini Dorpij sacre theo / logiæ Licenciati Dialogus :
in quo Venus & Cupido / omnes adhibent verfutias :
vt Herculem animi an- / cipitem in suam Militiam
inuita Virtute perpellât. // ¶ Eiusdem Thomus Aululariæ Plautinæ adiectus / cum prologis aliquot in
Comediarum actiones : & / pauculis carminibus. //
¶ Chrysofotomi Neapolitani epistola de situ Hollâ/diæ
viviendiq3 Hollandorum institutis. // ¶ Gerardi Nouiomagi de Zelandia epistola confi / milis.: // Cum gratia
et priuilegio. // Prostant venales in edibus / Theoderici
Martini Aloftenfis Louanii e regione / Scholæ Iuris
ciuilis qui & impreffit.:

That book comprises 36 quarto leaves, with the signatures A⁸ B⁴ C⁴ D⁸ E⁴ F⁴ G⁴; it has no colophon : still as the last letter is dated February 28, 1514, it must have appeared soon after. It has on ff [A i] v-A ii v the dedicatory letter to John de Neve, a *Prologus* on ff A iii r-A iii r, whereas the *Dialogus politissimus a M. Martino Dorpio compositus* starts on f A iii r and finishes on f D ii r, being concluded by '¶ Finis dialogi.' which probably indicates the end of the original separate issue. In this edition of February-March 1514 follows a group of pieces forming the *Tomus Aululariæ adiectus*, which goes from f D ii r to F i r : cp. note to l. 423. After that dramatical matter comes, on f F i r, a *Carmen Iambicum* by which Dorp congratulates John Becker of Borselen on his verses; it is followed by an *Epitaphium* on Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, F ii r. Immediately after that, there is Dorp's letter *Hollandis suis*, with a series of *Epitheta Batauorum* (F ii r-F iii r), introducing, and excusing in part, a description of Holland by Chrysostomus Zanchius, of Naples (Tiraboschi, viii, 887-9) in a letter to the Count of Nogarolles or Nugarolles : ff F iii v to G iii r : in both these letters reference is made to the question about the exact meaning of Batavia : cp. note to l. 105. Finally as last document is published a letter from Dorp's friend Gerard

Geldenhouwer to Sebastian of Zierikzee : it gives a description of Zeeland, and mentions the remarkable men born there : he wrote it *tumultuario*, after having heard Dorp read out Chrysostomus' description of Holland, and he dated it from the Louvain College of the *Crucigeri*, to which he belonged (*Cran.*, 240, *a*), February 28, 1514. That epistle on ff G iii r (lower part)-[G 4] r and the list of *Errata ... insignia, minutis locum negat papyrus*, on f [G 4] r (14 last lines), are set up from a smaller type than that used for the rest of the book ; although the lines are much closer together, the text is crammed, and replete with signs of abbreviations ; there are very few punctuation-marks to bring some relief to the reader, or some light to those last two and a half pages, which are a real disfigurement to the otherwise elegant book. It indicates that at the very last moment the printer was haunted by the fear of not having room enough — which proved vain, as the last page, [G 4] v, is blank ; there is no colophon — which seems rather uncommon as, judging from Iseghem's records, of the 105 books which Martens printed between 1512 and 1521, only three are without it. — The inconsistency of a couple of pages with a painfully overcrowded text, followed by a blank one, implies that the book was already printed off for the greater part before the compositor had in hand Geldenhouwer's letter ; if he had had that document from the beginning, he would have easily found some means to regularize the disposition. Without doubt the mention on the title-page was agreed upon before the letter was actually written, and the printer probably advanced much quicker than was expected : it evidently proves that the volume was ready and brought out as near as possible to the date of Geldenhouwer's letter, February 28, 1514, possibly on that very day. Dorp's letter to his countrymen, with those from Chrysostomus Zanchius and Geldenhouwer are reproduced in the *Historica Hadriani Barlandi* of 1603 (*BarlHist.*, 254-264), as well as by Scriverius, 1609 and 1611, who also reproduces the letter of 1515 by which Alard invited Cornelius Aurelius to the lists : *BatIll.*, 76, 127, *sq*, 135.

- 429 quædam in Plauti comœdias] since Morinck must have been aware of the contents of the (first edition of the) *Tomus Aululariæ adiectus*, and its reprint with the *Dialogus Veneris et Herculis* (cp. note to l. 423), it seems as if Dorp had written other prologues than those for the *Aulularia* and the *Miles*, and that his students performed more than those two plays : unfortunately they seem to be lost, and with them all the casual information like that supplied by the *Tomus* : the displeasure of some theologians ; the description of the crowded theatre ; the part of the *Prologus* ; the customs of the Louvain people on days of public rejoicing ; &c.
- 430 Plura an extent ignoro] Dorp had written several poems and letters of encouragement for books made by his friends : John de Spouter's *Syntaxis*, edited at Strassburg (Matth. Schürer) in July 1515 contains a letter dated Louvain March 28, 1509 (Ep. 4), as well as a poem : *Heus tu bybliopola* &c., probably of the same period : *BB*, v, 267. The *Fabule* of Aesop, Avianus, and others, translated and interpreted by William Herman of Gouda, Barlandus and Erasmus, which Thierry Martens published in Louvain on October 22, 1513, contain a dedicatory epistle of Dorp to three ludimagistri of Flanders John Leupe, James Pape and John de Spouter, dated from the Lily on November 22 of a year when de Spouter was teaching at Bergues, viz., from 1509 to 1514 : *BB*, v, 214, 8 : it was evidently written on the occasion of an earlier edition, which had been corrected by Nic. van Broeckhoven, — probably in 1512 : Ep. 12 ; *BB*, A, 154, 2-5. Dorp's poem in praise of the fables arranged by Barlandus : 'Vis ludum, lepidosque iocos' &c. (*BB*, A, 154, 2, 3, 4 ; Iseghem, 242), had been made for the *Pluscule Esopi phrygis et Auiani Fabulæ* by Barlandus, published in Antwerp by Thierry Martens, April 22, 1512 : *BB*, A, 153, Iseghem, S 14. Dorp's letter and his verses appear in the later reprints by Martens : *BB*, A, 159, 165 ; Iseghem, 305-6, S 20 and by other printers : *BB*, A, 155-201, B, 290, 4-290, 9, I, 5 ; *NedBib.*, 26-7, 32-8. The new edition of *Fabule*, 1513, had been corrected by Dorp and Nic. van Broeckhoven (*BB*, A, 154, 2-5) for their

mutual friend the printer. The latter had then recently settled in Louvain (Iseghem, 92-93, 232); certainly in the first years of his stay in the University town, he found a friend (Iseghem, 29, 115, 125, 129-32, 256) and a precious collaborator in Dorp; for besides his *collatio* of October 1, 1513, he published his earlier compositions (cp. notes to ll. 420-26; Iseghem, 240, 245, 246); he moreover made use of his erudition and authority as humanist and theologian (Lambinet 307; Iseghem, 90, 100, 118): already for one of the first books edited in the new office, Hughes of St. Victor's *Questiones in Epistolas Divi Pauli*, published on November 18, 1512, Dorp wrote some recommendatory verses (Iseghem, 233); a few months later he did the same for Richard of St. Victor's commentary on the Apocalypse: 1513 (Iseghem, 236). In March 1515 came from Martens' press Adrian of Utrecht's *Questiones Quotlibetice*, which were corrected by Dorp and dedicated to his patron Meinard Man, abbot of Egmond by a letter dated from the Lily, March 24, 1515: cp. above pp. 112, sq; ReusAdrVI., xxv, sq, 46. The colophon of that book illustrates the intimacy of author and printer: Martens referring to the privilege of Maximilian and Charles of Austria, humorously warns his competitors: 'Ne tu librarie, neu tu impreffor dicas tibi non prædictum', and in bigger letters, 'CAVETO'; he then adds: 'Dicta Dorpii: Comœdia est vita mundi: Totus mundus est homini / Pio quidē theologia / Impio vero herefis' — apparently without any other reason, except to remind his patrons in general of the close friendship which united him to the brilliant professor (Iseghem, 249-51, 284). That friendship was further testified to by the recommendation he wrote to students for Rodolph Agricola's *Dialectica*, published on January 12, 1515: Iseghem, 248-9; MutRufE, 566; EngHistRev., xxi, 303-5; as well as by the correcting of the latter's translation of Isocrates' *Parænesis*, which was published in a bundle entitled *Opuscula aliquot Erasmo Roterodamo castigatore et Interpretæ*, August 1, 1514: Iseghem, 254; Allen, II, 298, pr; Reich, 253. A few months earlier he had

composed some verses in recommendation of Barlandus' *Versuum ex Bucolicis Vergilii prouerbialium Collectanea*, which Martens published in March 1514; in return for his kindness, Barlandus joined him to Erasmus, and compared both with Catullus and Plinius as two modern excellent literary men bred and born in the same country : [a 7] v; and in his dedicatory letter to John de Spouter he explains that having shown a few *collectanea* to Dorp and Geldenhouwer, they encouraged him to continue his work : [a 1] v; BB, B, 250, ¹⁻⁴, 252. Without doubt Dorp enjoyed above all seconding his great friend Erasmus in his labour : in November 1513 he took care of the edition of his translations from Lucian and Plutarch : cp. note to l. 420, p. 321; in August-September 1514 he supervised the printing of the *Opuscula Aliquot* : Allen, II, 298, 304, ¹⁵⁶⁻⁹; nor was he a stranger to Martens' edition of Erasmus' letters of April 1517 (Iseghem, 270), on which occasion he gave a striking proof of his penetrating sense and sound judgment, deciding on the right reading of a passage that puzzled all the friends and the correctors : Allen, II, 546, 8, 541, ¹⁵¹; Iseghem, 117-8. Thus by his work and by his studies Dorp became very intimate with all those who, in Louvain, shared his interest in humanistic learning; he regularly met most of them in Martens' office, for they were either resident members of his staff, as was, about that time, Rutger Rescius : *Cran.*, 150, e; or at least his regular correctors (Iseghem, 90, 116, 118) like Peter Gilles, Nicolas van Broeckhoven, Peter le Barbier, Cornelius Grapheus and Gerard Geldenhouwer; they never missed an opportunity of claiming the honour of being acquainted with their famous collaborator, whose authority they invoked for their writings, as did Geldenhouwer, who, on June 13, 1515, published his *Satyrae Octo ad Verae Religionis Cultores*, and added an intimate letter in which Dorp had expressed himself effusively about the risky criticisms of his friend : Iseghem, 251; *CollectGeld.*, xxix-xl, 151-2, 153, Prinsen, 24-26. Less interested was evidently Gerard Lister, of Rhenen, his former follow-student, especially under John

Paludanus (*supra*, p. 143), who in a *Carmen* proclaims him to be a glory of the University as theologian, and the second only to Erasmus in 'good letters'; he already calls him an eagle for his erudition : he promises that he will be a new Phenix and even a glory of the world, if he continues to follow and imitate his Master : EE, 1654, D. Cp. *infra*, Dorp's *Correspondence* and *Analecta*.

- 434 de Consuetudine &c.] cp. *DorpApol.*, 21-23.
 438-9 paraclesim &c.] cp. *DorpApol.*, 24-25.
 441 quamuis rudes &c.] Morinck verbally quotes Dorp's words, with the exception of the omission of *foetus*, and the transposition of *etiamnum* and *informesque* (which becomes *ac informes*) : *DorpApol.*, 18-19.
 445 varia] Morinck mentions in this *Vita* several others of Dorp's works : his treatise of Dialectics (162-3) ; his notes on the Bible (319-20) ; his memoir on the literary value of Holy Scripture (329-31) ; his commentary on sentences from the Sacred Books and from the works of erudites (407-15) ; his orations about the Gospel of St. Matthew and about the didactic and probative value of the allegoric sense of the Bible (458-64).
 450 ad amicos ... epistolæ] a list of letters from and to him, for as far as they are known, is drawn up at the end of this paper.
 454 neque expediret] evidently Morinck knew that Dorp's excitable character had led him into disagreeable experiments by petty complaints or risky statements imprudently imparted to untrustworthy confidants, who hastened to proclaim as ripe decisions what were merely the promptings of a peevish whim.
 471 eloquentiæ flumen] in his *Rerum Gestarum a Brabantiae Ducibus Historia*, Barlandus writes about Dorp : Quam Latinus & elegans, planeque Romanus illi sermo (*Barl-Hist.*, 231).
 478 dictum Antigenidæ] allusion to the apophthegm to which Dorp referred in his *Apologia* : *DorpApol.*, 554.
 479 Dominus &c.] MATTHEW, XXV, 24-28.
 481 Petrum hortari &c.] I PETRI, IV, 10 : Unusquisque, sicut accepit gratiam, in alterutrum illam administrantes, sicut boni dispensatores multiformis gratiae Dei.

- 485 de eruditione] it appears that friends and acquaintances applied to his judgment and erudition : thus Martinus Lips writes to Gerard Rym : ' Neque tamen edentur hae nugae nostrae, nisi Dorpius et viderit et consenserit. Utinam hoc die pomeridiano tempore non pigeat nos inuisere ' ! And Rym replied that his great experience would give confidence indeed : ' <Dorpius> ut est oculatus, poterit discernere, quid res poscat, quo loquente merito nobis tacendum est. Neque est quod Thersitis aut vulgi iudicium quaeras, quum Nestor tibi et Ioui aequalis consilio Ulysses ad manum sit ' : LipsE, 703, 704 ; cp. note to l. 430.
- 490 vita integra] Barlandus wrote of him : Quid de singulari eius dicam innocentia ? Neminem sciens læsit vnquam. Nulli hominum invidit. Nihil quod non sanctum & honestum esset appetiuit : BarlHist., 231.
- 491 Philippus Burgundio] Philip of Burgundy was bishop of Utrecht from 1517 to 1524 : *Cran.*, 10, a. The post of suffragan, to which he wanted to appoint Dorp with more than ordinary fees, was probably the offer which was made to the latter during his stay in Holland in November 1519 when he wrote to Erasmus, probably referring to Everaerts' and Assendelft's patronage (cp. notes to *Dorp-Apol.*, 28) : ' Me student hic inaurare ' : DorpLPaul., 1315 ; Allen, iv, 1044, ²⁹ ; *supra*, pp. 218-9. Judging from what Morinek adds, Dorp would have accepted but for certain conditions which he proposed and to which the Bishop did not agree. Since in his *Apologia* he considers the possibility of a change in his career, and expresses his willingness to spend his life at The Hague in the society of the 'studiorum Mecænates' whom he had found there in November 1519, it is possible that that preference had something to do with the stipulations he had made in answer to the Bishop's offer : it is moreover quite obvious that if Philip wanted a suffragan, it was not to let him live at the Court of Holland, but that he himself might have had more leisure to spend his time there.
- 509 non fere alia &c.] Barlandus relates that calling on him

- frequently on business — probably during his rectorate — he always found Dorp ‘studentem ac libris immusantem... Sereno cœlo’, he adds, ‘descendebat mecum in pomarium, quod ædibus suis adiectum habebat. Nec ullus interim dum ambulatur, nisi de literis, & recte instituenda iuuentute illi sermo erat, non ignaro id ætatis velut totius reliquæ vitæ iaci fundamenta’: *BarlHist.*, 231.
- 516 adagium] Dorp in his *Apologia* made use of that adage when discussing the choice of a place for him to go to and live if ever he resigned his professorship: *DorpApol.*, 57-58.
- 520 humana quouis Euripo mobilia] *DorpApol.*, 58: humana quouis Euripo instabilia; cp. Erasmus’ adage *Euripus homo*: *EOO*, II, 357, A.
- 521 *Fortunae &c.*] Horace, *Carm.*, I, 35, 9, *sq.*, III, 29, 49, *sq.*
- 535 *prudētissimi viri &c.*] *SAP.*, v; cp. Vives’ letter relating his colloquy with Queen Catherine: *Cran.*, 90, ²⁶⁻³⁶.
- 539 *quam rerum esset peritus*] a proof that his colleagues had a great opinion of his practical experience, is that on August 11, — only a few days after the Faculty of Divinity had tried to compel him to contradict the rumour about Luther’s condemnation, July 28-August 4: *de Jongh*, 45*, — he was chosen as deputy with John Driedo by that same Faculty to examine the question about the rights of the Chancellor and Vice-chancellor, with Cornelius de Meldert and Peter Zelle for the Laws, John Hase and John Calaber probably for Medecine: *de Jongh*, 24*.
- 541 *Rectoratum*] Dorp was elected Rector at the turn of the Faculty of Theology on February 28, 1523, and remained in office until the last day of August following: *VAnd.*, 29, 41; *Vern.*, 24; *ReusDoc.*, I, 264; *Cran.*, 74, ¹⁵; *Lib-ActVI.*, 1 r-8 r. To that Rectorate Barlandus refers in the *Dialogi XLII* (Louvain, Aug. 1524: f [n iij] r), which were composed during that period: *BB*, B, 263, 3.
- 544 *Consultabat circumspecte*] an instance of the prudent way in which he wished to decide the difficult and ambiguous cases, is provided by the part he took in the question debated in 1524 in the University Council about the taxes to be levied on the officials of the University Courts: he

wrote to his friend Francis de Cranevelt for advice on June 21, 1524 : *Cran.*, 111.

- 550 ius nullum] the votes in the University meetings were not personal but brought out by the Faculties, and on that account the Rector had no power to that effect. In the general course of events, he proposed the question, which had been considered before by the committee of deputies ; after due examination and discussion, the gathering broke up and the five faculties assembled in their particular rooms, where the matter was again debated and then finally decided upon by the votes of the members, which the dean gathered. The five Faculties then again assembled, and in the order of their dignity they signified through their deans what decisions they had taken. The Rector — who had attended as an ordinary member the separate meeting and discussion preparatory to the vote of the Faculty to which he belonged — then concluded from those five decisions whether the solution was accepted or rejected, the consent of three Faculties being considered as the decision of the University, except in ‘negocio valde arduo’ ; in case one Faculty was not represented and the votes were equal, the Rector was to let the lot decide : *Mol.*, 900-901 ; *ULAct.*, II, *xii*, 42 ; *ULStat.*, 620-21 ; *Cran.*, 111, *b*.
- 561 animo ... plus satis excelso] evidently a euphemism for what Erasmus called ‘suae gloriae ... est ... famelicus’ : *Allen*, III, 669, 8-9.
- 577 periodus] the ordinary lessons were originally held by one professor who taught during one week and then was succeeded by one of his four colleagues ; on Sept. 30, 1545, it was decided that each should lecture six weeks in turn, instead of one : *VAnd.*, 78.
- 584 In sacro ... peragendo attentior] in his *Ritvs edendi Paschalis Agni* : Amsterdam, 1523 : ff E ij v-[E 4] r, Alard of Amsterdam published a poem inviting priests to come and listen to Dorp interpreting and explaining the canon of the Mass, — evidently in his lectures.
- 591 totus in literas sacras] Erasmus noted in the *Ciceronianus* about Dorp : ‘Tandem Theologiae studium retraxit

hominem a Musis' : EOO, I, 1013, F. His friends knew of his predilection for Bible studies, and appreciated his work and lessons : John de Fevyn follows most fervently his example, studying 'Theologie illi puriorj', and regrets that he had ever been of another opinion : 'Vtinam ille numquam prior in Moriam' : *Cran.*, 91, 17-20. — Dorp also incited and encouraged others to that study : thus in his research for the text of St. Paul's Epistles, Alard of Amsterdam wrote to Martin Lips, in 1524 : 'Remitte mihi euangelia castigata : percipit ea videre noster communis Aristarchus M. N. Martinus Dorpius' : LipsE, 754 (also 703-4).

- 593 animumque &c.] that pious and devotional spirit is expressed in Dorp's last letter to Erasmus, who refers to it in his *Supputatio Errorum in Censuris Nat. Bedae*, March 1527 : EOO, IX, 526, D, E ; Allen, VI, 1584, *pr*.
- 597 spes blandiebatur] in the first days of 1524 he had expressed the aims of his labours and the methods which he intended working out in studying and teaching the Bible and Divinity, in a letter to Cranevelt (*Cran.*, 85), which the latter communicated to their common friend More : *Cran.*, 111, 61, 113, 14. Cp. *infra*, *Corresp*.
- 605 Fractum preciosum margaritum] St. Jerome : MigneL, xxii, 642, 730.
- 641 Luteranismi] cp. *supra*, pp. 234, *sq*. — It has often been said that Dorp was not any more in favour of the primacy of the Pope, than Driedo, who wanted to leave that question untouched : *ActAcLov.*, 126-130 : still there is nothing to substantiate that surmise. It does not mean that Dorp was blind to the abuses of the Papal Court — in which he was of the opinion held even by Adrian VI. : *supra*, p. 115 — ; in his letter of Nov. 13, 1524 to his friend Cranevelt, who probably had suppressed some criticism about the Church, he wrote that Rome should put things right instead of conniving at what is wrong : 'alioqui e Roma haud scio, quid sit sperandum. Cur negem enim manifesta ? Tot seculis ante dixit ille : Rome esse venalia omnia, si emptorem inueniant. Proinde nisi christiane sua temperet illa Domina, non ausim dicere, quid ominer' : *Cran.*, 123, 41-46.

642 duobus e præcipuis theologis] most probably one of them, and one of Dorp's best friends, was Nicolas Meuran, or Coppin, of Mons, who, having studied in the Falcon, and promoted M. A. in 1497, the 5th of his year (*PromRs.*, 65), taught philosophy in, and became regent of, his pedagogy, succeeding, before 1512, to the impecunious Gerard Conradi, of Haarlem, to whom the Faculty remitted his debts in 1513 and 1517, after he had become a Carthusian near Bruges : *AFAInd.*, 8, 9, 14 ; *VAnd.*, 264. On Nov. 2, 1514 he succeeded Antony Willems of Poortvliet, as professor of Ethics, and as canon of St. Peter's : *VAnd.*, 246 ; *AFAInd.*, 11. Being Rector he became *S. Theol. Lic.*, January 20/25, 1513, and *doctor*, January 26, 1513. In 1519 he succeeded Adrian of Utrecht as canon, and in 1520 as dean of St. Peter's, and consequently as Vice-chancellor and as professor of divinity : *VAnd.*, 60, 78 ; de Jongh, 24* ; the permission granted on Sept. 28, 1520 by the Faculty allowed him to have his lessons given by a colleague until there was a regent of the Falcon : de Jongh, 45*. He resigned his lesson of ethics, Cornelius Sculteti of Weert succeeding him on June 23, 1520 : *VAnd.*, 246 ; he left the Arts for the Faculty of Theology in the beginning of 1521, when John Sandrart, of Mons, took over the management of the Falcon : *AFAInd.*, 20, 21. In 1527, having become Inquisitor of the Faith, he took care to protect the *legentes* of the Faculty of Arts : *AFAInd.*, 25. He was University Rector for the Arts, Aug. 1512, and Feb. 1520, and for Theology, Febr. 1528 ; dean of Theology Febr. 1522 & 1524, Aug. 1527, 1528 & 1530, and Feb. 1532 : de Jongh, 47*-60*. He died on June 16, 1535 : *SweMonSep.*, 236 ; by his will of June 15, 1535, he founded scholarships in the Falcon and in the H. Ghost : *ULExTest.*, 163 ; *VAnd.*, 265, 291 ; *FUL*, 1371, 1662, 2076, 2713. Cp. documents referring to his activity as Inquisitor : *ArchRoy.*, *État & Audience*, 1177 1/c ; Gachard, *La Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris*, Brux., 1875 : I, 369. Also Mol., 512 ; Vern., 34 ; *VAnd.*, 100 ; *PF*, I, 61, 302 ; *BaxH*, II, 183 ; *ReusDoc.*, I, 262-4, IV, 313, 392 ; *Corp-Inq.*, IV, 275, sq, 314, sq ; de Jongh, 160-1 ; Allen, IV,

1162, ¹⁰⁸; *Cran.*, II, &c.; HoopSch., 182, 197, 240, 375, 552. The second chief theologian who received Dorp's solemn statement, was probably his friend and colleague John Driedo, of Turnhout, who has made himself famous by his treatises against Luther and by his dogmatical books : *BibBelg.*, 491; de Jongh, 158-60; Iseghem, 312-3; *Bat-ECP.*, 31-33; CarvMurça., 6, 14, 16, 22, 29. Erasmus praised the author for his solid erudition, and his writings for their fairness and moderation : Allen, IV, 1163, ¹⁰⁻¹⁹, 1164, ⁶⁶, 1167, ⁴⁰⁹⁻¹⁴, 1173, ⁹⁰, although he occasionally complained of being criticised by him in his absence : Allen, IV, 1165, ²⁸. This John Nys, a native of the hamlet Darisdonck, Turnhout, of which the slang pronunciation (*der'ridon's* > *drid'on's*) *Driedoens* clung to him as name, is probably the 'Johannes de thornout, leod. dioc.' who matriculated in *artibus* in Louvain, May 27, 1491 (*Lib-IntIII.*, 30, v : 244 r, 248 v) and entered the Falcon, probably as a bursar of his late townsman Gaspar of Kinschot (*ReusDoc.*, IV, 311). Possibly he had helped his parents in their agricultural labour some years before he started studying, apparently in the neighbouring priory of Cor-sendonck; it would explain the long time he spent over his philosophical training. Yet he was very successful and promoted M. A. the first of his year, April 24, 1499; that event is still recorded by the name of a heath at Darisdonck — *primusheiken* —, which probably belonged to him. He passed the final act on May 11, 1499 : *LibAct-ArtV.*, 167 v, 168 v; Mol., 590. He started teaching philosophy, presiding at several acts in the Falcon during the next deced : *LibActArtV.*, 200 v-210 r, 281 v, 300 r-309 v, and was admitted to the University Council for the Arts on Aug. 31, 1509. He meanwhile studied theology, and had promoted *Baccalaureus formatus* when in 1511, at the death of his friend Henri de Houterle, Jan. 2, 1511, he was appointed president of the College which according to his will of Dec. 29, 1510, his executors Adrian of Utrecht and John of Vianen erected in his house in Cow Street : FUL, 2446. Following out the founder's stipulations, he remained president for ten years, during which

he welcomed the famous Nicolas Beken Clenardus, to whose formation he greatly contributed ¹⁾, and who took his place as president in July 1521 : *ReusDoc.*, III, 184. He was elected University Rector in February 1518 and 1533, and pronounced the *collatio* in 1519 for the Faculty of Theology ; indeed on August 17, 1512 he had promoted Doctor in that science ²⁾, and had been admitted to teach before 1515 : he succeeded Rosemondts to a secondary prebend in 1520 ; he was elected dean of the Faculty on the last of August 1515, '18, '25, '31, and of February 1523 and '28 ; he was nominated to take Coppin's place as primary canon in 1535, only a few weeks before his decease : *VAnd.*, 78-9 ; *FUL*, 1837 ; de Jongh, 24*, 39*-61*. As he was not paid abundantly — in 1530 he had only half the revenue of a small prebend in St. Peter's for his lecture : *Analectes*, xxxix, 302 — he tried to get some help from the nominations by the Faculty of Arts. Having become a priest by April 28, 1515, he was appointed to the collation of the chapter of Renaix ; on June 22 and Aug. 20 1515 to that of the abbot of St. Martin's, Tournai ; on April 17, 1517 to that of St. Bavo's abbot, Ghent ; on Aug. 27, 1523 to that of the abbot of Afflighem, Charles of Croy, by the latter's special request, as he had been his and his brother Robert's tutor (*Cran.*, 62 d, 23 a) ; on April 22, 1525 he was nominated to the collation of the same prelate as Bishop of Tournai, which nomination he, however, resigned on Aug. 9, 1526 in favour of John Lietard of Valenciennes : *LibNomI.*, 75 v, 83 v, 86 v, 120 r, 178 r, 185 r, 201 r. Meanwhile he had become rector of St. James's parish, Louvain, in which function he died on Aug. 4, 1535, and was buried before the altar of the Blessed Sacrament : *ULTestEx.*, 166 ; *Mol.*, 512 ; *Vern.*, 208, 271-2 ; *VAnd.*, 100, 302 ; *SonnE*, xii ; *SweMonSep.*, 219 ; *PF*, I, 59 v-60 v ; *Gestel*, I, 152 ; *BaxH*, II, 181-2 ; *Turnhout*, 230-31 ; *ULAnn.*, 1840, 192 : 1859, 241-58 ; *ReusDoc.*, I, 263-5 ; IV, 392 ; de Jongh, 156-61 ; *Cran.*, ii ; *Allen*, IV, 1163, 10.

¹⁾ Cp. *infra*, Nicolas Clenardus and his Training.

²⁾ Adrian VI. made Driedo abandon mathematics for theology.

- 657 Quid ... iam prosit] cp. *de Imitatione Christi*, I, iii, 5, 6.
 671 verbis Mosi] DEUT., VI, 9.
 684 Ostende nobis &c.] PSALM., LXXXIV, 8.
 685 Si iniquitates &c.] PSALM., CXXIX, 3.
 688 perijt] Dorp died on May 31, 1525; four days before, on May 27, Peter de Corte wrote to Cranevelt that he was attending to his friend, whose illness was considered as incurable; that they could only pray 'vt literis melioribusque studijs seruetur vir ille, qui longissima vita est dignissimus'; that by studying too much he got an ailment unknown to the doctors, who then were more hopeful: indeed the patient had felt relieved since two days: *Cran.*, 152, 4-14.
 691 si vita processisset &c.] Erasmus wrote about him to Barlandus: 'Erat futurus magnus si vixisset ... Solus propemodum erat aequus politioribus literis: quas quidam miro studio conantur opprimere': Allen, VI, 1584, 5-7. To Brixius he expressed his suspicion that Dorp, who durst favour good studies, 'frementibus μισομούσοις omnibus', might have suffered, and even died from it: 'fortassis ea res illi fuit exitio': Allen, VI, 1597, 20-22.
 693 Perijt Academiæ ... columen &c.] Barlandus wrote: 'Plus in vno hoc viro amisit schola Louaniensis, quam dici, aut æstimari potest': *BarlHist.*, 231.
 695 Perijt studiosorum &c.] in his letter to Cranevelt, June 20, 1525, Vives wrote about Dorp's decease: 'Profecto non minorem mihj is nuncius dolorem inussit, quam si idem de fratre germano audiuissem. Fecerunt doctj omnes iacturam, quos reuerebatur. Fecimus & studiosi, quibus fauebat, quos qua poterat adiuuabat': *Cran.*, 157, 25-34. Erasmus expressed his regrets at Dorp's death in his letters to Barlandus, July 2, 1525 (Allen, VI, 1584, 1-17) and Germanus Brixius, Aug. 25, 1525 (Allen, VI, 1597, 20-22); and finally in that to John of Heemstede, the Carthusian, he sends an epitaph, although behind time, with the request not to despise it, if Goclenius approves of it — and also to hang it up over the tomb in their chapel, as was the custom: Heemstede complied with that request, and Erasmus' epitaph was put up near the tomb 'in

- porticu' where Valerius Andreas and even Paquot and Bax saw it : Allen, vi, 1646; VAnd., 102. Cp. ll. 55 n, 56 n.
- 711 Testamenti] Dorp had left a will, of which the execution was entrusted to his friends Peter de Corte of Bruges, who was then 'baccalaureus formatus' in theology, and Thierry Persyn, the prior of the Carthusians. They fulfilled their office and submitted their accounts and documents, which, together with the will, were examined by the Rector, John Nicolaï van den Broeck, in his quality of Judge on July 20, 1526; after due examination they were liberated from every responsibility for the part of the stipulations which had been executed, and public approval was given to their faithful managing : FUL, 5613 : 65, r, v.
- 715 vobis] i. e., the Carthusians.
- 718 sepulchro] Valerius Andreas quotes the inscription on his tomb : 'Conduntur hoc saxo ossa Eximij Magistri MARTINI DORPII, a Naeldwyck, Artium & S. Theol. Professoris, qui obiit ultima Maij anno 1525' : VAnd., 102. There was, moreover — before the suppression of the Charterhouse in 1783 — a monument with Erasmus' epitaph, and over it on one side the representation of the Conversion of St. Paul, and, on the other, that of Martin van Dorp kneeling before his patron St. Martin in his pontifical habits; according to the custom of the times, the figures were covered with gold and colours : Goethals, I, 44-45. Cp. l. 695 n. Judging from SweMon-Sep., 237-239, the epitaphs by Vives (*Cran.*, 176) and by Goclenius were joined to the one by Erasmus, and were to be seen in the *ambitus* of the Charterhouse.
- 730 non ... vestri immemor] besides 50 to 60 volumes, Dorp bequeathed some money (200 gold florins : Goethals, I, 44-5; NèveRen., 176) to the Carthusian monastery with charge of prayers or funeral services. He had been throughout his stay in Louvain a great friend of the community : as early as 1513 he had composed some poems on the stained glass windows of the chapel or the cloisters : cp. note to l. 420, and *infra*, *Analecta*.
- 734 D. Joannem Delphum] the Louvain Carthusian convent,

which had been started in 1491 (Mol., 295 ; ReusDoc., v, 565 ; Louvain, 487) was incorporated in the (Carthusian) order at the general chapter of 1503. In 1504 was elected as first prior Joannes Petri, of Delft, *Delphus*, a Delft monk, who in 1494/5 had succeeded John Scullinc, of Ghent Convent, as provisional rector of the new house. He may have been the 'Johannes Petri de Delft, clericus Traject. dioc.', who matriculated in Cologne University, for Arts, in the first months of 1463 : Keussen, I, 695. It was under John of Delft's management that the young foundation took strength and shape : he received the first novices ; he built the chapel and in part the monastery ; he arranged and adorned the convent, thanks to helps and gifts ; he got it incorporated into the University on Febr. 28, 1521 (FUL, n° 2465) ; in 1525 he requested and obtained his resignation on account of his great age, and was succeeded by Thierry Persyn. The 'optimus pater' John of Delft, frail of health, but pure and upright of spirit, was well acquainted with Erasmus, who on Nov. 8, 1525 sent to him through John of Heemstede 'multam... salutem... et amanter et diligenter' : Allen, VI, 1646, 10-13. He evidently was also Dorp's intimate friend. He apparently was well acquainted too with John Briart, with whom he had been executor of the will of John van der Hoyaen, *de Hoya*, a professor of theology in the H. Ghost College, who died on November 27, 1518, and had founded a scholarship in that College by his will of Dec. 10, 1508. The account of that execution on Dec. 11, 1519, and various documents, bearing Briart's and Joh. Delphus' signatures, repose in the Brussels Archives : FUL, 1659. John of Delft died very old, after having worked most faithfully in the Louvain Charterhouse, on May 25, 1530 : *ChronCartLov.*, 452 r, v, sq, 460 v, 462 r ; *ArchEcclBrab.*, 14960 : 137 v ; Mol., 301, 303 ; *PF*, II, 201 r ; *Analectes*, XIV, 266, 294, 295, 298-9, XVI, 216.

LIST OF CORRIGENDA & ADDENDA

Pages

- 123, l. 13, read Bommel instead of Kampen (cp. p. 461)
- 141, note 8 : the same correction of the date has been afterwards accepted by Allen, III, 967, 72.
- 172, note 1 : read Burer instead of Bürer
- 174, l. 1 : & note 1 : read Longicampianus instead of -campanus
- 197, note 7 : read 952 instead of 752
- 244, note 4 : read 29 instead of 27 (cp. p. 385)
- 284, l. 3 : read 1522 instead of 1526 (cp. p. 464)
- 403, l. 31 : read possibly instead of possibly,
- 405, l. 28 : read affection, upon instead of affection upon,
- 461, note 2 (l. 2) : read 123 instead of 121
- 486, l. 20 & note 7 : von is perhaps more likely than van
- 487, note 1 : cp. *ColBusPrim.* for information about William de Hor-
rion's son Michael, who studied in the *Trilingue* from 1530
to 1532, and was John van Campen's domestic disciple :
Cran., 95, e.
- 576, note to l. 36, l. 12 : read Jules III. instead of Jules II.
- 588, note 3 : read 184-186 instead of 77
- 631, note 1 : add : The narration of the Siege in Willem Boonen's
Geschiedenis van Leuven geschreven in de jaren 1593 en
1594 (ed. by Ed. van Even) : Louvain, 1880 : 81-82, is evi-
dently based on tradition, and hardly reliable for the
explanation of the liberation. In his *Obituarium Ecclesiae*
Sti Quintini, the Rector of that parish from 1536 to 1565,
Henry Damen, of Mierlo, noted on August 2 : ' Hoc die
aº 1542 venit martinus Rossemius nomine Regis Francie,
ex Julia et gelria per brabantiam ante Louanium ex latere
montis Caluarie, sed captis interlocutoribus nostris pretore
cum D. Damiano goes, gratia Dei, altera die ab obsidione
liberatum est quasi miraculose '. The two last words of this
apparently authentic report are written in red ink : they
show Damen's opinion, which corroborates Goes' statement
about his share in that deliverance (cp. pp. 660, sq, 678,
682) : Archives of St Quentin's, Louvain.
- 679, note to l. 573 : add : Cp. *infra*, p. 698
- 682, note 4 : add : The account of the *Receptor Universitatis* for June-
December 1542 has an item, stating that he paid to the
newly appointed Promotor, Joh. Simonis, ' viij Rf. ix ft ' on
the Rector's order ' pro vino propinato mgro. seuerino &
christophoro ' : FUL, 273 : 348 v
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MARTIN VAN DORP'S
CORRESPONDENCE
& ANALECTA

DORP'S CORRESPONDENCE

Morinck refers in his life of Martin van Dorp to the numerous friends he had gained through his gentle character, which made him often give way to the wish of others; on the other hand his bright intelligence and his abilities as linguist and teacher, as literator and debater, as humanist and theologian, secured him the esteem and the affection of masters and colleagues, of fellow-students and pupils, and of all those working in the same direction.

In the Lily and the University he found hearty affection with his teachers John de Neve (*Cran.*, 26, *b-d*), John Becker (*Cran.*, 12 *e*; FG, 84, ³⁵) and John de Spouter (*Cran.*, 288, *d*), and with the fellow-students Josse Vroeye (*supra*, pp. 110, 127-8), Nicolas van Broeckhoven (Goch, 276; Allen, III, 616, ¹⁴; BB, D, 267, ¹, 294, ⁴), and the jurispudent Peter of Cassel, *Cassiletanus* (*LibActArtV.*, 267 *r*; BB, E, 140, ³). Outside the Lily he counted as excellent friends the professors John des Marais *Paludanus* (RE, 99) and in later years, John Briart (cp. *supra*, p. 343); also, amongst the students of the Porc, Adrian Barlandus (*Cran.*, 62, *a*; BB, B, 250, ¹³), and of the Falcon, Francis de Cranevelt (*Cran.*, ix, xiii, xxxiv) and Conrad Vegerius (*Cran.*, 12, *b*). Several of his own pupils in the Lily became his friends for life: Louis de Schore (*Cran.*, 110, *c-e*), John de Fevyn (*Cran.*, xxxvii, 91, ¹⁷⁻²⁰), and especially Peter de Corte (*Cran.*, xii, 83, *a*, 152, *a*, *b*, ⁵⁻¹⁴). His literary achievements made him acquainted with the Maecenates of that time, Jerome de Busleyden (*supra*, p. 301) and George of Halewyn (*Cran.*, 56, *d*), whereas all those who were interested in literature and who came to Louvain for study or work, entered into connection with the brilliant professor: thus the printer Thierry Martens (*supra*, p. 135) and his correctors Gerard Geldenhouwer (*Cran.*, 7, ¹⁶, 117, ⁹⁻¹², 240, *a-e*), Peter Gilles (*Cran.*, 159, *d*) and Rutger Rescius (*Cran.*, 150, *e*); the students Claud Cantiuncula (CantE, 7, 10; *supra*, pp. 54-5),

Conrad Goclenius (*Cran.*, 95, *e, h*), Nicolas Beken Glenardus (ClenE, 46, 150), and Paschasius Berselius (Allen, III, 674, ⁴³); the erudites Alard of Amsterdam (*Cran.*, 96, *b, c*; *supra*, p. 170), Gilles of Delft (Allen, III, 922, ²⁴; *supra*, p. 194), John Longicampianus (*supra*, p. 173), Martinus Lipsius (Allen, III, 922, ²⁴; Hurter II, 1474; LipsE, 703), Vives (*Cran.*, 71, ²⁴, 80, ¹⁰⁹, 157, ²⁵⁻³⁴, 175, *pr.*, ¹⁻⁵⁴, 176) and Erasmus (*Cran.*, 138, ⁴). Through the latter he soon made the acquaintance of Thomas More (Stapleton, 68-71; *Cran.*, 177, *pr.*, ¹⁴), of Germanus Brixius (Allen, VI, 1597, ²⁰) and of the group of friends that formed as a crown around the great Humanist in Basle and its vicinity (RE, 96; Allen, III, 628, ¹¹⁻¹³): chief amongst whom were Beatus Rhenanus (RE, 91, &c.), Louis Ber and Wolfgang Capito (RE, 169; Allen, III, 852, ¹⁷⁻³³), Paul Volz (RE, 298) and Ulrich Zasius (*supra*, pp. 57, 230, *sq.*); whereas his spreading fame grouped about him in venerating affection some of his countrymen, like Jodocus Sasbout, of Delft (see *Analecta*) and Cornelius Aurelius of Gouda (Barman, 249), who had known him from youth, or like Gerard of Assendelft (Allen, IV, 1166, ⁴; *supra*, 95-8) and Herman Lethmaat (*Cran.*, 56, *a*; Allen, IV, 1238, ¹⁸⁻²⁰), who considered it an honour to become his friend and protector.

The correspondence with those and other friends must have been considerable, in so much that his former *convictor* Gerard Morinck remarks that letters came to him from all countries, and assures that a collection of his epistles spread out amongst the friends, of which no copy had been kept, would constitute a big volume ¹). He expressed a doubt about whether it would be desirable to publish them: for, he says, we often entrust to the ears of friends what we do not wish to have divulged at large. It is to be regretted that those most interesting documents are not any longer in existence now that the danger of suspicious and malevolent interpretations of some spontaneous reflections is long past ²): therefore a list of the letters which are known to have survived, is supplied here, so as to make the most of those scraps of the

¹) *Dorp Vita*, 24-26, 449-454.

²) *Dorp Vita*, 454-456.

correspondence with the leading men of his time throughout the world ; they suggest that the full collection would have been as a mirror reflecting Dorp's and his friends' influence on modern thought, which then was in its most susceptible infancy.

Of each letter a summary is given along with the necessary notes and the information as to its whereabouts ; when the date is omitted, an attempt has been made to indicate with all possible accuracy the period to which it belongs. Only in case of extreme scarcity and exceptional value the letter is reproduced in full from the original ¹⁾ : thus the epistle 41 published first by Almeloveen in 1694 is worth bringing into notice for more points than the interest in the author ; that from Amerbach (Ep. 37) illustrates the esteem in which Dorp was held for his erudition, notwithstanding the unfavourable impression made by his changeful character. The letters, probably lost, which the other friends of Erasmus, in answer to his request, sent to Brabant to encourage Dorp in 1519-1520, are not indicated ²⁾ ; neither are those missives, which are mentioned in his correspondence, but of which no other traces seem to remain ³⁾ ; and no notice is taken of the epistles from which Morinck, in his *Vita*, quoted only the address ⁴⁾ or a few words, which can hardly be connected to any special period ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ Exception is made for the letters from Jerome de Busleyden to Dorp, since the edition of his unedited writings is being prepared for a following number in these *Humanistica*, and it would be a pity to break up the collection.

²⁾ These letters are enumerated in the chapter : *Effect of the Oratio : supra*, pp. 228-234.

³⁾ E. g., Erasmus' letters written to Dorp, whilst he was in The Hague Nov. 1519 : Dorp *LPaul.*, 1281, 1374.

⁴⁾ Dorp *Vita*, 378-81.

⁵⁾ Dorp *Vita*, 384-91.

Dorp's Letters

1. FROM JOHN DE NEVE

Dorp *Dial.*, E i r, v ; Nélis, 85

<c August 1508 ¹⁾>

Nimis tu quidem doctissime Magister &c.

[D is too severe for his own work, which in style and spirit is similar to that of Plautus ; N has only found a few insignificant details for which he wishes to suggest a correction or an alteration at the next meeting.]

2. FROM JOHN BECKER

Dorp *Dial.*, E i r-[E ii] v ; Nélis, 86-7

<September 1508 ²⁾>

Quod nuper Plauti Aululariæ quasi &c.

[B has read and read again the *complementum* added *tumultuario opere* to the *Aulularia*, and praises it as being entirely in the genre of Plautus ; since centuries it has been attempted in vain ; it is as the completing of Apelles' Venus ; he subscribes entirely to Neve's opinion ; he apologizes for keeping the copy so long, and wishes to read it over again together with D.]

3. FROM GEORGE LORD OF HALEWYN

Dorp *Dial.*, [E ii] r, v ; Nélis, 87-8

<c September 1508 ³⁾>

Quum superioribus diebus in solo meo &c.

[de Spouter, *ludimagister* of Comines, showed H the manuscript of the prologue to the *Aulularia* ; he is astonished at

¹⁾ It appears that Dorp had sent to de Neve a copy of the *complementum* which he had composed *tumultuario opere* (Ep. 2), when he was training his boys for the performance, evidently during the holidays — July-August, — since otherwise Neve would not have been absent, and this letter would have been superfluous.

²⁾ Probably some time after Ep. 1, as it was sent by D to Becker, who was evidently away from Louvain : Allen, II, 320, 11-23.

³⁾ Contemporary with Ep. 2.

the audacity of the *complementum* and at its appropriateness; although he never saw D, he wants him to be his friend, and looks forward to further work on Plautus, and to his letters.]

4. TO JOHN DE SPOUTER

J. de Spouter, *Syntaxis* : Strassburg,

M. Schürer, July 1515 : $f[\pi]_2$ v¹)

Louvain, March 28, 1509

This letter, in which Dorp praises de Spouter's grammatical treatises and sends a laudatory *Epigramma*, was reproduced by Matthias Schürer, Strassburg, in July 1515, evidently from the first edition, of which no copy seems to be extant. On account of the personal allusions in the first lines, which probably were not understood, it was not reprinted in any of the subsequent editions (*BB*, D, 267, 268, 272, &c.); for that reason it is quoted here entirely. The *Epigramma* that followed is found in most of the subsequent issues : cp. *Analecta*, c 1509.

MARTINUS DORPIUS, PHILOSOPHIAM LOUANIJ IN GYMNASIO LILIANORUM PROFITENS, IOANNI DESPAUTERIO NINIUITÆ SUO SALUTEM.

QVod heros ille rarissimum literaturæ decus ac ornamentum, ille Mœcenas, ille mufarum non iam alumnus sed patronus, Georgius Haloinus, meas nugas amat, meque in numerum clientulorum ascribit, non posses
 5 facile credere quam mihi uidear plane beatus. Tui muneris est eius erga me studium bonis (ut aiunt) auibus bene cœptum ne langueat, subinde excitare. Mitto epigramma in laudem Grammaticæ tuæ, doctissimo labore concinnatæ, non compositum per Iouem, sed ueluti lusum pene
 10 ex tempore : id quod uel tacente me tute fatis intelliges, stilo uidelicet fese prodente. Sed heus tu. Oro tu per

¹) Cp. *BB*, D, 267.

EP. 4. — DESPAUTERIO] John de Spouter.

3. Haloinus] cp. Ep. 3.

3. meas nugas] evidently the *prologus* and the *complementum* of the *Aulularia* which de Spouter showed to Halewyn in manuscript, upon which Ep. 3 was written.

7. epigramma] after this letter Schürer printed on the lower half of $f[\pi]_2$ v and the whole of $f[\pi]_3$ r, an *Epigramma Phaleucium* in praise of de Spouter's grammar : 'Heus tu bybliopola lucrio heus tu &c.' (57 lines); the running title of these two pages is : *Epistola commendatiua operis.* / Martini Dorpij.

genium ut editionem acceleres. Neque studiosos ultra fraudes expectatione qui barbariem iam pridem exofi tuam Grammaticam fitienter expectant, eam obuijs (ut
 15 dicitur) ulnis excepturi. Neque enim hercle iniuria, utpote ex qua non uulgarem frugem sunt consequuturi. Bene uale, Niniuita doctiffime.

Louanij, quinto calendas aprilis. Anno. M.D.IX.

5. FROM JEROME DE BUSLEYDEN

BuslOp., 268-270

Mechlin, Dec. 29 < 1509 ¹⁾>

Dedi nudiustertius negotium ornatissimo &c.

[B sent through 'C. Lucemburgensis', a student in Arras College, evidently Conrad Vegerius ²⁾), the news that the courtier whom he had expected to help D to a benefice, had disappointed him; he will explain the matter to their common friend, the dean John Robbyns; when D will inform him what pension he is ready to pay, he will apply to the brother of the possessor, one of the Emperor's secretaries.]

6. FROM JEROME DE BUSLEYDEN

BuslOp., 215-217

<1509-1510>

Quod tibi succæssum cræditi negotij &c.

[B provides information about a benefice which D thought

¹⁾ Arras College started in (September) 1509, and Dorp got Overschie parish in August 1511; so this letter may have been written as well in 1510.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 12, a-d; a note in *BuslOp.*, 39, mentions that he was 'primus prefectus Collegii Attrebatensis': Vegerius, Veccrius, *Wecker*, M. A. probably since 1507, may have come into connection through Busleyden, his Maecenas, with his friend John Robbyns, the executor of Bishop Ruterius' will. Vegerius probably was the trusty person who took care of the beginning foundation for Robbyns, whilst enjoying a scholarship, or, at least, living, at the new College; there was an accountant, *receptor*, John van den Poele, a priest, whose accounts from Sept. 27, 1509 to Sept. 30, 1510, and from Oct. 1, 1517 to Sept. 30, 1519 are extant: *FUL*, 2245, 2333, 2334. Vegerius probably supervised the rising College until 1511, when John West, de Lyra, the first president, took in hand the management: *ReusDoc.*, III, 159. Cp. *Cran.*, 225, a, b.

of securing against a pension of 12 *Lbs* from the present owner, a Burgundian theologian; he also adds that, in his opinion, the pension required is too heavy, especially considering the possessor's age; still if D chooses, B will do all to bring about the transaction.]

7. FROM JEROME DE BUSLEYDEN

BuslOp., 143-148

<end of 1510/beginning of 1511¹⁾>

Ardens olim tuarum desyderium, multo &c.

[B thanks D for letter and for a copy of his *Oratio* in praise of Aristotelian Philosophy.]

8. FROM JOHN DE SPOUTER to Dorp and James Pape²⁾

de Spouter, *Ars Versificatoria* :
Strassburg, Schürer, Dec. 1512 :
Gg iiiij r-Gg v v³⁾

Bergues S. Winoc,
May 7, 1511

Vltimum artis versificatoriae nostrae libellum &c.

[d S dedicates that 5th book of his *Ars Versificatoria* for protection to his dear friends Dorp and Pape, since they are both erudites and poets. 'Tu quidem, mi Dorpi, apud louauienses in Lilio nostro post communem preceptorem nostrum & amicum Ioannem Næuium eloquentissimum illum theologum, facile primus quantum ad elegantissimum scribendi modum tam prosam quam carmen'. He praises other chief scholars in the Lily : Vroeye and Broeckhoven; Raetshoven, both teacher and theologian, who had just died; also James

¹⁾ Dorp pronounced his oration on December 3, 1510 : *supra*, p. 131; he evidently sent a manuscript copy to his protector.

²⁾ James Pape, or de Pape, was a native of Ypres; he was a priest, besides being a teacher; some of his poems, which were published by Hubert de Croock at Bruges, were elegies: others celebrated the wars between the *Gallus* and the *Aquila*, Francis I. and Charles V. : *SanSF.*, 85. He was acquainted with Dorp and de Spouter, having probably studied with them in the Lily : cp. Ep. 12. He wrote verses for de Spouter's *Ars Versificatoria* and *Syntaxis* : *BB*, p, 112-7, v, 268, 2, 295, 1.

³⁾ Viz., ff. *clxxii r-clxxiii v*; cp. *BB*, v, 294, 4.

Pape, 'summus ... ludimagister' of Lille, known throughout France and Germany for his teaching and for his poems. He then enumerates the various kinds of metrical forms, according to Servius' *Centrimetrum* : from Gg iiiij v to Gg v v.]

9. FROM PETER GILLES

Rodolphi Agricole ... Opuscula : Antwerp, December 12 <, 1511>
Antwerp, Th. Martens,
Jan. 31, <1512> : a ii r, v.

This letter dedicates to Martin van Dorp, theologian, *Rodolphi Agricole Phrysii. Viri utriusque Literaturæ peritissimi nonnulla opuscula...* (in-4to; signatures a⁸ b⁴ c⁸ d⁴ e⁴ f⁸ g⁴ h⁸ i⁴ k⁸ l⁴ m⁸ n⁵ : the last leaf, probably n⁶, being missing). On [n 5] v is the colophon : 'Disertissimi viri Rodolphi Agricolæ, aliquot / opuscula finiunt, Anuerpiæ. Pridie Caleñ Februa- / rias, ANN. M. D. XI. REGNANTE IMP. / CAES. MAXIMILIANO AUG. / Theodericus Martinus Alosteñ imprimebat'. The date of this book is probably 'stylo veteri' for 1512; indeed although Dorp had started studying theology earnestly in 1509, it was only in 1511, when he had become *baccalaureus formatus* (cp. *supra*, p. 134) that he could be styled *theologus*. This also coincides with the time when he entered into connection with Thierry Martens and his collaborators; although he had known Nicolas van Broeckhoven in the Lily (cp. *supra*, p. 351), he seems to have only become fully connected with him in the pursuit of a common aim : at any rate that *ludimagister* recommended Dorp to Peter Gilles, as results from this most important dedicatory letter, which shows what a fame he had already gained in December 1511 — or even December 1510; for it is always possible that the 'M D XI' is to be taken 'stylo Romano' — although it is hard to explain how there are no signs of any active collaboration of Dorp with any of the members of Martens' group before January 24, 1512 when Dorp answered a letter which evidently had opened the *fores amicitiae* : Ep. 10.

¶ PRTRVS EGIDIUS ANUERPIANUS, MARTINO DORPIO
THEOLOGO, AMICO IUCUNDISSIMO S. D.

Q Vum nuper aliquot Rodolphi Agricolæ, Viri insignis doctrinæ, opuscula, nactus effem, Martine festiuifime, opere præcium fore exiftimaui, fi a foricum tineam

Text. Notes : PRTRVS <PETRVS> &c.] on f a ii r ANUER-] cp. l. 55

1. Agricolæ] *supra*, pp. 136-9. In the first decads of the xviith century great eagerness was displayed by the humanists to find and edit the writings of the great Phrysian, as much in appreciation of his style and thoughts, as in veneration for the services he rendered to the awakening movement : *CorrAgric.*, 303-309; Hartfelder, 4; Dorp took an ample share in that work : *DorpVita*, 430 n.

rumque moribus prorsus vindicata typis excuderentur, vt
 5 etiam extrariis gentibus nostratium ingenia longe lateque
 innotescerent. At pensculanti mihi identidem cuinam
 potissimum consecrarentur, Tu vel ex omnibus vnus
 occurristi, condignus sane cuius snb nomine literarum
 10 procures (nam barbaros degeneres nihil moror) hoc quale-
 cunque est volumen euoluerent legerentque. Equidem qum
 propter eximiam authoris vtriusque lingue facultatem
 gratissimum futurum dubio procul cognoscerem, tum non
 parum nominis sibi conciliaturum augurabar si nominis
 tui splendor in ipso (vt sic dicam) antilogio velut stellula
 15 quedam præfulgeret. Et eo certe libentius effeci, vt te hoc
 quasi fuscitabulo ad publicationem foeturæ tuæ inuitarem,
 quippe qui ipse pridem liquido ex Nicolao Buscoducensi
 amico vtrique iuxta charo intellexerim, eam iam exaffea-
 tam perpolitamque præter formulas chalcographicas affec-
 20 tare nihil. Accingere igitur & memoriæ vegetandæ gratia,
 editionem tuam publicitus exosculandam, in manus
 doctorum exire finas; nullum, me hercule, facinus fuerit
 gloriosius, præsertim quod tibi summum tum decus,
 tum fructus comparabit, et per quod vicissim Louanienfi
 25 Academiæ, atque adeo doctissimis quibusque plurimum,
 non tantum voluptatis, sed & vtilitatis sis allaturus:
 verum vt interim te etiam ad palmatum quendam trium-
 phum prouocem. Nosti enim vt noster hic Rodolphus vt
 antesignanus quispiam, cum ipsa etiam & Græcia & Latio
 30 de doctrinæ fastigio contenderit, multosque militiæ lite-
 rariæ scientissimos, non dico equauerit, sed & longe vice-
 rit. Id quod satis superque ex operibus liquet, & quemad-
 modum Elephantum a dentibus, ita ex iis totum licebit

8. [nb] r [ub 11. qum] r quum 27. quendam] r quemdam
 28. prouocem &c.] on f a ii v

16. foeturæ tuæ] most probably Dorp's additions to Plautus' plays, which were famous in this country: *Dorp Vita*, 423 n, 424 n.

17. Buscoducensi] Dorp's late *conviva* in the Lily was Gilles' colleague as Martens' corrector.

31. vicerit] Sandys, II, 127, 253-4; Hartfelder, 4-10; Symonds, 544-6; *Melanch.*, 64, 79, sq; *CorpRef.*, XI, 438, sq; Woodward, 88-97; *Wimpf.*, 154-5, 524-5.

estimare Rodolphum. Quod si fas est & alios recensere :
 35 age Erasmus Roterodamum, virum vndecunque doctif-
 fimum, hoc in albo non secus ac Hanibalem quemdam
 collocemus, qui, vt ille cum Romanis super libertate, ita
 hic de arce regine eloquentiæ certauit. Cuius quidem laus
 tanta est, vt nullis præconiis indigeat : ipsa abunde vel
 40 per se fit apprime illustris. Sed quorsum hæc, inquires,
 tam multa ? Etenim vt te ad horum imitationem quasi
 claffico quodam animarem, incenderemque, et ne pater-
 reris opuscula tua diutius a scrineis strangulari. Quin
 etiam vt Germania, que dudum mera Romana, mera
 45 Cecropis atque Attica facta est, Italiæ scrupulum iniciat,
 & velut olim imperium, ita lingue & gloriam & decorem
 tollat surripiatque. Macte igitur & tam magnifico tropheo
 confulens, non prius quiescas quam opera tua in vulgum
 protruseris, vt vel exotici intelligant magis atque magis
 50 Italie iacturam & ruinam. Neque est quod vereare Barbar-
 rorum interim affultum, qum habeat & Louanium con-
 plufculos viros neutiquam vulgariter eruditos ; sub quo-
 rum tutamine, vti sub Pallados Aegide, latitans, Meduseos
 etiam vultus intuebere. Vale, Doctissime Martine.
 55 Anuerpie, pridie Idus decembris.

10. TO GERARD GELDENHOUWER

Satyræ Octo : Louvain, Martens,
 June 13, 1515 : C ii v-C iii v ;
CollectGeld., 151-152

Louvain, January 24, 1512

Rem fecisti, mi Noviomage, supra quam dici &c.

[The *Satyræ Octo* have given pleasure to D, who always
 has liked literature, and only took to theology as it provided

45. iniciat] r inijciat 47. igitur] r igitur 51. qum] r quum
 55. Anuerpie] r Antuerpie

44. Germania] evidently through the works and the influence of
 Agricola, Wessel, Reuchlin, Wimpfeling, Celtis — and especially
 Erasmus. Far from ignoring the Italian influence on humanism in
 this country — cp. *supra*, p. 307 — Gilles uses it as an incentive
 to outdo the model.

him a Maecenas; yet it prevents him from practising letters; thus he is less able than some friends, — such as Cranevelt or Barlandus — make out. Still he has read the *Satyræ* several times and finds them excellent; and so does Barlandus, to whom he has passed them. He is not offended at the criticism on his countrymen, since he loves all men, although he hates all vice. This piece of work has started and secured friendship between them.]

11. FROM JEROME DE BUSLEYDEN

BuslOp., 205-207

<before December 1512 ¹⁾>

Docta illa et cordata (qua me &c.

[B thanks D for his letter, praises his attainments, calls him 'doctorum doctissime', and promises to remember him to Valascus ²⁾ and other lovers of study.]

12. TO JOHN LEUPE, JAMES PAPE AND JOHN DE SPOUTER

<*Fabule* : Louvain, Th. Martens, Oct. 22,
1513 : A ii r-A iii r;> *Fabularum* &c. :
Louvain, Th. Martens, January 1520 :
[A] ii r, v.

Louvain, Lily,
Nov. 22 <, 1512>

On April 22, 1512 Thierry Martens brought out in Antwerp a collection of fables entitled : *Pluscule Esopi phrygis et Aulani Fabulæ non ille*

¹⁾ Viz., provided the identification of Valascus with Velasco de Lucena is correct.

²⁾ Probably Valasco, or Velasco, de Lucena, who was *magister hospitii*, 'orator', and councillor of Margaret of York, duchess of Burgundy, and of her great-grandson Charles. He died on Dec. 31, 1512. By his will of 1512 he founded a scholarship for the Mechlin Carmelites, also a daily Mass in the Great Hospital of Louvain, of which he for a great part rebuilt the church, adorning it with a picture of Our Lady by Simon Marmyon : Mol., 628, 798, 870. A codicil of Nov. 21, 1512 stipulated that that daily Mass was to be said by an inmate of Standonck College, in the chapel of which he founded a weekly Mass : FUL, 779, 2070. A 'Nobilis Dominus valascus de Lucena colinbrië dioc.' matriculated in Louvain on Sept. 13, 1512 (*LibIntIII.*, 186 v) ; he may have been a nephew of the great courtier, who probably was also a relative to Ferdinand de Lucena, a member of Mechlin Parliament from 1473 to 1504 (he died on Jan. 30, 1512), being succeeded by his son Tristam, 1504-1523 : *ConMalC.*, 54 ; *ConMalM.*, 44, 52 ; *Cran.*, 106, 1 ; cp. Imbart, II, 347.

quidem a Guilielmo Goudano versæ, sed aliæ ab Hadriano Barlando mutatae et auctæ quibusdam veluti appendicibus. Ex Io. Antonio Campano & Raphaele Volaterrano desumptis : Iseghem, S 14-5; BB, A, 153 (= β). As the title indicated, another collection had been published before, containing chiefly fables translated by William Herman of Gouda (= α), maybe also printed by Martens. Dorp showed an interest in the new series by his friend Barlandus, and wrote seven *disticha*, which were printed on the reverse of the title : *Analecta*, April 1512. A few months later, Martens reprinted William Goudanus' *Fabulæ*, with a dedicatory letter by Dorp to three *ludimagistri* in Flanders John Leupe, James Pape and John de Spouter (= γ). That letter, dated from the Lily on Nov. 22, certainly belongs to 1512 : for the book, re-publishing Goudanus' fables (α), is, no doubt, posterior to the edition of the Barlandus' fables of April 22, 1512 (β); moreover Dorp does not seem to have had any connection with Martens nor with his staff before December 1511, as is implied by P. Gilles' letter of Dec. 12, 1511; it also certainly is anterior to Nov. 1513, since it states that Dorp's *dialogi, carmina*, &c. were still unpublished, whereas a year later they were in print. This edition of the last weeks of 1512 (γ) adds to an emendated reprint of Goudanus' prose fables (of α), a notice reproduced in the *Analecta*, and some fables taken from the writings of Gellius, Politianus, Crinitus, and, as is said, Epictetes; the correcting and the seeing through the press was left to the care of Nicolas van Broeckhoven. Of that issue no copy seems to have survived; still the greater part of its contents was taken up in a following edition, entitled *Fabule*, which Martens published in Louvain, on October 22, 1513 (= δ), and which contains the fables both of Barlandus' issue of April 22, 1512 (β) and of that of Dorpius (γ) with his dedicatory letter of November 22, 1512 : Iseghem, 242-3; BB, A, 154. It was reprinted — judging from the description in Iseghem, S 20 — in the issue by Martens of September 1517 (= ε), and again in that of January 1520 by Th. Martens (= ζ), from which the text of this epistle has been reproduced here. It has as title : *Fabularum quæ hoc libro continentur, Interpretes, atque autores sunt hi. Guilielmus Goudanus* <with a letter to Florent of Iselstein, [A] ii v : [A] iii r to F i v>. *Hadrianus Barlandus* <with letter to Ant. of Bergues, 'ex Gymnasio Porcianorum, F i v : F ii r to H ii r>. *Erasmus Roterodamus* <H ii r-[H 4] v>; then follows the notice reproduced in *Analecta*, Nov. 1512>. *Aulus Gellius* <[H 4] v-I ii r; also [I 3] r-[I 4] r>. *Angelus Politianus* <I ii r, v>. *Petrus Crinitus* <I ii v>. *Ioannes Antonius Campanus* <I ii v-[I 3] r>. *Plinius Secundus Nonocomensis* <[I 3] r>. *Nicolaus Gerbellius Phorcensis* <[I 4] r-K i v : Fabularum Aesopi Finis>. *Laurentius Abstemius* <K i v-[O 6] r : Fabularum Abstemii Finis>. The book comprises 58 leaves; signatures [A]⁴ B⁴-N⁴ O⁶. On the reverse of the title is reproduced Peter Gilles' *Hendecasyllabon* of the edition δ, of Oct. 22, 1513 : BB, A, 154, 1; Dorp's letter reprinted here, takes up the obverse, and part of the reverse, of [A] ii. On [O 6] r is the colophon : *Louanii apud Theodoricum Martinum/Alostensem, Anno. M. D. XX. / Men. Ianu.* — On the verso is the printer's device : Iseghem, 305-6; BB, A, 159, 165. (Cp. *NedBib.*, 26 (= β), 27 (= δ), 32 (= ε), 34 (= ζ). Each of these collections of Aesop's fables, with Dorp's letter, has been — even repeatedly — reprinted in Antwerp (1529 : M. de Keyser, 1530, 1534 : M. Hillen, 1560 : Chr. Plantin : BB, A, 172, 173, 176, 191; *NedBib.*, 35, 36, 38), Strassburg, Paris, Leipzig, Augsburg, &c. : BB, A, 155-201, B, 290, 4-9.

MARTINVS DORPIVS IOANNI LEVPE, IACOBO PAPE, &
IOANNI NINIUTÆ ERUDITISSIMIS IN FLANDRIA
LUDIMAGISTRIS .S. .D.

E Quidem in ea & sum, & fui semper sententia, viri
ornatiffimi, quam mutare nullus queam, sed nec
velim, vt impendio plus nutantibus literis consultum
putem ab eruditis aliquot nostra memoria viris, qui
5 clafficos autores castigate ædiderunt, quam a quibusdam
gloriolæ aucupibus (nam alios taceo) qui commentariorum
latifundiis omnia occuparunt. Ecquis enim non eo nomine
Aldum Romanum suspicit, amat, prædicat? Hæc mecum
identidem reputans, ausus sum & ipse quiddam minus
10 (pene dixerim) minimo, nempe fabellas Aesopicas rursus
emittere, non carmine quidem illas subrustice conscriptas,
sed profa oratione nimisque lepide concinnatas, vtpote a
Guilielmo Goudano, tanto viro, vt ab Erasmo meo, litera-
torum quasi phenice, serio fit laudatus. Eam opellam
15 vobis ingeniosæ Flandrorum iuuentutis præceptoribus
nuncupatim dedico, eo vtique spectans, vt scholasticuli

Textual Notes. MARTINVS &c.] on f [A] ii r

IOANNI LEVPE] this ludimagister was probably the 'Johannes Lupj de Aldenardo', 'birretatus' on November 14, 1508 in the Lily under the presidency of Martin van Dorp : *LibActAr* IV., 266 v.

8. Aldum Romanum] great services were rendered to classical scholarship by Aldus Pius Manutius (1449-1515), especially by his series of handy editions of Greek authors and of Latin writers in the slanting type since known as Aldine or Italic type : Sandys, II, 79, 91, 97-100, 102-4, 226 ; Symonds, 373-391 ; &c.

10. rursus] he probably refers to the editions described in the preface as α and β.

11. carmine] such as the fables of Reynard the Fox : cp. Schück, II, 45-9 ; Manutius, I, 616-9 ; &c.

13. Guilielmo Goudano] William Herman, of Gouda (c 1466-July 18, 1510), a relative of Cornelius Gerard *Aurelius* of Gouda, was Erasmus' friend and fellow-student at Deventer ; both entered Steyn Convent, and worked together at classic literature animated by the same eagerness for study and erudition. Even after Erasmus left the convent, they remained intimately connected and their correspondence was very brisk. About 1501 their intercourse slackened, and in the latter years of their lives they seem to have dropped all communication : *BibBelg.*, 320 ; Allen, I, 33, &c. He translated fables from Aesop, adding some of Avianus.

vestri hoc leuigatorio omnem tenellarum linguarum scri-
 biliginem prius abradant, quam ad Liliū nostrum vetus,
 atque adeo primum apud Louanienſes politioris literaturæ
 20 domicilium profecti, philoſophiæ initientur. Adieci pau-
 cula ex Gelio, Politiano, Crinito, Epicteto, ſed ſelecta.
 Quod ſi genio quopiam aſpirante, leuis hæc alea feliciter
 ceciderit, pluſculum aliquando audebo, & quædam meæ
 ipſius ſœturæ, quæ interim parturio, pariam : dialogos,
 25 carmina, prologos in actiones Plautinas, complementum
 Aululariæ, atque id genus alia. Cur enim quæſo non
 auſim ? quonam abſterrear ? auxilio videlicet fretus
 Theſei, quondam veſtri, nunc & mei, communiter Nicolai
 Buſcoduſenſis, viri (quod vel tacente me, ipſi probe
 30 noſtis) exquisiſite docti, ſiue philoſophicas familias requi-
 ratis, ſiue venuſtioris dictionis lauticias, quin & amici
 candidi, ſynceri, humani, qui curam huius æditiunculæ
 in ſe omnem deriuauit. In reliquis idem (quæ eſt hominis
 vigilantia) lubens obiturus. Rideri interim ab iſtis amuſis
 35 ſiniſtra Minerua natis, hoc vero mihi palmarium, quando
 fui ſimiles, & omnes, & ſolos in cœlum ferre obſtinaue-
 runt. Valete.

Louanii, ex nominatiſſimo Lilianorum gymnaſio, ad
 decimum Calendas Decembres.

21. Gelio] *r* Gellio 31. quin &c.] on *f* [A] ij v

18. Liliū nostrum] writer and addressees of this letter had
 ſtudied and even taught at the Lily : cp. *ſupra*, p. 125, *ſq.*

21. Politiano] viz., ' Fabella ex Lamia '.

21. Crinito] namely an ' Apologus ex de Honesta Disciplina '.

21. Epicteto] there are in the Collection no fables aſcribed to
 that author ; but ſome taken from Erasmuſ' *Adagia*.

29. Buſcoduſenſis] it ſeems as if Nicolas van Broeckhoven
 although living in the ſame Lily, was only caſually acquainted
 with Dorp, and as if their frienſhip only ſtarted after the former's
 leave, on account of their common ſtudies, poſſibly owing to
 Dorp's accompliſhments as teacher and literary man about 1508 :
 cp. Ep. 9.

13. FROM JOHN DE SPOUTER
to Dorp, Nicolas van Broeckhoven and Josse Vroeye

J. de Spouter, *Syntaxis, tertio edita* : Bergues St. Winoc,
Paris, Ch. Chevallon <1516-7> ; BB, D, 268, 2 July 10, 1513

Quoniam de Syntaxi nostra hanc &c.

[d. S. offers this (second) issue as mnemosynon to his friends ; he has arranged it with questions and answers, and enriched the first edition with examples from authors he had not yet read. He has corrected it, and he is afraid that some things may have to be corrected still : grammarians always criticize others, and are criticized in their turn. He vindicates some of the objections made about his book, about his rules, his examples, his method, his cribbing ; and he replies mostly by quoting classic authors. Taking leave, he wishes his friends to salute 'Hadrianum Barlandum, hominem oppido eloquentem'.]

14. TO ABBOT MEINARD MAN

DorpLDisc., [A i] v-Aii v ; Nélis, 3-6. Louvain, Lily, October 5, 1513 ¹⁾

Amici aliquot mei, & hi complures &c.

[D offers the oration in praise of arts and sciences to M who induced him to abandon letters for theology, which, unlike several prelates, he esteems above all ; M indeed, as an abbot, does not live for pleasure, but resides continually amongst his brethren, living their life, helping them by his example and by his teaching, being the cause of happiness, and an honour to his community and his native country ; he also is D's only patron having endowed him with an *amplum sacerdotium* ²⁾, which allows him to study : thus being the cause

¹⁾ The year is not added but is indicated by the date at which this oratio was held — October 1, 1513 — and first edited — October 14, 1513 : cp. *supra*, pp. 136-7 ; *DorpVita*, 420.

²⁾ Cp. note to *DorpVita*, 371. The parish of Overschie, the *amplum sacerdotium* referred to here, which at Dorp's death, came into the possession of John Pelsken — or John Beke Enchusen, alias Pels — was

of all D's work and the proper person to whom the first results should be dedicated.]

15. TO JEROME DE BUSLEYDEN

Dorp *Dial.*, D ii, r, v; Nélis, 69-71.

⟨Louvain, Oct.-Nov. 1513 ¹⁾⟩

Annum abhinc quintum, vir clarissime &c.

[Five years before, D had completed the *Aulularia* and had had it acted by his pupils; he had been praised and imitated for it ²⁾. That *complementum*, composed independently from the one by Antonio Urceo Codrus ³⁾, is dedicated with other dramatic matter to B, as it had served as introduction to their friendship, and thus had caused the invitation to the artistic home of the generous Maecenas.]

16. TO JOHN DE NEVE

Dorp *Dial.*, [A i] v-A ii v

⟨Louvain, Oct.-Nov. 1513 ⁴⁾⟩

Superiori nouennio, candidissime Neui, quo &c.

[During the nine years that he had taught — successfully ⁵⁾ — in the Lily, D had divided his time between philosophy and letters until John Briard had made him start theology; he then had hardly any leisure left to devote to literature; he apologizes for the lack of finish of the *Dialogus Veneris et*

granted at the latter's decease by Clement VII. to Hugh Theoderici. Since this rector had some doubts about the canonic validity of his appointment, he resigned, upon which the parish was given by Clement VII. to Vulpardus Cornelii, of Gouda, whose nomination was ratified on November 3, 1534 by Paul III. At his decease Jules III. nominated as rector John Stanssaert, priest, D. V. J. : 1551 : Brom, I, 97, 123.

¹⁾ This letter was printed as dedication in the first separate edition of Dorp's *Tomus Aululariae*, in the latter months of 1513 : cp. *Dorp Vita*, 423; it had been announced in Ep. 12.

²⁾ Cp. *supra*, p. 128, sq.

³⁾ Cp. note to *Dorp Vita*, 424.

⁴⁾ This letter was prefixed to the separate edition, announced in Ep. 12, of the *Dialogus Veneris et Herculis*, in the latter months of 1513 : cp. *Dorp Vita*, 426.

⁵⁾ He mentions a few excellent Flemish students who were at the head of the general promotion, namely Peter de Corte and George de Backer : *Dorp Vita*, 176-177.

Herculis, which he edits in the form in which it was cast, since it was transcribed in many copies ; he offers it to Neve out of gratitude ; also because it was first played in his pedagogy, and as it is as a result of Neve's excellent teaching, beneficent influence, and powerful example ¹⁾.]

17. FROM JEROME DE BUSLEYDEN

BuslOp., 210-215

<Mechlin, Nov. 1513/Jan. 1514 ²⁾>

Clara illa nusquam sat a me &c.

[B thanks and congratulates D for the *Dialogus* about Hercules, and the *Tomus Aululariæ* with the dedicatory letter ; he requests the publishing of the Homily of Our Lady, and advises D to write about religious subjects, which is more in keeping with his age and his *laurea theologica*, his *licenciate*.]

18. FROM JEROME DE BUSLEYDEN

BuslOp., 250-255

<Mechlin, Dec. 1513/Febr. 1514 ³⁾>

Pueri in littore, hamo inescato &c.

[B repeats his request of having D's homily of Our Lady printed, like an angler who throws out his line a second time ; he is ready to cure the wound, which it might make ; he further wishes for explanation on four places of the Bible.]

19. To JOHN BRIART

DorpCon., [A i] v

Louvain, Lily, February 11, <1514 ⁴⁾>

Pulchre mihi visum est conuenire &c.

[D dedicates his *Concio de diue virginis in cœlum Assump-*

¹⁾ Cp. *supra*, p. 129.

²⁾ This letter was evidently written soon after Dorp promoted *licenciate* of theology, which happened between Oct. 14, 1513 when he was still *baccalaureus*, and Febr. 18, 1514, when he is *licenciate* : cp. *supra*, p. 138 ; note to *DorpVita*, 295.

³⁾ Evidently posterior to Ep. 17 ; yet, prior to February 18, 1514.

⁴⁾ The year is supplied by the date of publishing of the *Concio*.

tione, pronounced Dec. 3, 1510, and published February 18, 1514 (Louvain, Martens : cp. *supra*, p. 134) to B, in gratitude for B's having called D to theology, for having transplanted him as a *bonus agricola*, for help and encouragement given ; these *primitiæ* further are offered because B incited D to, and conferred, the degree of licenciate, and is more to him than his father, 'pater recte vivendi ... non vitæ'. This sermon may displease some ; it suffices if it pleases B, for whom and whose kind it was devised : 'Tu', he concludes 'siquidem vnus amplum es studiorum meorum theatrum' !]

20. TO HIS COUNTRYMEN

Dorp *Dial.*, F ii r-F iii r ; Barl *Hist.*, 262-4 Louvain < Febr. 1514 ¹⁾ >

In hac epistola Chrysostomi Neapolitani &c.

[D introduces Chrysostomus Zanchius' description of Holland, apologizing for some of his remarks : D asserts against him the identity of *Batavia* and Holland, which his preceptor Johannes Delfus ²⁾ made verisimilar in a little book ; he has seen in some documents of Egmond Abbey the name spelt *Holtlandia* ; he disagrees with those who consider *Batavia* as equivalent to the *insula Batavorum* ; and with Chrysostomus, who gives the name of *Sicambria* to Gelderland ; D also adds a list of epithets for Dutchmen.]

21. FROM JEROME DE BUSLEYDEN

Busl *Op.*, 256-7 < Mechlin, c March 1514 ³⁾ >

Luculens pean tuum Xtiferæ Virgini &c.

[B praises D for his Homily on our Lady's Assumption and encourages him to similar work.]

¹⁾ The letter was evidently written for Martens' edition of the *Dialogus Veneris et Herculis* together with the *Tomus Aululariæ* : end of February or first days of March 1514 : cp. note to *Dorp Vita*, 426.

²⁾ Cp. note on *Dorp Vita*, 139 and Allen, I, 33, *pr.*

³⁾ Evidently after the appearance *Dorp's Concio*, February 18, 1514.

22. To ERASMUS

Allen, II, 304

Louvain, <c Sept. 1514>

Cave credas, mi Erasme (nam hoc &c.

[As a friend D admonishes Erasmus about criticizing monks and theologians, about correcting the Vulgate, and having too much faith in Greek ; he has seen the *Cato* through the press, and recommends his patron Meinard Man for some dedication ¹⁾.]

23. TO ABBOT MEINARD MAN

M. Hadriani Florentii *Questiones Quotlibetice* : Louvain, Martens, March, 1515 : *verso of title-page* ²⁾

Louvain, Lily, March 24, 1515

Multis iam annis, Religiosissime Pater, studiosi &c.

[At the request of his students, D edits the text of Adrian Florentii's *Questiones Quotlibetice*, with the encouragement and the assistance of John Briart, the Vice-chancellor of the University ; he dedicates it to M in acknowledgment of the favour he bestows on those who study theology, and requests him to accept the work of an erudite, whose excellence in the various branches of learning is testified to by the University and by the Princes of the Country, who chose him as the preceptor of Charles of Austria.]

24. FROM ERASMUS

Allen, II, 337

Antwerp <,end of May>, 1515

Non fuit reddita nobis epistola tua, &c.

[E circumstantially replies to D's admonition of September 1514 (Ep. 22) about the criticisms in the *Moria*, and the

¹⁾ Cp. *supra*, pp. 139 to 145 ; Goldast, 157-165.

²⁾ This dedicatory letter was not reproduced in subsequent editions : cp. *supra*, pp. 112-115 ; it has been reprinted in this volume, pp. 116-120.

study of the Bible by means of Greek texts, which he suspects of having been written at the instigation of two or three theologians, possibly only one ¹⁾; he finishes the long letter by offering greetings to John Paludanus, to whom Lister is dedicating his commentaries on the *Moria*, to John de Neve, and to Nicolas of Burgundy, the provost of St. Peter's, Utrecht ²⁾; and he promises to make an honourable mention in his writings of Meinard Man.]

25. To ERASMUS

Allen, II, 347

Louvain, Aug. 27, 1515

Acceptis litteris tuis incredibili affectus &c.

[D writes a rejoinder to (a shorter form of) Erasmus' reply of May 1515 (Ep. 24), at least for what concerns the study of the Bible and the necessity of recurring to Greek texts ³⁾; he finishes his letter by returning de Neve's greetings, who is University Rector; he once more recommends Meinard Man, and refers to Thierry Martens, who takes the letter ⁴⁾.]

26. FROM THOMAS MORE

MoreLuc., 365-428

Bruges, October 21, 1515 ⁵⁾

Si mihi ad te uenire tam esset liberum &c.

[M apologizes for not coming to argue in person with D, whom he knows through Erasmus. He has heard in Bruges

¹⁾ Cp. *supra*, pp. 145-150.

²⁾ This natural son of Antony, the Lord of Tournehem and Beveren, brother-in-law to Anne van Borsselen, Erasmus' early patroness, was since 1498 provost of St. Peter's, Utrecht, and since 1501 'vicarius' in Gapinge; it appears that he resided in Louvain in 1515 and the following years, and his decease occurred about November 1522: Allen, I, 144, *pr*; Fruin, 62, 111, 426-8; Hoyneck, III, I, 233; Renaudet, 401.

³⁾ Cp. *supra*, pp. 150 to 154.

⁴⁾ Probably as far as Frankfurt, on his way to the Fair.

⁵⁾ The date — missing in MoreLuc. — appears on Paris MS. Latin 8703 (National Library), which may be the letter that was actually sent: MoreCorr., 548.

of the controversy and having secured Dorp's two letters and Erasmus' reply (Epp. 22, 24 and 25), he expresses his views in a long memoir ¹⁾.]

27. From ERASMUS

Dorp *LPaul.*, [a 1] v; Allen, II, 438

Brussels, July 10 <1516> ²⁾

Audiui non sine summa animi uoluptate, &c.

[E congratulates D for the change of opinions, testified to by his opening speech to the holiday lectures on St. Paul's Epistles; he heard about it from John Paludanus and hastened to relate it to the English ambassador Cuthbert Tunstall.]

28. To ERASMUS

Allen, II, 496

Louvain <end of Nov. 1516> ³⁾

Quae narrauit tibi humanissimus atque idem &c.

[D confirms Paludanus' information as to his change of mind about the *Novum Instrumentum*; he recommends John Langenfeld, a Bavarian, and expects that in the second edition of the New Testament all difficulties will be cleared up to everybody's satisfaction.]

29. To ERASMUS

Allen, II, 509

Louvain, H. Ghost College, <Jan. 7/8, 1517> ⁴⁾

Quod hactenus non inuiserim te, mi Erasme, &c.

[D apologizes for not having returned E's visit on his arrival in Louvain, and invites him to dinner on the next Sunday, January 11, with a few friends and admirers, amongst whom he mentions John Briart.]

¹⁾ Cp. *supra*, pp. 154 to 159.

²⁾ The year is not added, but is evidently suggested by the course of events related *supra*, pp. 159-165.

³⁾ The date is indicated by the history of the second disagreement between Dorp and Erasmus, sketched *supra*, pp. 166-175.

⁴⁾ The date (wrongly suggested in *RHE*, 1911 : 116) and the purpose of this letter are discussed *supra*, on p. 175.

30. FROM ERASMUS

Allen, II, 536

Antwerp, Febr. 21 <1517> ¹⁾*In alio studiorum genere fateor verum &c.*

E replies to an apology offered by Dorp for his criticisms on (E's) *Novum Instrumentum*, excusing them as theological discussions; E argues that they are dangerous for the one who seems to be in the wrong, as it makes him suspected of heresy; rumours are not to be dreaded; E sends news and greetings from More and Gilles, and wishes to be remembered to John Briart, 'ab omnibus laudatissimum et tamen nunquam satis laudatum'.]

31. FROM ERASMUS

Allen, III, 696

<Louvain, Lily, end of Sept./
beginning of Oct. 1517> ²⁾*Quanquam sum Neuio nostro perpetuus &c.*

[E reproaches D with unnecessarily mixing in the quarrel about the regency of the Lily, thus treating most callously his old friend de Neve, who deserves appreciation for his erudition and excellent influence, as well as gratitude for his past kindness and lasting affection.]

32. TO ERASMUS

Allen, III, 852

Louvain, July 14, 1518

Literas tuas, ornatissime Erasme, non dici &c.

[D sends circumstantial news from Louvain to E, who is at Basle: he refers to the doings and goings of Martens the printer, Briart the vice-chancellor, and Adrian the Hebrew professor; also about the *Trilingue*; he announces the resignation of John Becker as Latin professor, and Barlandus'

¹⁾ The significance of this letter in the history of the connection of Erasmus with Dorp is indicated *supra*, p. 178.

²⁾ From the sketch of the difficulties about the right to the Lily, *supra*, pp. 179-187, it appears that this letter was written after Sept. 16, 1517, and before October 10 following.

appointment ; also the visit of Claud Cantiuncula ; he wants to be remembered to Louis Ber, Fabritius Capito and Beatus Rhenanus ; he refers to the *Lamentationes* of the Cologne divines ; regrets his past mistakes, declares his deep affection, and wishes for Erasmus' speedy return : ' o candidum diem qui te Louanio reddet ' ¹).]

33. TO BEATUS RHENANUS

RE, 169

Louvain, Aug. 3, 1519

Audivisti (nihil dubito) coortum fuisse &c.

[D relates how he appeased a difficulty between Erasmus and a theologian who had attacked him in a public oration ²) ; yet he is suspected of being Erasmus' foe ; he has heard that some are writing bitterly about the Louvain complaints ³) ; he requests R to repress such libels or have them repressed by Hutten or other friends ; he himself protests that he is with Erasmus, whom he often visits ; only he is sorry that trying to act for the best, he falls unexpectedly in the wrong, not being prudent enough ; he wishes sincerely to stand by Erasmus' side, and, if necessary, he is ready to leave Louvain ; finally, he sends greetings to Gervasius, Berus, Capito and Cantiuncula ⁴).]

34. TO BEATUS RHENANUS

DorpLPaul., A 2 r, v ; RE, 175-6

Louvain, Sept. 22, 1519

De honestis studijs, mi Beate, cum uaria &c.

[D edits an *oratio* on the study of the Bible, delivered three years before ⁵), at the request of friends who wish for his opinion in the matter ; also to show that he is not averse to good letters : he used to teach them with such success that

¹) Cp. *supra*, pp. 192-193, and *ColBusPrim*.

²) He refers to the oration in which John Briart had apparently criticized Erasmus' *Encomium Matrimonii* : cp. *supra*, pp. 193-195.

³) The occasion of his fears is explained *supra*, pp. 200-207.

⁴) Cp. *supra*, pp. 206-7.

⁵) Cp. *supra*, pp. 160-165.

the Louvain town authorities, ten years before, offered a 'publica professio' to him at tempting conditions ¹⁾; by editing this oration he proclaims his decided opinions; if the speech is not exactly as it was pronounced, he can assure that nothing in it has not been either said or taught publicly by him in Louvain ²⁾; he wishes R to defend the theories he expressed in the *Oratio*, which his able and staunch friend Nicolas van Broeckhoven will see through the press ³⁾.]

35. TO ERASMUS

Dorp *LPaul.*, 1279-1377; Allen, iv, 1044.

The Hague, Nov. 28, 1519

Miror uehementer, eruditissime domine, quid &c.

[D expresses his indignation at the proceedings of his colleagues against E, possibly also against Luther ⁴⁾; he mentions E's admirers in the Hague, Everaerts ⁵⁾ and Assendelft ⁶⁾ amongst them; expresses his pleasure at having edited the *Oratio*, and his regrets about past difference; he wants everybody to know that he is E's true friend; he consequently requests E to have it reprinted by Froben, and wishes to be praised by him, or at least mentioned, in his letters to More or Pace, to Rhenanus or Hutten, or to Budé; he refers to Man's deep sympathy, and also to a chat which his father once had had with E; he mentions his friend the councillor James Maurits, of Gouda ⁷⁾; also one who is a great

¹⁾ Cp. *supra*, p. 133.

²⁾ Cp. *supra*, pp. 214-216.

³⁾ As the *Oratio* was first printed by Michael Hillen, Antwerp, Dorp wanted somebody who could correct the text, for which Nicolas van Broeckhoven, his fellow-student in the Lily (cp. *BB*, v, 267, 1, 294, 4) was the right man, as he was then at work in a school of Antwerp.

⁴⁾ The proceedings to which this letter alludes are explained *supra*, pp. 221-225.

⁵⁾ Nicolas Everaerts, president of Holland Council: cp. notes to Dorp-*Apol.*, 44, 46.

⁶⁾ Gerard Lord of Assendelft, Holland councillor: cp. Dorp-*Apol.*, 50 n.

⁷⁾ This man, a *Lic. Vtr. Jur.*, had been pensionary of his native town for a time, when he became a member of Holland Council, by 1519. He can neither have come to Louvain in 1522 to attend Vives' lectures, nor have gone to England: Allen, i, 176, *pr.*, 202; and the *Mauritius* mentioned in Vives' letters to Erasmus of January 19, and July 14, 1522 (Allen, v, 1256, 90, 1303, 48-50) is most probably his pupil Maurice Birchinshaw: cp. *supra*, pp. 4, 15-6.

student of Luther's writings; and, finally, E's admirer John Coelman ¹⁾, *pater*, or rector, of St. Agatha's Convent ²⁾; he wishes to greet de Neve, Berselius ³⁾, Rescius and the other acquaintances ⁴⁾.]

36. FROM THOMAS MORE

Stapleton, 69-71

<Dec. 1519/Jan. 1520> ⁵⁾

a) ...*Prædiuinabam facile aliter aliquando* &c.

b) ...*Certe si qua cœperunt gnauiter intendant* &c.

[Of this letter two (rather considerable) fragments are quoted in Stapleton's *Vita Thomæ Mori* (Douai, 1588) :

a. — M knew that D would change his mind (cp. Epp. 22, 24, 25, 26); he praises D's modesty in owning his mistake, and publishing the fine *Oratio*, which shows that he prefers truth to glory; D even surpassed that modesty by attributing to M's admonition what he found out for himself.

¹⁾ John Coelman, Coolman, *Colmannus*, of Delft, studied in the Lily (probably the 'Johannes filius Paulj Johannis de Delf' of *LibIntIII.*, 130 v : Oct. 4, 1506), was the 15th in the promotion of M. A., March 17, 1510, and passed his act of *birretatio* under Dorp on June 27, 1510 : *LibActArtV.*, 293 v, 298 v. He became doctor of canon law and was already *prior*, *pater*, or rector, of St. Agatha's Convent of his native town in 1516, when, on May 20, an indulgence was granted to him, his two chaplains, the superior and the 108 sisters of that house. He died prematurely in the Winter of 1538, for Cornelius Musius, his successor, took his place on March 12, 1538. Musius made his friend Martin Heemskerk paint Coelman's portrait : that piece of art now adorns the Amsterdam *Rijksmuseum* : Riemsdijk, 14-17; *OpmHistMart.*, 70.

²⁾ Dorp refers to the Convent of St. Agatha, which had been started at Delft about 1380, and was regularly installed in 1400 according to the rule of St. Francis. The sisters devoted themselves to the care of sick people, and the community was very prosperous. Coelman's successor was the erudite theologian and humanist Cornelius Musius, who died a martyr Dec. 10, 1572. Prince William of Orange, who was his friend, frequently came to stay with him; at the suppression of the Convent, he chose the building as residence : it was in that *Prinsenhof* that he was murdered : Riemsdijk, 9-17, 20, *sq*; *OpmHistMart.*, 66-99.

³⁾ Paschasius Berselius, a Liège Benedictine, studying about that time in the *Trilingue*, matriculated on July 18, 1519 : 'frater & dominus paschasius barselius' : *LibIntIII.*, 255 r; Allen, III, 674, *pr*.

⁴⁾ Cp. *supra*, pp. 217-221.

⁵⁾ This letter was written (not in 1516 : *MoreCorr.*, 548, but) after the appearance of Dorp's *Oratio*, September, 1519, and before his letter to Erasmus of March/April 1520 : Allen, IV, 1087, 621; cp. *supra*, 225-7.

b. — If D's enemies banish good letters from schoolrooms, they only cause the erudites to rise in the end : for the students cannot but discern between the learned and the unlearned ; M is sorry for things, as the harm is done by men who, being without merit, act through envy : still he prefers thinking of D's glory rather than of their shame and disgrace ¹).]

37. FROM BONIFACE AMERBACH

Basle University Library,
MS. C VI^a 73, f 158 r, v

Basle, March 19, 1520

This letter — probably the original, and without any doubt Amerbach's autograph — covers both sides of a leaf : the address, which was on another, fails ; it is one of those which Erasmus' friends wrote to encourage Dorp in his period of trouble, when some colleagues were showing their disappointment on account of the edition of the *Oratio*, which was as the symbol of his addictedness to the principles of the Humanists. These letters were not spontaneous, but sent at Erasmus' special and urgent request : cp. his epistles to Rhenanus and Œcolampadius, February 5, 1520 : Allen, iv, 1063, 1064. It appears even from his letter to Erasmus, of the same date as this one, March 19, 1520, that A sent this message to D without any inclination or enthusiasm, merely to obey Zasius' request, and to congratulate E for changing sophists into men, and *mathaeologos* into *theologos* : Allen, iv, 1084, 22-32, 45-47 ; cp. Rieger, 35-39 ; AmerE, ep. 3 ; *supra*, pp. 231-233.

DN. MARTINO DORPIO BONIFACIUS AMORBACCHIUS S. D.

Miraris satis scio, Dorpi Clarissime, quanam ductus fiducia, hoc ad te scribendi consilium suscepim, ad ignotum ignotus, ad Principem popularis, dein ad eruditissimum ego vnus e plurium numero sumptus ? Verum

Textual Notes. — DN. MARTINO &c.] on f 158 r

¹) More probably alludes to the treatment of Dorp by some theologians, on account of the edited *Oratio* : cp. *supra*, pp. 225-7 ; if so, the *terminus a quo* is the end of December 1519, when Dorp finally returned from Holland where, on Nov. 28, he intended staying for some time yet : ' si comodum tibi erit ', he then wrote to Erasmus, ' responde ; nam hinc nondum licet emigrare ' : Allen, iv, 1044, 80-81. The *terminus ad quem* is the first week in January 1520, for the messenger who announced to Froben that the Louvain theologians were mad, and that D had been ejected out of his College, had left Brabant whilst Briart (who died on Jan. 8, 1520) was lying in agony : ZwE, i, 263 ; ZwOZ, vii, 112.

- 5 mirari desines postquam animum meum intellexeris
nescio quid boni semper de te sibi præsagientem, eoque
nomine ita tuis nominibus adfixum, ut non tam amoris
in te meo, quam temeritati si quid scribendo peccauero
sit condonandum.
- 10 Auxit nunc fiduciam Prælectio tua nuper in Diui Pauli
Epistolas habita, illa, inquam, Prælectio, quæ diuinum
Dorpii ingenium, quæ incomparabilem eruditionem tuam
mire refert atque exscribit. In qua cum eximium priscæ,
& ob id veræ, Theologiæ propugnatorem agas, non facile
15 dixero quantam nobis ad bene de litteris sperandum
indideris opinionem. Non quod de tua integritate unquam
dubitauerimus. Magni enim illius Erasmi iudicio, quo
apud nos nihil est uel relligiosius uel receptius, omnium
per ora Dorpius uolitabat utpote qui tam felici diplomate
20 in omnibus bonis disciplinis usus, non parum opis renas-
centibus veræ Theologiæ studijs adferre posse putabatur.
Nescio tamen quid e contrario nobis opponere uidebantur
hij, qui neglectis bonis litteris, qui sprete linguarum
cognitione, diuinum Theologiæ studium sophismatibus &
25 contaminant & adobruunt, tanquam illis futurus esses
Patronus. Quod quam falso tibi adscripserint nedum ex
Oratione, sed & ex epistola ad Magnum Erasmum data
facile constare poterit, ubi tam egregium uelut conceptis
uerbis tui instituti specimen prebuiisti. Quo nomine non
30 parum tuæ felicitati gratulor : gratulor bonis studijs, &
vniuerso doctorum cœtui.

31. cœtui] *Amerbach*, who represents æ by æ, generally uses
an e with a cedilla where æ seems required

10. Prælectio] the *Oratio in Laudem D. Pauli*, printed in Antwerp,
Sept. 27, 1519.

17. dubitauerimus] on Jan. 31, 1520, Amerbach wrote to Zasius
that Dorp's mind, like Galba's, had a bad dwelling : cp. *supra*,
p. 230.

26. Patronus] no doubt on account of his criticizing letters to
Erasmus : cp. *supra*, p. 139, sq.

27. epistola] evidently Ep. 35, written from The Hague, Nov. 28,
1519; Beatus Rhenanus had received its text from Erasmus, and
had passed it on to Zasius; the latter sent it to Amerbach on
March 6 : Riegger, 35; *supra*, p. 231.

Quid enim superest ad diuina studia asserenda ? Præsertim cum post magnum Erasmum nemo id muneris subire debeat libentius, nemo possit præclarius ? Ius
 35 Ciuile, iamdudum miserrime a barbaris dilaceratum, Alciati & Zasij ope pristinam pergit induere faciem. Medicinæ studium in barbarorum castris laborans, tribus triumviris, Leoniceno, Linacro, Copo, cottidie de postliminio asseritur. Vnica superest Theologia, quam omnium
 40 unam maxime curatam oportuit. Nemo tamen attentare, nemo huic manus admoliri ausus, nescio quo fato certe infelicissimo, nisi Erasmus, non sine mente reor, nec non sine numine diuum huius misertus, primus ad vera Theologiæ studia capessenda campum aperuisset. Et hac
 45 lenus quidem paucis admodum auxiliarem manum adijcientibus, solus ex ponte ut Cocles quondam pugnauit, barbarorum tyrannidem tantum non profudit, Gotthorum copias profligauit, ferocitatem sophistarum cohercuit, ita quidem ut, tot monstris debellatis, non paruam inde rei
 50 magnitudine rettulerit gloriam.

36. Alciati & Zasij] these two Jurists represented the new tendency in jurisprudence, abandoning encyclopedias and *summulae*, and basing their science, not on tradition, but on a better knowledge and a philologic interpretation of the sources, expressing the data in a clearer and purer language : Honecker, 101, 102; cp. *supra*, p. 57 for Zasius; and Allen, iv, 1250 for Andrew Alciati.

38. triumviris] Nicola Leoniceno, of Vicenza (1428-1524 : Allen, ii, 541, 55), Th. Linacre (c 1460-1524 : Allen, i, 118, 23) and Will. Cop (c 1466-1532 : Allen, i, 124, 16; cp. *infra*, Manrique's *Letter to Vives*) were amongst the chief philological physicians : they abandoned the traditional methods for an exact study of the sources, especially Galenus, whose works they translated from Greek; they indicated the way to the anatomical researches and experimental work, which led up to Vesalius' *Fabrica*, 1543 : Heinrichs, 74-6, 33, sq. Cp. VOO, vi, 330; Schirmer, 162-170; Renaudet, 388-9.

42. Erasmus] evidently by his *Novum Instrumentum* and his *Ratio seu Compendium Verae Theologiae* : Louvain, December 1518 : cp. *supra*, pp. 195-6.

46. ex ponte ut Cocles] Zasius wrote to Amerbach, on March 6, 1520 : 'Aperuit veritatis scholam Erasmus, pugnauit ex ponte solus vt Cocles' : Riegger, 36; he had given leave to his friend to send his letter to Dorp after correction : 'Si vis has literas transcriptas Dorpio mittere, poteris, dedolatis tamen quae asciam exigunt, inductisque, quae spongiam' : Riegger, 37; Amerbach copied several sentences and worked them into his own letter.

Quid nunc futurum ubi tu illius copijs accedis, huiusque militiæ nomen das ? Nimirum, nil aliud, quam quod omnis barbaries, conclamatis vasis, alio uelit nolit commigrans, omnia semel desertura sit studia. Ite, ite igitur
 55 ad restim qui estis Theologiæ sophiste : Dorpius a barbaris, a litterarum latronibus est alienissimus. Romanorum castrorum, hoc est purorum & uerorum studiorum est assertor, non barbarorum, non sophismatum. Nunc, nunc signa euellite, cominus pedem hosti conferte, puluerem
 60 spargite : Dorpium habemus antesignanum, qui ut aliquando Coriolani, Torquati, Scipiones, uictoriam faciet quoquo loco steterit. Siquidem in Dorpio contigisse quod in Paulo compertum habemus : qui ut ab inimico in adsertorem instauratoremque fidei diuinitus conuersus
 65 est, ita & Dorpius cum Paulo ante, non sine minima verorum studiorum iactura, a via nonnihil declinare putaretur, dextra Excelsi mutatione, qualis sit palam commonstrauit. Id quod cum Germaniæ nostræ litterati uoce, affectu, animo, corde, in cœlum usque prædicent : Quid

55. -giæ sophiste &c.] on f 158 v 60. ut] before this word a is crossed off

51. Quid ... (52) das] Zasius wrote in his letter : ' quousque tu Deus ... auxiliarem mitteres < uno (Riegger has viro) > in Dorpio exercitum ' : Riegger, 36.

54. Ite ... (62) steterit] Zasius wrote : ' Ite, ite ad restim, quique estis theologiae sophistae : Dorpius a barbaris, a literarum latronibus, ad castra Romana defecit ? Nunc, nunc signa euellite, cominus pedem hosti conferte, puluerem spargite ? Dorpium habemus antesignanum, qui vt aliquando Coriolani, Torquati, Scipiones, uictoriam facit, quoquo loco steterit ' : Riegger, 36.

62. Siquidem ... (67) commonstrauit] Zasius has : ' Siquidem in Dorpio contigisse, quod in Paulo compertum habemus, omnes autumant, qui, sicuti cum ecclesiam, ignorans tamen lucis, persequeretur, ab inimico in assertorem, instauratoremque fidei diuinitus conuersus est : ita & Dorpius, cum paulo ante non sine exitio verorum studiorum a via nonnihil declinasset, dexteræ < A : dextra > excelsi mutatione noster factus est ' : Riegger, 35-36.

68. Id ... (69) prædicent] Amerbach also took this sentence from Zasius' letter : ' id quod Germaniæ nostrae, omnisque Allemanniae litterati uoce, affectu, animis, corde, in coelum vsque praedicant ' : Riegger, 35.

70 potest esse gloriosius? Quid quod dignius extollamus?
Quid in quo uerius collemur?

Fauemus itaque plurimum tuæ felicitati, & maxime
exoptamus, ut ea tibi tempora, id ocium contingat, quo
vera & salutaria studia, explosis sophistarum argucijs,
75 tandem in integrum restituas. Qui enim post Erasmus
melius possit quam Dorpius habemus neminem. In vnico
Dorpio omnis spes sita collocataque est. Solus hic uelut
Hercules ab Athlante Erasmo molem illam ingentem
suscipere potest. Tu modo, Clarissime Vir, bonis studijs
80 fauere, & tua ope illustrare non desinas. Diuinum Theo-
logiæ studium a situ, a squalore, vindicare non cessa, &
ita vt incepisti perge. Quæ res bonis studijs decori, nobis
emolumento, tibi uero perpetuæ poterit esse saluti. Deus
Optimus Maximus eximium tuum institutum, ut tibi
85 indidit, ita diuino suo rore fœcundet, quin & æternum
prosequatur.

Proinde, quod ad nos attinet, non mihi fraudi sit,
præcor, mea ad te scribendi temeritas. Partim me huc
compulit communis omnium de tuo instituto concepta
90 leticia; partim Vlrichus Zasius, Jureconsultus, Præceptor
meus incomparabilis, cui cum nihil denegare possum,
certe hoc nolui; cuique has litteras mecum ad te com-
munes uolo: tantis enim nunc Principum quorundam
negotijs inuoluitur ut ea in re, licet infelicitè, mihi vices

70. potest ... (71) collemur?] these words were copied from Zasius' letter: 'Quo quid potest esse gloriosius? Quid, quod dignius extollamus? Quid, in quo uerius collætetur': Riegger, 36.

75. post Erasmus] Zasius wrote in his letter: 'cum paucis Dorpius omnium optimorum studiorum princeps est, cuius dictio, si ab Erasmo discesserim, doctissimorum etiam virorum præit elegantiam': Riegger, 35.

90. Zasius &c.] the Freiburg professor wrote: 'negotiorum ... mole, hoc temporis articulo, quo ad nundinas Francfordienses literæ mittendæ sunt, ita premor, vt prope deficiam. Sunt enim complura mihi consilia principibus, & item Sueuiæ faciendæ: quæ ita simul me onerarunt, vt cui prius lucernam addidero, non satis integrum sit. Itaque te mi Amorbachi, ... obtestor... imo ... impero, hac in re & tuam & meam vicem asseras, & in tempore asseras, ne Francofordienses abeant: scribasque & tuo & meo nomine ad Dorpium literas, &c.' : Riegger, 35.

95 suas subdelegauerit, non tamen sine utrorumque incom-
 modo. Zasianæ enim dictionis maiestatem, qui mea
 balbutie assequer ? Quo tamen authore factum est, ut
 simul & infanciam meam proderem, simul & facilius
 quicquid pudoris suberat transsmitterem. Is utut a nego-
 100 ciorum mole paulo fuerit quietior, priuatim suum in te
 animum, eum nempe non vulgarem, litteris testabitur.
 Interim abunde tibi sit, si scieris utrosque tibi toto pectore
 addictissimos. Nec hunc in tuorum amicorum album
 referre dedignaberis, virum ut omnium disciplinarum
 105 cognitione clarissimum, ita tua amicitia haud indignum.
 Me vero si inter mediastinos conieceris, satis erit : id quod
 te facturum, que tua est humanitas, spero quam facillime.
 Vale, Clarissime Vir.

Basileæ Rauracorum, XIII. Cal. April. An. M. D. XX.

38. FROM PAUL VOLZ

EpErVir., [V 4] c-Y v (pp. 160-2)

Schlettstadt, June 20, 1520

Paul Volz, born at Offenburg in 1480, studied at Tübingen and entered the Benedictine order in 1503 at the monastery of Schuttern, near his native place. In 1512 he was elected abbot of Honcourt, *Hugonis Curia*, in Val-de-Villé, near Schlettstadt, with a view to introduce the Bursfeld reform. He was a zealous favourer of the new methods of study and learning, and consequently became a friend of James Wimpfeling, John Sapidus, Beatus Rhenanus, and the other Schlettstadt erudites ; he probably made Erasmus' acquaintance during his longer stays in Basle in the summer of 1514 or 1515 ; on Oct. 30, 1515 he wrote to him a (first) letter, and mentioned the pleasure which he and his friends had had at his reply to Dorp's admonition, recently printed in *Iani Damiani Senensis Elegeia*, by J. Froben, at Basle, in August 1515 : cp. *supra*, 147 ; Allen, II, 368, 5-8. On Aug. 14, 1518, Erasmus dedicated to him the new edition of his *Enchiridion* (Basle, J. Froben : BB, e, 1003). In the revolt of the Peasants his abbey was sacked, and several historical notes which he had gathered were destroyed. About that time, he seems to have been more than sympathetic towards the Reformation, to which he passed in the summer of 1526. He eventually became one of the most popular preachers of Strassburg, until he refused to subscribe to the agreement of the Strassburg divines with Luther, 1536, and was dismissed in January 1537. He seems to have become Caspar Schenckfeld's partisan ; on his arrival at Strassburg, Calvin managed to bring him over again to the opinions of the divines, who reinstalled him in his office in 1539. He died on July 6, 1544. Cp. Schmidt, I, xx, 96, 116 ; *Spiegel*, 8-15, 20, 22, 26 ; RE, 87, sq, 637 ;

Ep. 37 : l. 99. transsmitterem] MS : r transmit-

AmerMS., 78 (receipt for money bequeathed to him by Erasmus : Aug. 3, 1536); Allen, II, 368, *pr*; Reich, 172; FG, 444; *DelPoGer.*, v, 1176-82; *EpObsVir.*, I, 352; *ADB*; Hulshof, 196-8; &c.

This letter was first printed amongst the *Epistolae aliquot eruditiorum uirorum, ex quibus perspicuum quanta sit Eduardi Lei uirulentia*, by J. Froben in Basle, August 1520. It was not any more a spontaneous letter than Ep. 37, from Boniface Amerbach. It was evidently composed in the first place to avenge Erasmus' fame from Lee's attacks : Allen, IV, 1037, *pr*, 1083, *pr*. Volz, who wanted to contribute his share to the criticisms of his Schlettstadt and Basle friends, devised a letter to Dorp, who deserved to be singled out on account of a recent unequivocal profession of his convictions. It was the beginning, if not the continuance, of a hearty intercourse, to which Volz refers on Febr. 8, 1522, when writing to Rhenanus : he namely sends a letter from Dorp which he wishes to be shown to Erasmus and then returned : RE, 298; *supra*, p. 244.

PAVLVS VOLZIUS ABBAS ORDINIS SANCTI
BENEDICTI IN MONASTERIO QUOD HUGONIS CURIA
DICITUR, DO. MARTINO DORPIO THEO-
LOGO CONSULTISSIMO, & AMICO
COLENDO . S . D.

Multa debemus seculo nostro, Dorpi charissime, quo plane multa condiscimus, quæ exactis seculis a maioribus nostris sunt ignorata. An tibi non uidentur ignorasse multa qui sophisticis ac fabulosis nugamentis
5 impliciti, ad ueras Christianasque disciplinas adfurgere tantisper detrectarunt ? Et parum fortasse fuerat ignorasse sincera, si non etiam pro optimis quibusque studiis mera blateramenta & didicissent miseri, & docuissent stulti. Id quod hactenus grammatici, dialectici, philosophi (uti uoca-
10 mur) & theologi talpis cæciores factitarunt. Et nos cum multis dolemus sub ferula & magistris nostris male locasse bonas horas. At nostro hoc felici seculo omnia renitent, & optima quæque ut uere ita libere & discuntur & docentur. Porro optima isthæc studia meditati sunt plu-
15 rimi, pro suo quisque Marte gestiens bonas iuuare literas. Hoc autem ad plenum efficere hucusque potuit nemo, nisi dux ille & lux uerorum studiorum ERASMVS Roterodamus, amicus noster communis, qui glacie præscissa uadabile nobis mare præbuit, ut iam absque metu uela panda-

Textual Notes. — PAVLVS &c.] on f [V 4] v (p. 160) 11. ferula &c.] on f X r (p. 161)

20 mus. Tam ille ingentibus suis studijs ac impendijs
 docendo profuit omnibus, ut haud facile inuenias unum
 aut alterum, cuius os & calamus Erasmicam non perfonat
 eloquentiam & doctrinam. Vt ut uero de omnibus bene
 meritus est, habet tamen & ipse suos Zoilos, qui liuore
 25 adeo turgent, ut rumpi perfacile queant. Nam quod
 assequi non ualent ipsi ingenij tarditate, hoc alijs ingenio
 pollentibus & gratia inuident. Et (ut ait Plautus) : ‘ Est
 miserorum, ut male uolentes sint atque inuideant bonis ’.
 Et alibi : ‘ Istic est thesaurus stultis in lingua situs, Ut quæ-
 30 ftui habeant, mala loqui melioribus ’. Sic sic Eduardus
 quidam Leus, ueluti leo circumeundo quærens quem
 deuoret, cum suo plurimo dedecore ERASMYM illum, qui
 Christum Opt. Max. multis seculis uix a longe cognitum,
 in lucem nobis docendo reduxit, nuper sua maledicentia
 35 incessit, & (ut inquit Horatius) carmine uere tragico
 uilem certauit ob hircum. Nec plane hoc nouum uidebitur
 historias reuoluenti. Ab initio enim indocti doctioribus,
 mali melioribus quibusque semper obstrepentes fuerunt
 infensi, & sunt qui in tenebris ignorantiae hodieque durare
 40 malint, quam ad scientiæ lucem adcurrere. Atque ea est
 uis consuetudinis (ait D. Hieronymus) ut confessa sua
 plerisque uitia adhuc placeant. Tu uero, mi Dorpi, secus
 ac longe melius agis, qui licet salebrofa illa sophismata,
 & theologicæ speculationes pene imbiberis, ubi tamen
 45 Erasmicam istam doctrinam gustare cœpisti, & quam
 suauis, quam uera, quam sincera, quam demum Chris-
 tiana sit probasti, mirum quam te illi totum dicaris, &
 omnino infinuaueris, ut iam spes sit fore, ubi ERASMY
 minui ceperit, Dorpium coalescere & in locum Erasmi &

30. mala] Plautus : male 48. -mys &c.] on f X v (p. 162).

21. profuit] cp. *ErServ.*, 9-15.

27. Plautus] *Capteuei*, III, iv, 51, and *Pœnulus*, III, iii, 12-13.

31. Leus] *supra*, p. 198; Bludau, 86-125; Allen, III, 765, *pr*, IV, 1037, *pr*, 1083, *pr*.

35. Horatius] *Epistola ad Pisones*, 220.

41. Hieronymus] *MigneL*, xxii, 556.

43. melius agis] alluding to the recent edition of the *Oratio in Laudem S. Pauli*.

49. in locum Erasmi] cp. *supra*, Ep. 37, ll. 75, sq.

50 doctrinæ gloria & laudum cumulo succedere. Et sunt
doctissimi quique Germanorum qui uel hoc maxime
nomine te diligunt & felicia ominentur, adfuturi tibi & ore
& ense ubi necessum est. Fac ergo, Dorpi amantissime,
perfice quod coepisti, ac bona studia adiuua, meamque
55 qualemqualem adhortatiunculam boni confule. Salutant
te Beatus Rhenanus, Io. Sapidus & cæteri sodales. Tu
nostro nomine ERASMVVM salutabis uicissim. Vale in Christo.
Ex Selestadio, .xx. Iu. ANNO M. D. XX.

39. TO ABBOT MEINARD MAN

MSGerMor., 235 r-242 r; *supra*, pp. 75-93 <Last weeks of 1521> ¹⁾

Quemadmodum ex studiorum meorum messe &c.

[D's apology of the principles set forth in his *Oratio in Laudem S. Pauli*, addressed to his patron: — edited, with introduction and notes, *supra*, pp. 61-112; summary on pp. 75-76.]

40. TO FRANCIS DE CRANEVELT

Crane., 24 <Louvain, Nov. 8, 1522> ²⁾

Jus amicitie, quod iam olim inter nos &c.

[D congratulates C on his being appointed as Councillor in Mechlin Parliament, the *Grand Conseil*, and praises him for his abilities.]

51. Germanorum] cp. *supra*, Ep. 37, ll. 68-71.

56. Io. Sapidus] John Witz, *Sapidus*, who had studied at Schlettstadt under Gebwiler, taught there with great success, after having promoted M. A. in Paris in 1508, from the end of 1510 to 1526, when he became an adherent of Reformation, and went to study and teach in Strassburg, where he died on June 6, 1561. He was Erasmus' friend and correspondent and a great favourer of humanism: *EpErVir.*, 167-9; *Erasm.*, III, 763, 769, sq; RE, 3, 8, &c.; Reich, 157-77, 196; FG, 416; *Spiegel*, 9-15, 18; Allen, II, 323, *pr*; ADB; Hulshof, 98; *EpObsVir.*, I, 348, 352; VadE, III; Schmidt, I, xx, 83, 91, 96, 155-6, II, 160; &c.

¹⁾ Cp. note to DorpApol., 64.

²⁾ This letter and the Epp. 43, 45 and 47, are still provided with Dorp's seal representing three lion's heads on a shield: cp. *supra*, p. 295.

41. TO HERMAN LETHMAAT

Gouda Manuscript 959 ;
Almeloveen, 66-68

Louvain, December, 29 <, 1522>

The year-date is missing : the allusion to Lethmaat's recent appointment in the service of John de Carondelet, Archbishop of Palermo, who had been created president of the Privy Council, April 15, 1522 (*Con-Pri.*, II, 4; *Cran.*, 56, c) as well as the allusion to the Pope's letter to Erasmus (l. 72), assign it to 1522; that date is also noted on the letter by a contemporary hand. Lethmaat entered his service at Court in the last months of 1522, expressing his gratitude to Erasmus for his recommendation on November 12, 1522 : *Ent.*, 7; *LatCont.*, 388-390; *Allen*, v, 1320. Dorp — according to his custom — was late in offering his congratulations (cp. *supra*, pp. 249-50), and wrote to him only on the last days of the year. In his letter to Erasmus, March 18, 1523 (*Ent.*, 25; *LatCont.*, 390-91; *Allen*, v, 1350), Lethmaat repeats one detail which he learned from this (Dorp's) letter : cp. note to l. 68. With several other letters addressed to Herman Lethmaat by Erasmus, Pigge, John Fisher, Viglius, John Oporinus and Florent Junius, Dorp's epistle was presented by Henry Lethmaat, Herman's great-grand-nephew, in 1653 to the Library of St. John's Church, Gouda, out of which the 'Librye', the Town Library, has grown where the collection is now kept under the number 'MS. 959'.

The letter has suffered considerably from the wear of time : it has lost the second leaf with the address, which Almeloveen still saw and copied. The part of the text which comes in the fold in the middle, is not only worn away and defective in several places, but is also made indistinct through a stain caused by some liquid, which there, and in the left top corner, has dissolved the ink and makes the tracing of the writing most confuse. Evidently the letter was in that state when Almeloveen wanted to reproduce it : on that account he simply left out four lines of text in the middle, without any attempt at deciphering the indistinct words, which, after minute consideration, yield the clue to the whole passage. He shows a similar negligence — or ignorance — for four other passages, which he apparently did not take the trouble to examine closely ; in two instances he inverts the order of the sentences, and in many cases he is mistaken in reading a word or an abbreviation where no doubt seems to be possible. On that account no notice has been taken of his 'transcription' in the textual notes.

S. P.

Sciebam iam, atque adeo compluribus gestiens narra-
ueram, charissime mi Hermanne, te honorifice in aulam

Textual Notes. On top of page, in an unknown hand : Epla Martinj dorpij ad Hermanu lethmatiũ. In another hand, and in a weaker ink : missa aº 1522 aut 1523 : the two last words aut 1523 being crossed off again in a darker ink, used in left upper corner for a large capital A

R^{mi}. D. Panormitani accitum esse, nec eram utique commissurus, ut tu me literis anteuerteres, si certum homi-
 5 nem nanscisci licuisset, cui meas traderem, siue tu eodem in loco tantisper hereres : nam interea pene semper (ut est aule conditio) huc illuc (audio) circumuectus es. Jtaque quod licuit unum absens absenti ex animo gratulatus sum, atque apud omnes gaudiorum meorum estum lucu-
 10 lente testatus, ut nemo non intelligeret, me tibi quidem esse amicum amico. Neque vero id adeo quod istam fortunam ullo modo eruditioni tuæ respondere arbitrarer, si res ad calculos iustos reuocetur; sed quod unice gauderem Literas patronum esse nactas in ista aula, qui sua eis
 15 auctoritate atque ope adesset : id quod, mihi crede, longe meis ipsius fortunis est charius. Neque conueniebat sane, te apud aures illas Batauas summe eruditionis tue specimen edere, ubi Bacchi myste pluris sunt quam Musarum. Neque dubitem quin istinc compendij magnifica
 20 quedam spes affulgeat, sine quo, quamuis egregie docti, tamen neque dignitatem, neque vitam adeo commode tueri possumus. Laudo itaque consilium tuum ac vitæ institutæ rationem. Sed tibi laudo, mihi non item, si vel maxime ample conditiones ultro deferantur. Quam ob
 25 rem roges ? Nimirum quia duo cum idem suscipiant, dicas alterum bene consulere sibi, alterum prorsus toto errare celo ! Tu me aliquanto junior es ; Gallice nosti,

4. literis] after it D wr & er tuis 7. es] D₂; D₁ est 9. sum] D₂; D₁ est 9. omnes] D₂; D₁ alios 11. Neque] the abbreviation for que rendered indistinct by the stain 12. arbitrarer] D₂ adds -ar- over line; D₁ arbitrer 13. res] the s has been traced over and was dissolved in waterstain; possibly a correction from rem 14. qui] after it D wr & er auctoritate 14. eis auctoritate] D added over line 15. ope] after it D wr & er eis 15. crede] D added over line 17. illas] before it D wr & er istas 20. quedam] D added over line 24. ample conditiones] D₂; D₁ amplis conditionibus 27. es] D₂; D₁ et; after it D wr & er Nosti 27. nosti] D added over line

3. Panormitani] John de Charonde, or de Carondelet, was Chief of the Privy Council since April 15, 1522 : *ConPri.*, II, 4; *Gran.*, 56, c; Allen, III, 803, 12, v, 1320, 9.

27. Tu me &c.] cp. Lethmaat's biography in *Gran.*, 56, a, b; Allen, v, 1320, pr; &c.

Grece ac Latine; comis es, affabilis, suavis; Gallicis
 moribus iisque profecto elegantissimis assueuisti; sus-
 30 tines (si te noui) tedium aliquod facile deuorare; potes
 cum omnibus omnium horarum hominem agere, magnis,
 paruis, morosis, facilibus, fastuosis, benignis: in summa
 omnis ordinis hominibus nosti te accom<mod>are; porro
 equum est, ut fort<unam a>liquanto ube<rior>em com-
 35 pares: quod in hac satius quam alieniori etate facias.
 Mea in multis alia est ratio: amo tranquillitatem,
 <anim>umque meum; aulicos mores non calleo; etas
 incipit iam pene ad senium vergere; fortuna quamuis
 tenui tamen contentus sum; hoc est quod dixi: Tibj
 40 prorsus laudo quod instituisti, mihi meique similibus
 non laudem itidem.

Jam quod talem patronum nactus es, non modo longe
 perspicacissime prudentie, verum etiam eximie eruditum,
 hoc vero tibj palmarium. Neque nouum est ut ista familia
 45 Carondiletorum doctos viros foueat. Extat siquidem oratio
 Hermolai ad Cesaes habita, quam Reuerendissimi Panor-
 mitan] patri, Magno tum Burgundie Cancellario, dicauit.

Hic recte valemus. Ego ut semper in libris meo arbi-
 tratu versor, nunquam non mussitans aliquid, ut vel hoc

31. cum omnibus[D added over line 33. accommodare] -mod-
 disappeared in hole 33. porro] D₂; D₁ ac 34. fortunam] except
 for f, four first letters indistinct through waterstain; the others
 in part destroyed by hole 34. aliquanto] a destroyed by hole
 34. uberiorem] -rior- indistinct through hole and stain 37.
 <anim>umque] Ms: ... >uq3: hole makes the abbreviated word
 indistinct 38. iam] D added over line 44. ut] id 44. ista familia]
 D₂; D₁ istam familiam 45. foueat] D₂; D₁ fouere 45. siquidem]
 D added over line 48. ut semper] id 49. nunquam non] D₂;
 D₁ semper 49. vel] D added over line 49. hoc] after it D wr & er
 saltem

43. eruditum] John de Carondelet is recorded to have written a
 juridical treatise: Foppens, 605; Henne, III, 243.

45. foueat] John de Carondelet has been praised for the genero-
 sity with which he patronized arts, letters and learning: VAnd.,
 173; the scholarships which he founded in the H. Ghost College
 and in St. Donatian's College of Louvain, are an eminent proof:
 the latter institute was endowed by him to such an extent that he
 is considered as its second founder: FUL, 1670, 2019, 2081; Reus-
 Doc., III, 38, 127, 137; Tarlier, 66, 196.

50 in me recte competat : Nulla dies sine linea. Omnis conatus huc spectat, ut literas sacras pro virili aliquando enarrem publice, idque gratis. Nihil eque est cordj atque illas e sophistarum tyrannide asserere ; cui rei equidem impar sim, nisi Hercules ille noster Erasmus dira illa
55 portenta iampridem pene confecisset.

Hic frigent sane barbare litere. Tota iuuentus alacriter recta studia complectitur, magno dolore quorundam Rabbinorum. Nuper eruditissimus vir Ludouicus Viues

50. in me] D added over line 52. atque] D₂ ; D₁ quam 54. dira] D added over line 58. Viues] D added over line

50. Nulla &c.] cp. *DorpApol.*, 534 n.

50. Omnis conatus &c.] cp. *DorpVita*, 597 n ; *infra*, *Anal.*, 1523.

52. Nihil eque &c.] cp. *DorpVita*, 193 n.

58. Viues &c.] this reference to Vives as *Quodlibetarius* is quite unknown to his biographers ; it explains why Lethmaat insisted on sending copies of that *oratio* to some of Cranevelt's colleagues, as results from the last letter which the Spanish erudite wrote before he left for England, on or about May 10, 1523 : *Cran.*, 56, 23-34. Comparing the mention in Vives' letter : 'orationem meam quam Louanij habui in Decembri', with that in this one of Dorp, it seems as if the *quodlibetarius*, one of the members of the Faculty of Arts, who according to the *Statuta* was indicated by the end of September, was prevented when the regular time, December 14 and the following days, drew near (*StatFacArt.*, 26 r-27 r ; *Mol.*, 1100-1). In their dread of having to omit that most celebrated function of the academical year, the Faculty must have applied in their trouble to Vives, who had only two days left to prepare the *oratio*, one of the most important parts of the *Quodlibetæ*. The *inventio* and *dispositio* taking up all the time available, he could only write down the 'capita in commentariolij formam', with the exception of a few points, which he could pen down to a greater length : it explains why he could not satisfy his friends' wishes and give them the text of his speech : *Cran.*, 56, 25-34. The exceptional character of the *quodlibetarius*, who, although admitted to lecture by the University, was *not* a member of any Faculty, and the short time allowed for the preparation, may have led some more auditors to the debating hall : yet the excellence of the speaker and his wonderful erudition probably made his bold performance into an unprecedented success ; as the disputes lasted five or six days, the audience grew more and more compact so that at a final *responsio* — which judging from Vives' opinions, and the displeasure of the 'veteris inscitie patroni' — was about good studies and new methods of research — he had gathered more listeners than ever before in Louvain in the memory of man had been together.

in responsione Quotlibetica (sic vocant), prudentissime
 60 ac summo cum plausu auditorum, de honestis disciplinis
 disseruit, earum limites olim per seculi tenebras confusos
 belle discreuit, in sophisticen plenius velis inuectus. Aderat
 tanta multitudo, quanta, opinor, post hominum memo-
 riam uno in loco Louanij non est visa. Rinebantur
 65 veteris inscitie patroni, quibus et hoc admodum molestum
 est, quod tu, vir utriusque lingue callens, ad hec bona-
 rum literarum non modo amator, sed primarius assertor,
 in aulam istam bonis auibus penetraris. Egmondanus
 non est veritus impudentissime asseuerare te cum primis
 70 Lutheranum esse : cui ego sic respondj, ut intellectum
 sit, cuiusmodj vir sis, et quam te amem tuis meritis.

Summus Pontifex Erasmo scripsit humanissime ; inui-
 tat eum Romam amplis promissis. Verum ego prepostere
 vlulas Athenas ! Quin tu potius plastrum nouarum
 75 rerum huc mittes ! Opto ac precor ut omnia tua Deus

63. opinor] D added over line 68. bonis auibus] id 69. cum
 primis] D₂ ; D₁ oppido 75. Opto ... (76) secundet] D added these
 words afterwards writing them under the line 75. Deus Optimus
 Maximus] MS. deus op. M.

60. de ... disciplinis] Vives evidently talked *ex abundantia cordis*
 about his ripening pedagogic schemes, and his remarkable *De*
Disciplinis, 1531, of which, judging from his *De Ratione Studii*,
 1523, and other writings, he was already then maturing the plan
 and the principles.

68. Egmondanus] evidently Nicolas Baechem of Egmond : in his
 letter to Erasmus of March 18, 1523, Lethmaat refers to that accu-
 sation, which he must have learnt from Dorp : ' Egmondanus me
 quoque palam celebri theologorum conuiuio connumeravit Luthe-
 ranis : in quam opinionem et alios aliquot ex eodem collegio facile
 pertraxit ' : Allen, v, 1350, 3-5 : also 1299, 54, sq, 1359, 2.

72. Summus Pontifex &c.] Adrian VI. wrote to Erasmus most
 encouragingly, inviting him to Rome by the famous letter dated
 Dec. 1, 1522 : *Cran.*, 28 ; Allen, v, 1324 ; Höfler, 328-52. It had not
 reached Erasmus on Dec. 22 : Allen, v, 1329, *pr*, 1330, 47-9, 1331, 40-7.
 Still Dorp knew of it in Louvain on December 29 : the explanation
 is provided in Erasmus' letter to Volz, Nov. 25, 1524 : the ' diplo-
 mata ' were carried to Brabant (Allen, v, 1518, 30-1), probably as it
 was thought that Erasmus had returned there. At any rate the
 carrier could announce the good news of Adrian VI.'s kind feelings
 towards Erasmus, who received the joyful news at Basle in
 January, after the 8th and before the 28th : Allen, v, 1337, 1341, 27-29.

Optimus Maximus secundet. Bene vale, Hermanne suavis-
sime.

Louanij, postridie Innocentium.

Tuus Martinus Dorpius
toto pectore amicus.

80

Reverendo Patri eximioque
Domino Hermannō Læthmatio,
amico, Patrono suo singulari.

42. TO MARTIN LIPS

LipsE, 706, 759 ¹⁾

Louvain <, Febr. 28/Aug. 30, 1523> ²⁾

De tuo salutari labore Alardus apud me &c.

[D is surprised that Alard did not mention L's praiseworthy work, which he encourages ; he intends teaching the Gospels, but has no time to prepare his lessons on account of his Rectorate ; he prefers not meddling with the permission to read Melanchthon's books <which Gerard Rym had requested ³⁾>].

43. TO FRANCIS DE CRANEVELT

Crane., 74

Louvain, Sept. <30,> 1523

Qui has literas reddidit tibi, vir &c.

[D recommends a relative and his lawsuit ; his Rectorate being over, he prepares his lectures on the Bible ; good studies are flourishing in L ; he greets the Mechlin dean John Rob-

(Ep. 41) Address] the address is now missing : probably Almeloveen copied it from the second leaf, which has been lost since. On the back of this letter a much later hand wrote : *Martinus Dorpius ad Hermannū Læthm.* That inscription is now covered by one of the three pieces of paper stuck to the letter.

¹⁾ This letter occurs twice in LipsE, without material difference.

²⁾ The letter was evidently written during Dorp's Rectorate : cp. LipsE, 705, 676.

³⁾ Cp. *supra*, p. 247.

alias sic alias moras notant, ut videntur, Utel sit ? non, quo
 non raro te candido sunt. Defunctus magistrum, ad aurum ora
 rogatus sunt. quod ipso aratum duntaxat potius dicitur, Iustus in
 quam possim diligenter, ut aliquando. Litteras sanas per aliqui
 cum fructu audire possim plerumque, per und vid., und per Post
 fuisse bene per pueri regnant, at Philobabaris und id ostentat
 Quod: interfectus, Et longum plorum videntur. Nota inuentus ?
 et, Plurima studia audistis complerent: O si hoc studium inter pueri
 esset: quod equidem mirum graniter, longis audior quibusdam
 hoc und et studium. ut et ipsum pueris, quod ipso exspectat, et
 duntaxat: Duo duntaxat, amicus tuo, und latissima puer. Sed und duntaxat in
 pueris et duntaxat et sic quod pueris tunc duntaxat? bene vale, duntaxat
 tunc duntaxat

Quod et duntaxat a rebus pueris et bene aliqui
 pueri compertis per bene duntaxat et pueri et pueri et
 et pueris, sed illi videntur duntaxat, et duntaxat
 amicus per re duntaxat, ut duntaxat, et duntaxat
 optat Plurima duntaxat, Tunc duntaxat, duntaxat et duntaxat.

Mis. ex and Cranevelt

1. Last lines of Ep. 43, to Cranevelt.

2. Last lines of Ep. 46, from Cranevelt. Cp. Cran., p. lxx.

byns ¹⁾ and refers to Adrian VI.'s death ²⁾, of which the news had just reached Brabant ³⁾.]

44. TO FRANCIS DE CRANEVELT

Cran., 85

<Louvain, beginning of Jan. 1524>

Si ad alium quempiam istius senatorij &c.

[D relates what Erasmus once said about C ; he praises him, and thanks him for the service rendered to his relative ; he is happy indeed to go back to his studies after the Rectorate ; he explains what he expects theological study and lecturing should be ; he mentions the rumour of Erasmus' return to Brabant, and advises C to avail himself of his authority to promote genuine teaching in the schools.]

45. TO FRANCIS DE CRANEVELT

Cran., 111

Louvain, June 21 <, 1524>

Nihil dubito, quin mireris nonnihil &c.

[D had expected to see C on a visit to de Corte ; he wants his advice as to whether the actuaries of the University Courts could pay some taxes ; he refers to Thomas More, to whom C sent his letter of Jan. 1524, and to the excellent influence of Josse Sasbout, a Holland Councillor ⁴⁾, on teaching.]

46. FROM FRANCIS DE CRANEVELT

Cran., 113

Mechlin, July 5, 1524

Literas tuas nuper accepi, Vir ornatissime, &c.

[C refers to Geldenhouwer ⁵⁾ ; to Sasbout and his influence

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 17, a-c.

²⁾ Sept. 14, 1523 : *Cran.*, 73, 75, 2, &c.

³⁾ The last lines of this letter are reproduced by photogravure on p. 391.

⁴⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 113, *pr*, and *infra*, *Analecta*, p. 399.

⁵⁾ Gerard Geldenhouwer was without appointment at Bishop Philip of Utrecht's death, and dreaded re-entering the convent.

on schools ; also to More <this letter probably was kept in and replaced by another> ¹⁾.]

47. TO FRANCIS DE CRANEVELT

Cran., 123

Louvain, <Nov. 13,> 1524

Negocium Gerardi nostri Nouiomagi diligenter &c.

[D has seen to Geldenhouwer's affairs ; he wishes C to have more time to study, especially the Bible ²⁾ ; regrets the want of encouragement from Rome ; he recommends his learned and well-beloved friend, and C's new colleague, Louis de Schore ³⁾.]

48. FROM FRANCIS DE CRANEVELT

Cran., 149

Mechlin, April 3, 1525

Vidi superioribus diebus, Optime Dorpi, &c.

[C wants to know from D who is the author of the *Apologia* against Erasmus' *de Confessione*, ascribed to Godefridus Ruy-sius, Taxander ⁴⁾ ; he refers to the approbatory letters from Popes and Princes to their common friend.]

¹⁾ The last lines of this letter are reproduced by photogravure on p. 391.

²⁾ This agrees with what Morinck relates in *Dorp Vita*, 589, sq.

³⁾ Cp. *Dorp Vita*, 178 n; Coppens, II, 135.

⁴⁾ Antwerp, Simon Cocus : March 21, 1525 : cp. *Cran.*, 148, a-h.



ANALECTA

The following list gathers those of Dorp's writings which can neither rank amongst his proper works ¹⁾, nor amongst his letters ²⁾; they are scattered throughout the books which he saw through the press, or those of his friends, which he wanted to recommend; even such small poems are included as he added to his more important compositions, not because they were, somehow or other, connected with them, but out of literary generosity, and in some cases even to avoid the horror of the empty pages at the end of a book ³⁾. Small though they are, they complete the representation of Dorp's literary and intellectual activity; they supply information which is searched for in vain amongst the more important documents; they second his letters in providing an idea of his connections and of his intimate life; in several instances they suggest dates or point out clues which are most welcome in a study of the man's work and his influence on that most interesting period.

The list of *Analecta* is as complete as possible — for evidently the old book-collections have not given up yet all their treasures and mysteries. As a rule only the first lines of the poems are given: those verses and notices are quoted entirely, which are of some importance or of comparative scarcity, as indeed, laudatory distichs on forthcoming volumes are rarely above common-place praise. Two epigrams on Dorp are quoted in consideration of their author, Judocus of Delft, Doctor Vtriusque Juris ⁴⁾, — evidently the poet and jurisprudent, Josse Sasbout, Lord of Spalant, member of Holland

¹⁾ Cp. notes to *Dorp Vita*, 418-430, 445.

²⁾ E. g., some note or advice added incidentally in some books, which can hardly be taken as a 'letter'.

³⁾ That was the case for the *De tuenda Bona Valetudine*: cp. *infra*, under November 1513; also McKerrow, 194-5.

⁴⁾ Cp. further under Oct. 1513.

Council from 1515, and Chancellor of Gelderland from 1543. Similarly the laudatory verses by Gerard Lister (1514-1515) are reproduced, and from the long poem by Alard of Amsterdam (1523), addressing priests who are careless in the celebration of the Mass, two passages are quoted which refer to the special lectures delivered by Dorp on that subject. On the other hand no notice is taken of the poems and epitaphs made by the different friends at Dorp's death, which Erasmus gathered in the first edition of his *Ciceronianus*, Basle, 1528 ¹).

c 1509

Joannis Despauterii *Syntaxis* : Strassburg, M. Schürer, July 1515 <reproducing edition of c 1509> ²) :

on ff [τ]₂ v-[τ]₃ r :

Martini Dorpij in laudem grammaticæ Despauterianæ
doctissimo labore concinnatæ, Epigramma Phaleucium.

Heus tu bybliopola, lucrio, heus tu
Hunc quicunque librum ære emes pusillo, &c.

57 verses ; cp. Ep. 4 ; *BB*, D, 267, 2 ; they were reproduced in most subsequent editions of the *Syntaxis* Despauterii : Antwerp, M. Hillen, Sept. 1518, June 1528 (f 115 v), S. Cock, March 1535 (*NedBib.*, 702, 703) ; Paris, Rob. Estienne, 1546, June 13, 1550 (pp. 308-9) : *BB*, D, 268-288. Cp. Allen, III, 616, 14.

April 1512

Pluscule Esopi phrygis et Auliani Fabulæ ... ab Hadriano Barlando mutatae & auctae : Antwerp, Th. Martens, April 22, 1512 :

on f A i v :

Martinus Dorpius in fabellas a Barlando expolitas.

Vis ludum, lepidosque iocos, veneresque pudicas &c.

7 distichs : cp. Ep. 12 (= β) ; *BB*, A, 153, 1 ; Iseghem, S 14 ; *NedBib.*, 26 ; they were reprinted in the *Fabule*, Oct. 22, 1513 : D ii r : *BB*, A, 154, 3, 5 ; *NedBib.*, 27. Cp. Allen, III, 616, 14, for Broeckhoven's help.

¹) Cp. notes to *Dorp Vita*, 55 and 56.

²) John de Spouter refers to Dorp in his letter to de Neve prefixed to the *Ars Versificatoria*, *Lib.* II : Dec. 23, 1510 : *BB*, D, 294, 3-4 ; cp. Ep. 8.

November 1512

Venerabilis Patris Hugonis de Sancto Victore *Qvestiones concinnæ & argutæ, quicquid erat in Diui Pauli epistolis obscurum, mira breuitate elucidantes* : Louvain, Th. Martens, November 18, 1512 :

Title-page :

Martini Dorpii Iambicum Trimetrum.

LIBER ALLOQVITUR LECTOREM.

Si quolibet proflare me inter Codices
Lector vides, caue tamen contempseris,
Ne merx tibi sic puteat vel optima.
Expende primum, huius quis auctor fit libri :
Ille ille scilicet Hugo Victor inclytus
Quem fama neutiquam incelebris, nobilem
Toto vagata in orbe, fecit vndique.
Is quæstiunculis, breuiffimis quidem,
Sed arte mira lucidis, Apostoli
Densis tenebris lumen hic affert suum.
Breuitas placebit, atque docta rotunditas,
Sinceritas placebit, & maturitas.
Nil non placebit, nilque non mirabere
Hunc si ære emas (vti potes) pauxillulo
Ac deinde nolis emptum auariufculus :
Crebro legas, mox poenitere desines.

Cp. Iseghem, 233 ; *NedBib.*, 1147.

This book has on *f* A ij *r*, *v*, a dedicatory letter from Nicolas van Broeckhoven, *Buscoducensis*, to John Briart. The editor hopes that Briart will approve of his work ; he praises him for patronizing and favouring the study of divinity ; thanks to him, that science has now a great number of adepts in Louvain, whereas formerly they cultivated rather the other '*artes*' as more '*quæstuosas*' ; Briart has drawn to theology many students (Dorp amongst them) through his advice and his encouragement. *Buscoducensis* names as his collaborator for this edition '*Petrus attrebas*', <evidently Peter le Barbier : *Cran.*, 89, *a-d*,> who greatly admires and esteems Briart ; he requests the professor to accept the gift of two friends, and he concludes his dedication by these words : '*Vale foeliciter, literarum literatorumque omnium decus & præsidium, Nicolaoque tuo aura perpetui fauoris aspira. Louanii, ex Gymnasio Lili, sexto Idus nouembres Anno... M. D. XII.* — On the last page but one, *f* [v 4] *r*, is printed '*Egidii Delfi Sanctæ Theologiæ professoris carmen In laudem diuinarum epistolarum diui Pauli*', a poem of 26 lines.

November 1512

<γ. *Aesopi Fabulæ* : Louvain, Th. Martens, November 1512.—>
 δ. *Fabule* : L., Th. M., Oct. 22, 1513. — ε. *Fabule* : L., Th. M.,
 Sept. 1517. — ζ. *Fabularum quæ hoc libro continentur*,
Interpretes &c. : L., Th. M., January 1520 (cp. Ep. 12, *pr*) :
 from ζ : f [H 4] v :

Is qui emendandis iis fabulis præfectus fuit, sequentes
 apologos ex variis, & his optimis autoribus collegit, vt a
 pueris quoque legerentur, quibus numquam est bene
 instructa atque copiofa bibliotheca.

This notice by Martin van Dorp precedes in the series those few fables
 which he added in November 1512 to the existing collections α and β,
 choosing from the writings by Aulus Gellius, and others, to form γ :
 cp. Ep. 12, *pr*. It was reproduced in most subsequent editions : δ,
 ε, ζ ; Iseghem, 242, 306, S 20 ; *NedBib.*, 26, 27, 32, 34, 35, 36, 38 ; *BB*, A,
 154, 4, 159, 165, 172-3, 176, 191. — The John Leupe, to whom they were
 dedicated in part, matriculated in Louvain on Febr. 28, 1505 : 'Joh.
 Lupi de Aldenardo — liliensis' : *LibIntIII.*, 118 r.

September 1513.

Venerabilis Patris et clari theologi Ricardi de sancto Victore
in beati Ioannis Apocalypsim libri septem : quicquid in ea
erat obscurum mira breuitate elucidantes : Louvain, Th.
 Martens, Sept. 7, 1513 :

Title-page :

Martini Dorpii Theologi Iambicum Trimetrum.

Titulis decoris, quosque spiritu haud legas

Vno, sed iis mendacii pleniffimis

Mos est libros ornare quotquot prodeunt.

Nil tale vifum est huic libello asciscere.

Est Victor Hugo, Victor & Ricardus est :

Vnum simul nouisti, vtrunque noueris ;

Siquidem duo cum fint, vter fit alteri

Secundus, ambigunt viri doctissimi ;

Vterque victor est, nec altero minor ;

Princeps fui doctrina vterque sæculi

Et quotquot annis post fuere plurimis

Vterque magnis anteuertit passibus.

Vnius, hoc est scilicet Ricardi, opus :

Sat fefe & auctor & liber laudauerit :
 Laudabit & calcographi fe industria :
 Hederam ergo tali quis mero fufpenderit ?

Cp. Iseghem, 236-7; *NedBib.*, 1803. This volume has on *f A ii r, v*, a dedicatory letter from Nicolas Buscoducensis to John Briart, dated 'ex gymnasio Lili, septimo Idus Septembres' (September 7), evidently 1513. He relates that he found this book one day on a visit to the 'bibliotheca bethleemitica', the Augustine priory of Bethlehem, near Herent, whose prior *Petrus Impenus* Impens, (1504-1523), gave him full permission to take the precious book home and edit it : Gestel, 1, 216-7.

October 1513.

Martini Dorpii *Oratio ... de Laudibus ... Disciplinarum ac ... Louanii...* : Louvain, Th. Martens, Oct. 14, 1513 :

Dorp*LDisc.*, [F iii] v-[F 4] r :

¶ Epitaphium eruditissimi atq3 optimi viri Magistri
 Iacobi angularis, artiū & sacrae theologiae p̄fessoris
 decani Naldiceni.

Quem concionantem frequens Hollandia
 Stupore fixa, lubensque pendensque audiit :
 Quem pauperum miser ille grex, suas opes
 Vno vocauit ore : quem plebecula,
 Non gnara legis, Afylum adiuit vnicum :
 Quem denique hic sacer sacerdotum chorus
 Simul patrem agnouit, simulque praesidem :
 Iacobus angularis hoc cubat loco.
 Vir vnus inter eruditorum ordines,
 Phenicis instar, oppido rarum decus,
 Professor alme legis argutissimus,
 Quo mortuo (si vir mori potest bonus)
 Mores probi, sacraeque flerunt litterae,
 Lugubribus, pullisque cinctae vestibus.
 Ah mors (fed, hei misero mihi, quidnam eloquar ?)
 Proh seu mors, quantum intulisti huic loco,
 Quantum semel fudisti amaritudinis :
 Quae lumen eius vnicum, vno item die
 Atra repente obnubilas caligine.
 At qui velis, nolis, bonus virtutum odor
 Nares replet mortaliumque & Coelitum :

Mens viuuit illis, expedita corpore
 Noctueque & hora, qua Dioecesis deus
 Martinus ille pontifex obdormiit. ¹⁾
 Sed heus viator, huic precatus perpetem
 Lucem, & quietem ; tu ²⁾ interim viuas diu.
 At hic diu nihil est. Proin viuas bene. ³⁾

Dorp *LDisc.*, [F 4] r :

¶ In fonticulum lauandis manibus fuspensum.
 Mane sopore satur, mox abluis ora, manusque
 Fonticulo, cur non mens quoque lota nitet ?

¶ In falina dono missa M. H.
 Sal tibi multus inest. Charites sapere & lepor est sal :
 Vascula ne defint, bina falilla damus.
 Nil volo quod referas nobis, munuscula sunt :
 Atqui ingratus ero, verbula bina refer.

¶ Iodoci Delfi vtriusque iuris doctoris Epygramma
 ad Martinum Dorpium. ⁴⁾
 Vmbria Callimacho, iactat se Roma Tibullo :
 Gaudet Apollineis Corduba læta viris :

¹⁾ It follows that James Hoeck died on Nov. 11 (the dying day of the patron-saint of Utrecht diocese St. Martin : *BelgSChron.*, 1, 148), 1509/12.

²⁾ In the copies L₁, B₁, B₂ : tn. The following line is on f [F 4] r. The punctuation of this *Epitaphium* has been arranged to suit the sense.

³⁾ The absence of any mention of any close relationship between Dorp and Hoeck makes it almost sure that the latter was not an uncle of the Louvain professor : cp. *supra*, p. 292.

⁴⁾ Jodocus Delphius is, without doubt, Josse Sasbout, born at Delft from an old patrician family ; he matriculated in Louvain on Oct. 8, 1506 (*LibIntIII.*, 130 v) ; he studied literature and wrote poems in his spare time ; being possibly an inmate of the Lily, he cultivated Dorp's acquaintance, and remained in connection with him after he had left Louvain to study law and promote D. V. J. In 1515 he became a member of Holland Council and he availed himself of his authority to favour learning and good instruction, for which Dorp praised him on June 21, 1524 to their common friend Cranevelt : *Cran.*, 111, 64, 113, 8, 123, 68. From 1532 he corresponded with Erasmus, and in 1543 he became Chancellor of Gelderland : he died at Arnhem, Nov. 14, 1546, having composed his own epitaph : *Cran.*, 113, a ; Hoynck, II, i, 310, III, i, 5, 8, 82 ; Guicc., 185 ; EE, 1436, B, 1513, E, 1863, E ; Ent., 133 ; FG, 416 ; Allen, IV, 1092, 15 ; Opmeer, I, 460 b ; *OpmHistMart.*, 69 ; *Erasm.*, IV, 796 ; Henne, VIII, 23.

Naso quidem rara est Pelignis gloria aquosis,
 Et decus est Lybicus Comicus Apher agris :
 Arpinum Cicerone tumet, Verona Catullo,
 Mantua grandifono clara Marone suo est :
 Mirantur te cerulei, Martine, Bataui,
 Teque vocant patrie spemque decusque sue :
 Presentem tibi nempe deumque nouemque forores
 Cyprigena, Alcides, Aula Reperta probant ;
 Quique tuo scitus manavit ab ore libellus
 Testatur sacris te ora rigasse vadis.
 Quare age, securus vulgi triuialia sperne
 Iudicia : Aonius te chorus omnis amat.

A note in the right margin referring to the 10th line of this epigram : ' Cyprigena, Alcides, Aula Reperta ', gives an explanation of the names : Ciprige-na alcides / hoc est dia / logus in quo / venus Her / culem in suam / militiam sol / licitat / Aula reper / ta. f. <= scilicet > Comple / mentum Au- / lularie / Plautine /. — This epigram is reproduced in Nélis, 93-4 ; it may have been composed any time after 1508/9, and was probably printed in the first issue of the *Tomus* : cp. *supra*, p. 328. The last line of page [F 4] r (the reverse being blank) in DorpLDisc. is

¶ Optima est ars fine arte : & odiosa sp affectatio

November 1513.

Plutarchi Chæronensis *De tuenda bona valetudine præcepta*,
Erasmus interprete : Louvain, Th. Martens, November 1513 ¹⁾ :

on f E iiii v :

Martinus Dorpius in historiam Sufannæ vitris pictam
 ad Cartufios Louanii. ²⁾

¶ Vbi lauantes fenestras aggrediuntur.

Casta Sufanna lauat vitreo sua gurgite membra
 Quæ vasa fenum ardescit temerare libido.

¹⁾ Cp. Iseghem, 243 ; *NedBib.*, 1743. The texts are quoted from the two last quires D & E which are joined by mistake to quires A, B and C of Dorp's *Oratio de Laudibus Disciplinarum* : cp. *supra*, pp. 319-23.

²⁾ The Louvain Charterhouse is recorded to have had fine stained glass windows in its chapel and cloister ; its chronicle mentions that about 1502 some of them adorning the chapel were conceived and executed by ' Magister ' Henry van Diependael, an artist working in Louvain, who may also have made those to which Dorp refers : *Chron- CartLov.*, 450 r ; *Louvain*, 489, 265-6.

¶ Vbi a fenibus condemnatur.

Iudicat infontem legis censura Sufannam
Imponitque rudi grauitas vulpina popello.

¶ Vbi a Daniele fenes falsi conuincuntur.

Ast Daniel falsi proprio conuincit ab ore
Auctores necis iniustæ cenfetque necandos.

¶ Vbi fenes lapidibus obruuntur.

Occidunt volucris faxorum grandine fontes :
Afficit iniustos sua pœna, parata Sufannæ.

¶ In Rotam fortunæ Martinus Dorpius.

Me fortuna leuat : me cella sustinet arce :
Sors mea declinat : proh me mea comprimit imo.

on f [E 5] r :

¶ Disticha aliquot Martini Dorpii ascribenda vitris
in quibus picta est parabola filii prodigi.

¶ Primum vbi abituro a patre numeratur pecunia.

Ecce peregrinas cupienti visere terras
Iusta facultatum numeratur porcio gnato.

¶ Secundum vbi conuiuatur ac scortatur.

Luditur, ac bibitur : quid non impenditur ? auri
Scilicet aucupium turba hæc sectatur auara.

¶ Tercium vbi cum fene aleatore ludit.

Multiugo iuuenem veterator callidus astu
Ludit : & emungit : dum luditur alea pernox.

¶ Quartum vbi fortunam suam lamentatur.

Dira fames largum lachrymarum exuscitat imbrem :
Omnia destituunt quem nummus deferit illex.

¶ Quintum vbi operam locat agricolæ.

Quem piguit patris victus mercede pufilli,
Sponte locans operam cupit inferuire colono.

¶ Sextum vbi glandes ad esum colligit.

Deuorat, vt pecudes, pulsas ex arbore glandes :
Glandibus esuries sua condimenta ministrat.

¶ Septimum vbi filiquas ingurgitat.
 Cogitur hic filiquas fociis subducere porcis.
 Hei mihi ! me miserum ! canitur lachrymabile carmen.

¶ Octauum vbi patrem reuifit.
 Pœnitet, adque patrem certum est repedare : regressum
 Suſcipit expaffis ſenior lætiſſimus vlnis.

¶ Nonum vbi priſtino ornatu decoratur.
 Dudum ſepofitis ornatur veſtibus : auro
 Clauduntur digiti : par eſt noua gratia primæ.

on f [E 5] v :

¶ Martinus Dorpius Lectoribus.

Quo vobis labores minuam, ſtudioſi, collegi quæ in hiis
 libellis acciderunt errata : non chalcographorum modo,
 ſed eius quoque qui exemplaria tranſcripſit mendose :
 niſi forte exemplaria etiam ipſa parum fuerint integra.
 In plæriſque fretus ſum coniecturis quibus nolim ita vos
 niti, vti tripodos oraculis : quin liberum eſto vel ſequi
 vel reſpuere, modo ſtudium erga vos noſtrum agnoſcatis.

Then follow 18 lines of corrections on f [E 5] v and 22 on f [E 6] r, which
 precede the colophon : cp. *ſupra*, p. 322 ; the laſt page is blank.

February 1514.

Martini Dorpii ... *Dialogus in quo Venus & Cupido &c.* :
 Louvain, Th. Martens, <c Febr. 28,> 1514 :

Dorp*Dial.*, [E ii] v :

Iodocus Delphus, vtriuſque Iuris doctor, ad ſtudioſam
 Iuuentutem, in laudem complementi Aululariæ.

Tu modo Plautini pubes ſtudioſa leporis,
 Cecropios Latio quæ legis ore ſales,
 Huc ades : en quondam Siluani perdita luco,
 Nunc tandem miſero eſt aula reperta ſeni ;
 Et quæ manca fuit multis iam fabula ſcelis,
 Integra excelfum tollit in aſtra caput.
 Nec nouus eſt cupidus auctor qui leſerit aures :
 Plautus ab infernis huc remeauit aquis.

Contemporary with, if not prior to, the performance of the *Aulularia*,
 Sept. 1508.

Dorp *Dial.*, F i r-F ii r :

Ad doctissimum amicum Magistrum Ioannem Borsalum,
Canonicum Middelburgenfem.

❏ Carmen Iambicum Martini Dorpii.

Versus tuos legi, tuos inquam Hercule &c.

49 lines; the poem is a reply to another by Becker, thanking Dorp for praising his verses, which, he said, did not deserve such a laudatory poem; the reference to Hercules and Venus suggests the date 1508-1509.

Dorp *Dial.*, F ii r :

Epitaphium illustrissimæ Margaritæ Anglicanæ, Nomina-
tissimi Bellatoris Caroli Burgundionum ducis vxoris.

Dum pauxilla legas mea verba : resiste parumper &c.

20 lines. Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, died on November 23, 1503, being buried in the chapel of the Franciscans in the town that was her dowry, Mechlin : Gestel, 1, 72; *Mechelen*, 11, 2-3; her generosity and her beneficent influence on the intellectual and moral life of our country was not soon forgotten (*BarlHist.*, 184). In her latter years she showed particular sympathy with the University, as from about 1490, she had connected with her Court John Briart, first as her confessor and chaplain, and afterwards as her councillor and trusty adviser. It seems that the most wise and learned Princess never took any decision of any importance without asking his opinion. He used his influence to provide the Louvain professors and erudites with livings, making her understand that prebends and benefices should not be granted like temporal preferments, but that the good of the Church had to be considered above all. He probably obtained for several of his fellow-students and colleagues her liberal help, as for example the wherewithal for Adrian of Utrecht to promote Doctor of Theology, June 21, 1491 : *VAnd.*, 95-6; several worthy men were provided by her with livings, which were the beginnings of their well-being; possibly, through his influence, too, some poorer convents, like the Louvain Charterhouse, were generously endowed; she also reformed e. g., the Hospital and the Dominican convent in Louvain : *ChronCart-Lov.*, 443 v, 451 r; *Mol.*, 295-6. At her decease Briart saw to the execution of her will, and returned to Louvain, having acquired a modest competence during the fourteen years he had been in her service : *MSGerMor.*, 393 v. Possibly some gifts distributed amongst the students, may have inspired Dorp to praise the memory of that great woman by this epitaph, which seems to have been composed soon after her decease.

In his *Monumenta Sepulchralia ... Brabantiae* (Antwerp, 1613), Fr. Sweerts ascribes to Dorp the epitaph erected in memory of her in the *ambitus* of the Louvain Charterhouse : it praises her kindness to the erudite and the virtuous. The text is :

SweMonSep., 235-236 :

D. MARGARITÆ, CAROLI DVCIS BVRGVNDIÆ VXORIS

MARGARIS Anglorum sum stemmate nata superbo :

Regis foror recitanda, Regis filia.

CAROLVS est coniux Burgundio, marte peremptus :

Dein ter nouem viduata dego confules.

Interea quæ cura rogas ? fuit vnica cura

Viros fouere sacros, sacrasque feminas.

Quid docti ? doctis templorum confero curas

Quibuflibet, legem modo norint sacram.

Quid tibi Magnates ? tibi quid Simonis alumni ?

Male audiunt, petentes quod dari est nefas.

Hæc mihi fas de me : narrabunt cætera veri

Similem expetentes & sacri & docti viri.

March 1514.

Adrian Barlandus, *Versuum ex Bucolicis Vergilii prouerbialium Collectanea* : Louvain, Th. Martens, March 1514 ¹⁾ :

Title-page :

Martini Dorpii Epigramma Iambicum trimetrum.

Emptor loquitur, respondet libellus.

Heus tu libelle, tuus quis auctor ? quando nunc &c.

15 lines. Cp. *BB*, B, 250, where these verses are reprinted, with this difference that line 11 reads *Quis vsus is*, &c., whereas my copy has *Quis vsus iis*, &c.; they are also found in the second edition : *BB*, B, 252.

1514-1515.

EE, 1654, c-e :

CARMEN LYSTRII AD DORPIVM ²⁾

Salve, mi lepide ac diserte Dorpi,

Vestri Gymnasii decus supremum,

¹⁾ In his letter to John de Spouter, on the reverse of the title-page, Barlandus relates that having gathered and explained some choice verses from the *Æneis*, Dorp and Geldenhouwer advised him to gather some from the other works, and thus contribute to the better appreciation of Virgil's poetry.

²⁾ Gerard Lister was Dorp's friend and fellow-student : cp. *supra*, pp. 143, 187.

Instar qui volucris Jovi dicatæ,
 Quamvis per scopulos salesque tranes
 Arcanæ deitatis, haud leporum
 Oblivisceris attamen bonorum ;
 Verum ut summus es libris sacratis,
 Sic in litterulis bonis, secundas
 Certe post niveum tenes Erasmum ;
 Quem si, sic ut amas, colisque docto
 Expressisse animo, sequique cures,
 (Quod certe facere expedit, decetque)
 Phoenix alter eris, decusque mundi.

This poem is published in EE, as a sequel to Erasmus' letter to Dorp about his criticisms on de Neve during the altercation about the regency of the Lily, second half of September or first days of October 1517 : cp. *supra*, pp. 184-187. Without any doubt this poem is much earlier : it supposes Dorp still to be part and parcel of his *Gymnasium*, which he left on his appointment as president of the Holy Ghost College, September 30, 1515. The comparison with Erasmus, in which Dorp is said to be second to him, implies that at least some of his writings had appeared ; without doubt the epithets of *lepide* and *diserte* in the first line, and the fact that, although studying theology, he does not forget good jokes, point to the editing of the *Tomus Aululariæ adiectum* with its jests, and that of his various *orationes*. It follows that Lister wrote his poem in 1514 — when he could still safely assert Dorp's superiority as theologian, for Erasmus' *Novum Testamentum* was only issued in February 1516 ; — or possibly in the first months of 1515, when perhaps Dorp's admonition of September 1514 was not so well known, and he still could refer to a hearty mutual affection upon, which not the shadow of a suspicion seemed to have been cast as yet.

January 1515

Rodolphi Agricole Phrisij *Dialectica* : Louvain, Th. Martens,
 January 12, 1515 :

Title-page :

Dorpius Studiosis

Vt rectis studiis confulatur, studiofi, excusa sunt vobis
 hæc Agricolæ dialectica : quibus nihil cenfeo vtilius
 futurum iis, qui veram sectantur artem diferte eloquen-
 terque dicendi : quique non verbis tantum inanibus, sed
 vberi rerum copia studeant summa cum admiratione
 perfluere, atque de re qualibet ex probabilibus appo-
 site, decenterque ratiocinari : quod noster ille munus esse

dialecticum testatur; hic itaque garrula sophistarum deliramenta ne expectetis: verum ea expectate quæ a multis, scientiarum limites confundentibus, rhetoricæ tributa, propria tamen sunt dialecticæ; quæque in Aristotelis Ciceronisque libris desiderantur: quibus certe hic liber nihilo est inferior, siue elegantiam filumque dictionis spectemus, siue doctrine præceptorumque traditionem. Valete.

This advice is printed under the title — one line — and over the large printer's mark. Cp. Iseghem, 248; *NedBib.*, 45. Dorp had taken a special interest in the writings of the great Agricola: cp. *supra*, pp. 336, 358; *CorrAgric.*, 303-305.

March 1515

Hadriani Florentii de Traiecto, *Questiones Quotlibeticæ*: Louvain, Th. Martens, March 1515:

on f [3 3] v:

Dicta Dorpii.

Comœdia est vita mundi: Totus

[mundus est homini. Pio quidē theologia
Impio vero heresis.

These lines are printed on the last page, under the coat of arms of Maximilian and Charles of Austria, and under an advice of the printer to bear in mind the privilege granted for this book, which finishes with the threat CAVETO.

April 1523

Alard of Amsterdam, *Ritus edendi Paschalis Agni, Decem item plagæ, siue clades, quibus olim ob Pharaonis impietatem, misere diuexata est Aegyptus Cum alijs non nullis eodem spectantibus, ex quibus haud obscure calamitosiss. huius sæculi faciem depræhendas*: Amsterdam, April 2, 1523 ¹⁾.

¹⁾ The book, illustrated by several woodcuts and by the author's portrait, was dedicated by Alard to James Valeolætus of Middelburg by letter dated from the house of the printer Peter Dodo 'ad castrum angelicum', 'sub gallicinium postridie natalis D. Gregorii' <March 13> 1523. The colophon is dated from 'pridie parasceues Christianæ <April 2,> 1523'.

On f E ij v :

¶ In canonem Missæ per Martinum Dorpium Louanij interpretandum, carmen Alardi Amstelredami, quo fatis acriter taxat sacrificulos, sciolosque quosdam, qui ignorata sacrorum ratione, preteritaque optima meditandi via, post vtcunque absolutum horarum pensum, quas nescio preculas vt infantissimas, ita & frigidissimas permurmurantes impudenter, & illotis pedibus ad sacrosanctum missarum sacrificium erumpunt. Pieque adhortatur, vt ea primum discant, quæ ad suum pertinent institutum, eaque meditentur quæ acerbissimam Christi passionem spirant, referuntque. Quippe quæ semper vnicus debet esse scopus omnium sacris operantium.

Tot nascentia regna, tot renata, &c.

<Great is the work that is effected ; yet whereas for ordinary trades, aptitude and qualifications are required, the blessed Sacrament is handled by men, who are unworthy and untrained, men who, because they are without any intelligence, are addicted to all vices ; consequently A implores priests to think of what they are doing, and advises (E iij v, b-[E 4] r, a) : >

Proinde si tibi sensus vllus, vlla mens est,
Exhortor, moneoque, confuloque,
Scholam in tempore vife Dorpianam :
In hunc fige scopum tuos ocellos,
Tantisper celeres vibrans sagittas
Dum tangas, penetresque destinatum
Collimesque locum, haud sequeris istos
Qui testaque, lutoque persequuntur. &c.
... Proinde si tibi sensus vllus, vlla mens est
Hunc & pectore, et hunc sinu teneto :
Hunc ediscito, & hunc subinde verfa,
Hoc & tranfige tempus omne libro
Quo nil tectius, eruditiusque. &c.
... Quæ te tot retinent moræ quid arcent
Veterno, refinaque pigriorem
Quin discis ; cito discce, quæso :
Nam semper datur omnibus studendi,
Non occasio semper audiendi.

on *f* [E 4] *r*, *a* :

Aliud eiusdem in eodem.

Et dici cupis, & cupis videri &c.

<By ignoring the sense of the Mass, some priests, pretending to be Argus, show their blindness; they also miss the great help of the understanding that keeps them in the way of virtue: hence ([E 4] *r*, *b*): >

Cæterum nihil omnium, vel (esto
Si musique placet, placetque diuis
Sint pauci, quibus illa pauca nota
Sint) prorsus nihil omnium tenes, vel
Iam (quod nunc minime venit ferendum,
Olim forsitan haud ita arguendum)
Non discis, didicisse quando paucos
Per dies, minimo labore, toto
Mystrarum grege confluyente, posses
Casto moribus, integroque famæ,
Cui rara fides, amorque recti est,
Omnis religionis actoris
Summo antistite, & vnico decoro,
Linguæ vindice triplicis potenti,
Impense studijs fauente honestis,
Sacrae interprete mentis absoluto,
Arcula veteris, nouæque legis,
Dorpio, omnibus ista prælegente
Gratis, publicitus, suaue, aperte :
Vix iusto pretio tibi<*r* tibi> parando
Optimo, nitidissimoque libro,
Libro, quem facies bonum repente
Emendo, meliorem & audiendo,
Verfandoque, sed optimum exprimendo.

The allusions in Alard's verses prove that Dorp at least proposed explaining the Canon of the Mass in 1522 or 1523, and had, on that account, arranged a book which he intended using in his free lectures on the subject — a kind of University Extension before the XIXth century. His scheme corroborates what Morinck mentions about his sacerdotal zeal, and, attesting his perfect orthodoxy, it shows that he shared Erasmus' views, attributing the decline of faith and morals to the neglect or the absence of right studies: *Dorp Vita*, 584-648. Cp. his letter to Lethmaat: Ep. 41, ll. 50-52.

LIST OF CORRIGENDA & ADDENDA

Pages

- 123, l. 13, read Bommel instead of Kampen (cp. p. 461)
- 141, note 8 : the same correction of the date has been afterwards accepted by Allen, III, 967, 72.
- 172, note 1 : read Burer instead of Bürer
- 174, l. 1 : & note 1 : read Longicampianus instead of -campanus
- 197, note 7 : read 952 instead of 752
- 244, note 4 : read 29 instead of 27 (cp. p. 385)
- 284, l. 3 : read 1522 instead of 1526 (cp. p. 464)
- 403, l. 31 : read possibly instead of possibly,
- 405, l. 28 : read affection, upon instead of affection upon,
- 461, note 2 (l. 2) : read 123 instead of 121
- 486, l. 20 & note 7 : von is perhaps more likely than van
- 487, note 1 : cp. ColBusPrim. for information about William de Hor-
rion's son Michael, who studied in the *Trilingue* from 1530
to 1532, and was John van Campen's domestic disciple :
Cran., 95, e.
- 576, note to l. 36, l. 12 : read Jules III. instead of Jules II.
- 588, note 3 : read 184-186 instead of 77
- 631, note 1 : add : The narration of the Siege in Willem Boonen's
Geschiedenis van Leuven geschreven in de jaren 1593 en
1594 (ed. by Ed. van Even) : Louvain, 1880 : 81-82, is evi-
dently based on tradition, and hardly reliable for the
explanation of the liberation. In his *Obituarium Ecclesiae*
Sti Quintini, the Rector of that parish from 1536 to 1565,
Henry Damen, of Mierlo, noted on August 2 : ' Hoc die
aº 1542 venit martinus Rossemius nomine Regis Francie,
ex Julia et gelria per brabantiam ante Louanium ex latere
montis Caluarie, sed captis interlocutoribus nostris pretore
cum D. Damiano goes, gratia Dei, altera die ab obsidione
liberatum est quasi miraculose '. The two last words of this
apparently authentic report are written in red ink : they
show Damen's opinion, which corroborates Goes' statement
about his share in that deliverance (cp. pp. 660, sq, 678,
682) : Archives of St Quentin's, Louvain.
- 679, note to l. 573 : add : Cp. *infra*, p. 698
- 682, note 4 : add : The account of the *Receptor Universitatis* for June-
December 1542 has an item, stating that he paid to the
newly appointed Promotor, Joh. Simonis, ' viij Rf. ix ft ' on
the Rector's order ' pro vino propinato mgro. seuerino &
christophoro ' : FUL, 273 : 348 v
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NICOLAS CLENARDUS
AND HIS TRAINING

NICOLAS CLENARDUS

AND HIS TRAINING

triplici ore sonabit
Nicoleos meus ille tibi *Clenardus*, & unus
 Nunc Pallatini ducet per numinis aras,
 Et formidatas, ut nil vereare, columnas,
 Nunc Aganippæas, ac per Pimpleidas undas.
 ANDREAS RESENDIUS (VAnd., 401).

His Training.

Nicolas Clenardus, one of the glories of Humanism in the University of Louvain, entered history in the maturity of his talents, and what has hitherto been known about his family and his studies, has only been revealed by his own immortal *Epistolæ* ¹⁾ : this is explained by the fact that up to the age of 36 or 37, he went by the name of Nicolas Beken.

He matriculated as , Nicholaus de beka de diest ' in Louvain on August 31, 1512, and was a paying student — *dives* — in the Pedagogy of the Porc ²⁾. Most likely it was there that, under Adrian Barlandus' direction, he acted some parts in Terence's comedies ³⁾ with his townsman and friend, Arnold Streysters, who afterwards became abbot of Tongerlo ⁴⁾. In 1515 he became Master of Arts, and in the promotion , Nicolaus Beken, Diesthemienensis ' was classed the third out of 152 competitors ⁵⁾. Having passed the 'birretatio' in Arts, he

¹⁾ *Nic. Clenardi Epistolarum Libri Duo* : Antwerp, Christ. Plantin, 1566; cp. *Clénard*, 5-16; *MB*, vi, 330-343; *OE*, 408, 430, 456, 472; *Mol.*, 603; *Vern.*, 313; *VAnd.*, 107, 232, 357-8, 401; *BibBelg.*, 682; *NèveRen.*, 224-274; *Rottier*, 31-33, 175, 180; *RoerschHuB.*, 42-55; *BN*; *FG*, 327; *Aléandre*, 70, 94; *Carvalho*, 9-25; *BatECP*, 6, 32, 35, 36; *Cran.*, ii, ix, xix, 46, c, 95, f, 96, e, 147, a, 150, i, 154, b, 213 c.

²⁾ *LibIntIII.*, 185 r.

³⁾ *ClenE*, 60-61; *BB*, B, 250, 11. Clenardus was probably not the author of the letter from Diest, which John Becker of Borselen sent to Erasmus on April 19, 1514; for the *scribens* was apparently already a fully trained man, with a *professio* and an *eruditio* : *Allen*, I, 291, 106-111; whereas he was merely a student.

⁴⁾ Streysters was abbot of Tongerlo from 1530 to 1560 : *Tongerloo*, 308, sq; *TongNecrol.*, 161, 72, 73. ⁵⁾ *PromRs.*, 70.

started teaching in his Pedagogy, and consequently was admitted to the Council of the Faculty of Arts before 1520 ¹⁾. He meanwhile applied himself to the study of divinity : on Sept. 28, 1521, 'M. Nicholaus Beka de Dyest' promoted bachelor in 'Sententiis' or 'Bibliis' with nine other candidates, and on June 4, 1527, Licentiate in Theology ²⁾.

**President of Houterle — or,
the Four Evangelists' — College.**

By that time he had been admitted as bursar into the *Collegium Scholastici*, founded by Henry of Houterle, Scholaster of St. Peter's, by his will of Dec. 29, 1510 ³⁾. John Driedoens, or Nys, of Turnhout ⁴⁾, who had been the founder's intimate friend, had been chosen by him as first president ⁵⁾. Beken availed himself of the lessons and the society of this learned and prudent divine, who contributed greatly to his formation, and who may have remained an inmate in the College after he succeeded him in the first days of July 1521 ⁶⁾. Fifteen years later Clenardus relates that he owed that appointment to the honour he had given by one little word to an old man ⁷⁾ — evidently one of the four provisors of the institution ⁸⁾, apparently the prior of the Louvain Carthusians, John Petri, of Delft, who lived 'ad extremam senectutem' ⁹⁾. That presidency was far from being a burden, for there were besides himself only three bursars, and he was not allowed to accept

¹⁾ *LibNomI.*, 162 v.

²⁾ De Jongh, 47*, 54*, 63-65.

³⁾ *FUL*, 2446-2463, 2069; *ChronCartLov.*, 457 r; *ULAnn.*, 1842 : 144; *ReusDoc.*, III, 168; *Mol.*, 143, 621, 626, 640.

⁴⁾ *Mol.*, 512, 590; *VAnd.*, 41, 42, 78, 79, 100, 244, 302; *Vern.*, 208, 271-2; de Jongh, 156-9; *Cran.*, II, 62, d, 97, a; *Allen*, IV, 1163, 10; *supra*, pp. 344-5.

⁵⁾ *ReusDoc.*, III, 172; *ClenE.*, 160, 165.

⁶⁾ *BaxH*, IX, 112-3; *BaxF*, III, 141 v; *PF*, II, 36, 39-40; *ReusDoc.*, III, 184 : erat praesidens a semianno 3 januarii 1522.

⁷⁾ Letter of Dec. 26, 1536 to Jerome Aleander : *MB*, VI, 335, 341.

⁸⁾ According to Houterle's will, the four scholarships were at the disposal of the dean, the *plebanus*, and the scholaster of St. Peter's and the prior of the Louvain Carthusians (*ReusDoc.*, III, 170); the two first were at that time the professors of divinity Nicolas Coppin, of Mons, and William Joannis, of Vianen : *Mol.*, 136, 359, 511-2; de Jongh, 155, 160.

⁹⁾ He resigned his office on account of his age in 1525, and died on May 25, 1530 : *Mol.*, 301, 303. Cp. *supra*, pp. 347-8.

more than four other boarders ¹⁾; it brought him an annual income of 100 'philippes' in addition to his maintenance, and secured him leisure for at least ten years, according to the founder's stipulations ²⁾. The new president fully appreciated that advantage, and following his predecessor's example he put it to excellent use.

Student of Languages.

He almost neglected the study of theology for that of languages, choosing as his master James Masson, Latomus ³⁾, to whom he showed a lifelong gratitude for having initiated him in linguistics. He learned Greek from Rutger Rescius ⁴⁾, one of Jerome Aleander's disciples ⁵⁾, and became his intimate friend. He was acquainted with all those who took an interest in the *literae elegantiores*: with Francis de Cranevelt, who probably knew him in the last years he spent in Louvain ⁶⁾, with Conrad Goclenius ⁷⁾, with Alard of Amsterdam ⁸⁾ and with Damian a Goes ⁹⁾; he had as companion and confident Francis Houwers, or de Houwer, who, later on, became *paedagogus* in his native town Mechlin ¹⁰⁾; and he evidently was an eager attendant of the Hebrew lectures of Matthew Adriani ¹¹⁾, and of his own great friend John van Campen ¹²⁾.

¹⁾ In 1526 there were 7 inmates in the College: 'drie meesters, eenen president ende drie commensalen': Cuvelier, 314.

²⁾ ReusDoc., III, 171; MB, VI, 335; ClenE, 220, 233.

³⁾ Cp. ClenE, 3, &c.; Clénard, 7, 182; Mol., 515; Vern., 273; VAnd., 42, 78, 104-5, 259, 271-2; de Jongh, 173, &c.; BibRefNe., III, 19, &c.; FUL, 1101, 1666, 2079, 4481; MB, VI, 334, 338, 339; Allen, III, 934, 3; Cran., 46, b-c, &c.; Godet, 37, 126-9.

⁴⁾ Cran., 150, e-i, &c.; Allen, II, 546; BatECP, 25, 32; RoerschHuB, 37-55; &c.

⁵⁾ MB, VI, 333, 337-8.

⁶⁾ Cran., II, ix, xix; ClenE, 58.

⁷⁾ ClenE, 81; cp. Cran., 95, c-j; Allen, IV, 1209.

⁸⁾ Agricola, II, *3 v; Cran., 96 b-f; Allen, II, 433.

⁹⁾ Letter of Goes to Clenardus, Pavia, July 19, 1537: GoesOp., [d₄]r-e i v.

¹⁰⁾ ClenE, 54-60, 68-9, 73, 75, 89, 93. — Houwers was of Clenardus' promotion in which he obtained the 9th place: PromLv, 6; by 1515 he was a priest, and was appointed to the first vacancy to be collated by the *persona* of Godtschenhoven, Dec. 1, 1515: LibNomI., 92 v; on Oct. 20, 1520 he resigned in favour of William Houwers, of Mechlin, priest and M. A., his brother; he himself was appointed to the *persona* of Herent-hals, Dec. 12, 1520: LibNomI., 161, v, 162, v, 204 v. Cp. Cran., xix.

¹¹⁾ Cp. ColBusPrim.

¹²⁾ Cp. ColBusPrim.; ClenE, 57, 73-4, 88, 92, 181, 219-20, 228-9.

He seems to have been very proficient in that language, for he soon started teaching it privately in his College; afterwards he also tutored in Greek ¹⁾, and far from taking umbrage, Rutger Rescius printed for him an edition of Chrysostom's *De Sacerdotio* to be used at his lessons ²⁾. As he was not actually bound to that tutoring, he could absent himself from Louvain, which he did in the summer of 1530 in order to go and study, and even to teach, in Paris University ³⁾. He had been drawn to that town by the hope of meeting a professor of Arabic ⁴⁾; but he had to come back unsatisfied, and his disappointment was the greater since, as Vives advised, he had a lofty aim in his study of languages. He saw in them a new and more effective way to fight the Turks; he schemed to have the eastern tongues taught at Louvain to prepare missionaries who should attack the threatening secular enemy by argument, truth and conviction, and subdue him by a Peaceful Crusade ⁵⁾.

Nominations.

As a member of the Faculty of Arts he wished to avail himself of the Privilege which Leo X. had granted on September 19, 1513, in order to indemnify priests for the unproductive years they were devoting to study and teaching ⁶⁾. He obtained a nomination to the first vacant benefice to be collated by the curate and the superiors of the *Béguinage* of his native town, of which the record is most interesting, as it supplies the proof of the identity of Nicolas Beken with Clenardus ⁷⁾ :

[1520] Die Jouis xx Decembris.

M. Nicolaus Beka *alias* cleynarts, artium magister, de consilio facultatis &c. Nominatus est per Decanum, et

¹⁾ *MB*, vi, 333, 338; the assertion according to which Beken should have received in 1520 the authorisation to teach (*Clénard*, 9), is based on a wrong interpretation of *VAnd.*, 357.

²⁾ Louvain, 1529; cp. *ClenE*, 214, 232; *Mol.*, 603.

³⁾ *Clénard*, 13-16; *ClenE*, 54-6, 228-9: he did not remain a long time in Paris, which he would have done, *si salua liceret condicione Louaniensi*, viz., his office of president: *ClenE*, 55; *Allen*, vii, 2065, 10.

⁴⁾ *ClenE*, 43, 61, 214, 229, 239; *Carvalho*, 10, 11, 12.

⁵⁾ *ClenE*, 53, 64, 213-4, 218, *sq.*, 232-3; *Clénard*, 23; *Carvalho*, 10-25; and *VOO*, vi, 299-300; *VivVal.*, 69; *VivSpan.*, 42, 45; *Allen*, iii, 810, 356.

⁶⁾ *FUL*, 4680, 4681, 4687.

⁷⁾ *LibNomI.*, 162 v.

admissus de consensu Receptoris ac magistrorum Nicolai de maruilla ¹⁾ et veronj de hallis ²⁾ Nationum Gallie et Flandrie vice procuratorum Ad Collationem &c. Curatj siue Inuestitj ac Rectricium Beghinagij Dyestensis, leodiensis diocesis, presentibus m. alberto Heeren de buscoducis et Jo maket ³⁾, artium magistris, testibus.

A few months later Nicolas Beken requested and obtained another nomination ⁴⁾ :

[1521] Die Lune sexta Maij.

M. Nicolaus Beka de Dyest, clericus Leodiensis Diocesis, Artium magister de concilio Facultatis &c. Nominatus est per Decanum et admissus de concilio et assensu Receptoris ac Brabantie et Gallie procuratorum, Flandrie et Hollandie vocatis et non comparentibus Ad Collationem &c. Decanj et Capitulj ecclesie collegiate sancti Pauli ciuitatis Leodiensis, ad quam die xxj maij a^o xv^c xv^{to} vt supra habetur fo^o Lxxix nominatus fuerat m. Jo stagnificis de gosleto ⁵⁾, et quam postea ad manus Decanj Facultatis jdem m. Jo die xvij aprilis a^o xv^cxvij vt supra f^o cxx^o habetur sponte cesserat, presentibus m. Jo maket et stephano eius filio testibus.

Disappointments.

When Beken was nominated to these vacancies to be, he had only received the minor orders; he was afterwards ordained priest in the Liège diocese, and at the decease of William Joannis, or Janssens, Lamberti, of Vianen, the *plebanus* of St. Peter's ⁶⁾, November 20, 1529, he applied for that

¹⁾ Nicolas Warry, of Marville : cp. VAnd., 277; Cran., xxix, 141, p-r; Allen, v, 1481, 44.

²⁾ Veronus de Campo de Hallis, S. Th. B. and M. A.; cp. LibNomI., 75 r; ReusDoc., iv, 393.

³⁾ John Macquet, or Maket, of Binche, was from 1512, promotor, and, for several years also *Syndicus*, of the University; from 1518 he was also *Syndicus* of the Faculty of Arts; he died in 1535 : AFAInd., 17, 30; VAnd., 52, 54, 406; Cran., 111, c, 141, h; ReusDoc., i, 325, 349.

⁴⁾ LibNomI., 164 v.

⁵⁾ John Stainier, l'Estainier, *Stannifex*, of Gosselies : LibNomI., 79 r, 120 r; Mol., 600; VAnd., 244-5; Vern., 307; AFAInd., 30; Paquot, xviii, 264; ReusDoc., iii, 184, iv, 116; PromRs., 69.

⁶⁾ Cp. Mol., 73, 511, 617, 623, 633, 637; VAnd., 40, 41, 57, 78, 99, 246, 254, 272, 290; de Jongh, 155; FUL, 957, 1661, 1839, 2074, 2446; supra, p. 190.

vacancy. His competitor Peter de Corte, or Curtius ¹⁾, was appointed, having secured one vote more in the Town Council, whose right it was to dispose of that office ²⁾.

That first disappointment was followed by a second, which was more painful to him ³⁾. In 1530 the *curatus*, or spiritual director of the Diest *Béguinage* died, and Clenardus was convinced that he had a right to succeed him. Still after having been unanimously accepted by the *béguines*, and having taken possession of the post, an adversary turned up, who insisted on the matter being tried in a spiritual court ⁴⁾.

The lawsuit which then started caused such a disrelish to Beken that he would have abandoned his right if his parents had not prevented him ⁵⁾. Judging from the allusions in his letters, he had derived that right from the presentation of the Lord of Diest, the Prince of Orange ⁶⁾, and from the acceptance of the four superiors of the *Béguinage*, who had agreed on installing him ⁷⁾. Still it seems as if no objections could have been made against such an appointment; and it looks more probable that the authority of those, who had conferred him the benefice, was actually called into question. This suggests that Beken owed his appointment to the Faculty of Arts ⁸⁾, probably by dint of the nomination of May 6, 1521, to

¹⁾ *Cran.*, xii-xxxiv, 83, *a-h*, 109, *a*, 118, *a-b*, 186, *a*; *Allen*, v, 1347, 392.

²⁾ *Mol.*, 603.

³⁾ The appointment of Andrew van Gennep, of Balen, as John van Campen's successor in Busleyden College, cannot have been a deception for Beken (*Clénard*, 17-18), since he had left for Spain before the vacancy occurred; only on February 26, 1532, the new professor started his lectures: *ReusDoc.*, iv, 527.

⁴⁾ *ClenE*, 64-5, 230-232; *Clénard*, 10.

⁵⁾ *ClenE*, 232.

⁶⁾ *Princeps... Diestensis, a cuius patre nomen obtinueram Beginarium*, Clenardus wrote on April 12, 1541, to Abbot Streeters of Tongerlo: *ClenE*, 64-5. The *pater* was without doubt Henry III. of Orange, Count of Nassau-Dillenburg and Vianden, Lord of Breda, Geertruidenberg, Sichein and Diest, commander of Antwerp, who died at Breda, Sept. 11, 1538: *Cran.*, 114, 80.

⁷⁾ Clenardus wrote in his *Epistola ad Christianos*: *vbi in me conspirasset Beginæ, & ouium suffragiis declaratus fuisset, & suffectus in locum demortui, protinus exortus est adversarius*: *ClenE*, 231.

⁸⁾ If the Lord of Diest and the four superiors of the *Béguinage* had had the right of the final decision, only the *preces primariæ imperiales* could have invalidated their appointment; but in that case they should have had knowledge beforehand of the opposition.

the first vacancy to be collated by the chapter of St. Paul's, of Liège ¹⁾; whereas his adversary Arnold de Breughel ²⁾ had possibly been the chapter's candidate, or, perhaps, enjoyed the right to that appointment on the strength of the privilege of the *preces primariae* of the Emperor Charles. It cannot have been difficult for him to have Beken's nomination contested, for the privilege granted by Leo X. to the Faculty of Arts, although confirmed by Adrian VI. and Clement VII., was opposed by Margaret of Austria and by all the collators, especially by Erard de la Marck and his diocese of Liège. All the appointments made by Louvain were systematically called in question, and the ensuing actions in court were spun out with the secret hope that the Emperor, on account of the general discontent, would have the privilege revoked, or would refuse to sanction it. Even after Charles V. had signed at Ghent on May 12, 1531, his *placetum super Privilegium Nominationis* ³⁾, the University had to contend with so much ill-will, that she sacrificed the present to safeguard the future; she did not insist on her privilege whenever she had to dispute with imperial prerogatives, or with those of Erard de la Marck, for whom a formal exception had been made ⁴⁾. And in most cases it could be argued in court that the benefices or offices had to be conferred on priests who were to take upon them the care of souls, and were not to be used to increase the revenue of absent prebendaries. Evidently that argument had been pleaded by de Breughel against Beken, who, however, sincerely desired to carry out in person the duties of his office, as he has stated in several of his letters ⁵⁾. He hoped to meet

¹⁾ *LibNomI.*, 164 v.

²⁾ That personage, whose name alone seems to have come to us, did not very long enjoy the post for which Beken longed : in 1538 Nicolas van Essche, Esschius, of Oosterwijk, *paedagogus* in Cologne, became his successor : Paquot, xii, 83-93; Keussen, 922; P. F.-X. de Ram, *Venerabilis Nicolai Eschii... Vita et Opuscula Ascetica* : Louvain, 1858 : xxviii.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 141, i; *FUL*, 744, 4682; *Privil.*, 104; *AFAInd.*, 28, 34; *Aléa-Liège*, 300-301.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 141, a-j; *AléaLiège*, 301; A. van Hove, *Les Conflits de Juridiction dans le Diocèse de Liège à l'Epoque d'Erard de la Marck, 1506-1538* : Louvain, 1900 : 56-73; *FUL*, 4687 : 1-15.

⁵⁾ *ClenE*, 230-231, &c. His sincerity is further proved by his refusal of a canonry in Portugal about 1537 on account of his inability to carry

his parents' wishes, who wanted to have their son with them in their old days, not so much for their subsistence as for his consolations ¹⁾. His premature death sadly disappointed them, and his father Peter Beken ²⁾ wrote repeatedly to Portugal for some literary work of his son's, that might be a solace in the deep regret ³⁾. John Vasæus sent to the Senate and the people of Diest a letter dated from Evora, on August 16, 1546, announcing the dispatch of Clenardus' *Institutiones Grammaticae Latinae*, which had been reprinted that year at Coimbra ⁴⁾. It must have been a poor comfort for his parents, who had only allowed Nicolas to leave them for three years ⁵⁾ : for he himself had hoped that in the meanwhile the lawsuit would have been decided in his favour, and that he would have been able to settle down in his *Béguinage*.

Exodus.

Indeed it was amidst the annoyance of the tedious lawsuit ⁶⁾ that Ferdinand Colon, the son of the discoverer of America, offered to take him into his service on his return to Spain ⁷⁾. Beken accepted the more readily since it afforded him the longed-for occasion to learn the language of the Moors from the mouth of the natives ⁸⁾; also because the ten years of his presidency in the College were nearing their completion ⁹⁾,

out its duties, as he did not speak the language of the country; Damian a Goes praised him for it : GoesOp., [d₄] r; cp. *Clénard*, 10; *MB*, vi, 332.

¹⁾ *ClenE*, 230.

²⁾ This allusion confirms the identity of Nicolas Beken with Nicolas Clenardus. — A 'Ghysbertus de Beka', of Diest passed his 'determinatio' in the Porc, Febr. 1, 1503 : *LibActArtV.*, 202 r.

³⁾ Carvalho, 16-17.

⁴⁾ Carvalho, 16-18; *Clénard*, 104, 202.

⁵⁾ About 1535 Clenardus' parents had sent his younger brother to Portugal, possibly with the intent of bringing Nicolas home; possibly in order to make use of his acquaintances and influence to establish some business connections; as he disliked the country, he soon returned by himself : *ClenE*, 4-5, 12.

⁶⁾ The lawyers of his adversary had started their plea by expressing their doubt about the legitimacy of Beken's birth : *ClenE*, 231; the latter felt ill from fatigue in his wearisome and discouraging journeys : *ClenE*, 6; and he gained a profound dislike for lawyers and lawsuits, which never left him : *Clénard*, 11.

⁷⁾ *ClenE*, 230-2; Carvalho, 10, 12, 22.

⁸⁾ *ClenE*, 230-2.

⁹⁾ *ReusDoc.*, III, 171 : 'bursales in dicto... collegio habitare... poterunt annis septem continuis, praesidens vero annis decem'.

and finally because his faithful friend John Vasæus, of Bruges was to accompany him ¹⁾. They set out on their journey at once, and entered Spain on November 12 or 13, 1531 ²⁾. In Housterle College, in which his presence is still recorded on June 14, 1531 ³⁾, he was succeeded in the first half of 1532 by his old fellow-student John l'Estainier, Stannifex ⁴⁾; and his memory seems to have been lost in the dreadful events of the last half of the xvith century. At any rate, a later hand mentioned in the records that it was ignored whether Stannifex' predecessor had resigned his office or had died ⁵⁾.

The brilliant star of the humanistic constellation had only set here to rise with greater splendour at another horizon.



The foregoing paper was composed at the printer's office in 1928, and has been waiting since for this volume to be ready. It had been devised to explain the discovery made in 1915, when, in the preparation of the Inventory of the Archives of the Louvain University at the General Records of the Realm in Brussels, amongst others the rich mine of information contained in the series of *Libri Nominationum* revealed itself, which had never been made use of before ⁶⁾. The identity of Clenardus with Beken is mentioned on more than one page of the *Litterae ad Franciscum Craneveldium*, 1928 ⁷⁾; but as there appeared no opportunity for a biographical note with full information about his family and his training, this paper was made ready for the present volume, which presumptuous expectation contemplated issuing after a few months. It is published here without hardly any change, references to other pages in this book excepted. Meanwhile the identity of Clenardus and Beken has been corroborated by the letter which J. Vasæus sent from Evora to the town of Diest, Aug. 16, 1546, in which *Peter de Beca* is named as Clenardus' father: Cerejeira, II, 152-3; Carvalho, 12, 16-17. One more proof is provided by the references to Nicolas

¹⁾ ClenE, 110, 145. Cp. Paquot, xvii, 419.

²⁾ Carvalho, 13.

³⁾ Also for June 27, 1530: ReusDoc., III, 184; BaxH, IX, 113; PF, II, 40.

⁴⁾ ReusDoc., III, 184; it is recorded that Stannifex remained president about four years and a half: he died on Nov. 1, 1536, so he had entered on his duties probably in the Spring of 1532.

⁵⁾ 'Regimine cessit vel obiit anno 1532, post 22 Januarii': BaxH, IX, 113; PF, II, 40.

⁶⁾ Cp. FUL, 4751-55.

⁷⁾ Cp. pp. 247, 735, 740.

Beken Cleynaerts and to his nearest relatives found in the records of his native town by E. Frankignoulle ¹⁾).

Another unpublished document, which came to my notice in the Summer of 1930, is the following

**Letter from Nicolas Clenardus
to John Dantiscus, May 11, 1531.**

When on March 14-16, 1531 and on April 13-16 following, Charles V. came to reside in Louvain ²⁾, there was amongst his train the ambassador of the King of Poland John *de Curiis*, generally called Dantiscus ³⁾. He was an intimate friend of Cornelius Duplicius de Schepper ⁴⁾, who, being an old *alumnus* of the Louvain Alma Mater, had already introduced to the clever and erudite diplomat at least some of the chief promoters of humanism in the University ⁵⁾. From the days which the son of Dantzig spent in the old capital town of the Brabant Dukes, dates his lifelong friendship with those who represented Erasmus' spirit : with Conrad Goclenius ⁶⁾, who then was the soul of Busleyden College; with Rutger Rescius ⁷⁾, who printed one of his shorter writings; with John

¹⁾ They are the results of researches undertaken at the request of Prof. A. Roersch, to whom I had communicated the duality of Clenardus' name as early as 1925, and who edited those results as *La Famille de Nicolas Clénard*, in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* : Brussels, 1929, VIII, 130-4.

²⁾ Gachard, II, 49, 98.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 57, a, 287, a.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 249, a-f. An edition of the correspondence carried on between him, Dantiscus and their friends from about 1515 to 1548, is being prepared by the author of these *Documenta*.

⁵⁾ Thus on March 7, 1531 John Campensis writes to Dantiscus that on his recent visit to Court he had missed being introduced to him by Scepperus, as they had not found him : *BbUpps.*, H, 154 : 47. Still de Schepper did not accompany Dantiscus to Louvain, at least not in April when he was at Bruges : letter of April 15, 1531 : *ArchEWarm.*, D 3 : 44; *id.*, D 6 : 61.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 95, c-j. A first letter from Conrad Goclenius to Dantiscus is dated April 27, 1531, a second May 12, a third June 2 of the same year : *ArchEWarm.*, D 3 : 46, 47; *BbUpps.*, H 154 : 52, 53; *BbCzart.*, 247 : 103; *id.*, 284 : 160, 167; *CatCzart.*, I, 42; &c.

⁷⁾ *Cran.*, 150, e-i; Dantiscus helped Rescius in several ways : the latter printed a pamphlet for him in September 1531 — probably the *Victoria Ser. Poloniae Regis contra Voyevodam Moldaviae* : Brussels, August, 1531 : Korbut, I, 127-130 : *BbCzart.*, 1595 : 361-2; *CatCzart.*, II, 254; *BbKorn.*, 230 : 393-4.

van Campen ¹⁾, who a few months later followed him to Ermeland, and Gemma Reniers *Phrysius* ²⁾, who probably then entered his service as secretary. Amongst others the eager linguist Nicolas Beken was introduced to the famous courtier, and notwithstanding the short time they spent together, a hearty intimacy developed, as results from this letter, showing how Dantiscus had been made fully acquainted with the cares that were then weighing on the president of Houterle College, namely the trouble arising from his lawsuit, and the uncertainty of his future career, as the end of his ten years' management was now approaching at an alarming rapidity. The letter published here dates from a few weeks after Dantiscus' visit to Louvain; Goclenius had made him a present of a portrait of Erasmus by Holbein ³⁾, for which he sent his hearty thanks, inquiring at the same time about the age at which the picture had been made. In that letter was a message for Clenardus, who wrote this present reply; it was entrusted to Goclenius, and dispatched May 12, 1531 ⁴⁾.

The original is still preserved amongst John Dantiscus'

¹⁾ John van Campen was the fourth Hebrew Professor of the Trilingue : *Cran.*, xx, 96, e, 281, b, 287, a : a full biography will be given in *Collegii Buslidiani Primordia* ; his letters to Dantiscus are numerous in 1531 : March 7, March 31, April 18, April 27, May 12, June 2, &c. : *BbUpps.*, H 154 : 47, 54 ; *ArchEWarm.*, D 3 : 41, 45, 55 ; *BbCzart.*, 247 : 97 ; *CatCzart.*, i, 42.

²⁾ Gemma Reniers, *Reyneri*, spent several months in Dantiscus' household before he returned to Louvain, and studied medicine, in which science he promoted doctor in 1541 ; he remained in correspondence with his late patron, through whom he got into connection with another of his protégés, his friend Nicolas Copernicus. Gemma also became famous as mathematician, and his son Cornelius Gemma proved worthy of his great father : *VAnd.*, 233, 236, 249, 403 ; *Vern.*, 142, 300 ; *BibBelg.*, 258 ; *Mol.*, 567-9, 578-9, 712 ; *Copernicus*, i, ii, 270-3, 283-4, 554, ii, 392-4. Gemma had entered the service of Dantiscus a good while before August 7, 1531, when, sent on an errand, prob. to the friends in the University, he fell ill in Louvain : *BbUpps.*, H 154 : 70 ; *ArchEWarm.*, D 3 : 70 ; *id.*, D 6 : 125. Cp. *infra*, note to l. 12.

³⁾ Goclenius sent that portrait to Dantiscus on April 27, 1531 in gratitude for having been honoured by his friendship : *ArchEWarm.*, D 3 : 47 ; *BbCzart.*, 284 : 160.

⁴⁾ In his letter of that date Goclenius mentions that he communicated Dantiscus' message to Clenardus, as results from the letter which he is sending along with his own : *ArchEWarm.*, D 3 : 46 ; *BbCzart.*, 284 : 167.

papers, being now *f* 116 of a volume of original letters entitled *Epistolae ad Joannem Dantiscum 1534-1537*, itself catalogued as D 4 in the Archives of the Bishops of Ermeland. It consists of half a folio leaf, of which the obverse side has the text and the reverse the address and some traces of green wax, although no proper seal seems to have been made, as the letter was to be included in that from Goclenius.

SALVE D. ORATOR.

Sedulitatem tuam agnoui ex literis, quas mihi legendas præbuit noster Conradus communis amicus. Si quid de te meritus essem, vererer te pluribus adhortari, vt testatum istum amorem conseruares. Nunc cum tantum
 5 immerenti tribuisti, non timeo ne gratiam referre te velim, si vel obnixissime contendam, vt e misera hac lite tandem expediar : id quod non dubito si per aliquem quin per te futurum sit. Non tamen mihi erit integrum longius a Louanio discedere, vel hac quoque spe, siqui-
 10 dem conditionem hic nouam sum nuper adeptus, quæ et mihi et studiosis multis vt puto non erit inutilis. Suspisor

Textual Notes : 1. agnoui] the final i's of this and many other words come somewhat lower than the other letters, but not so low as the third stroke of an m ; they are represented here by i

2. Conradus] Goclenius

6. lite] the contestation about the right to succeed the ' curatus ' of the Diest *béguinage* : cp. *supra*, p. 416.

10. conditionem ... nouam] the younger professors in Louvain generally supplemented their scanty income by taking boarders and tutoring their studies : it is recorded as well for the professor of law Louis de Schore (*Cran.*, 110, 10-28), as for that of Greek. Rutger Rescius (OE, 188, 271, &c., 520, 550 ; *Cran.*, 150, e). Probably Clenardus had decided upon a similar course, at least provisionally. It enabled him to rent or buy a larger house, so that students could attend his lessons in greater numbers. Amongst his pupils — about the time of this letter — were Paul Leopard, Andrew Gerardi *Hyperius*, James Bording, and his townsman Laurence van de Velde *Campester* : Paquot, iv, 2, 222, xvi, 71, xvii, 187.

10. nuper] evidently since Dantiscus' visit to Louvain.

Gemmam et hoc non tacuisse, et de fugituo quoque Philippæo rem omnem denarrasse, qui profecto multo fuit melior, quam quam vanitatis autor emunxerat.

- 15 Bene vale, vir humanissime, et me inter illos habe, qui gratissimi cupiunt esse, nec possunt.

Louanii, ex Collegio Scholastici, xi Maii.

Tuus ex animo

Nicolaus clenardus

20 Domino Joanni Dantisco Oratori regis Poloniæ
Episcopo Culmensi Jn aula Cæsaris

12. Gemmam] Gemma Reyneri (Dec. 8, 1508-May 25, 1555), a native of Dokkum, in Friesland, *Phrysius*, was lame of both legs from his birth, until at six he was suddenly cured in church on the solemnity of St. Boniface : *Cosmocril.*, II, 210 ; *Mol.*, 567. He was first trained in Groningen, and then studied in Louvain where he matriculated on Febr. 26, 1526 as a poor student of the Lily : 'Gēma Reyneri d'grueningha, traiecten. dioc.' (*LibIntIII.*, 329 v), and promoted M.A. on March 19, 1528, being classed the 31st of his year (*PromRs.*, 77). His acquaintance with Clenardus suggests some connection with Houterle College, where Gemma may have resided after 1528, or enjoyed the lessons of the great mathematician Dridoens, to whom Albert Pigge also owed his introduction to that science (*Cran.*, 97, a). Cp. *supra*, p. 345.

13. Philippæo] apparently a scapegrace inmate of Houterle College, who had run away for fear of being punished ; in similar cases the president of the college to which the culprit belonged, or the tutor who was responsible for him, had to straighten the difficulty : thus in 1534 Rescius had great trouble with one of his boarders Magister Peter Cerf, or Cherff, of Steenwerck : *OE*, 520 ; de Jongh, 65*-67* ; *LibNomI.*, 152 v.

RODRIGO MANRIQUE's
LETTER TO
VIVES

RODRIGO MANRIQUE'S

LETTER TO

VIVES

Alonso Manrique.

When the turmoil of the Royal Divorce had scattered the hopeful plans for future studies which Vives had been building up under the sunny smile of Henry VIII. and his Queen, he was even obliged to look out for a living ¹⁾. He naturally endeavoured to arouse the interest of Charles V., who, as King of Spain and as Lord of Brabant and Flanders, was doubly his protector, and he dedicated to him his four books *De Concordia et Discordia in Humano Genere* ²⁾, by a letter dated from Bruges, on July 1, 1529 ³⁾. Probably wishing to make his application more effectual, he tried to secure the help of one of Charles' favourites, a most influential churchman and courtier of his native country, the archbishop of Seville Alonso Manrique. This son of Don Rodrigo Manrique ⁴⁾, first Count of Paredes de Nava, and of Doña Elvira de Castañeda, born at Toledo about 1460, had been educated at Salamanca ; he successively was appointed canon of Toledo,

¹⁾ Cp. *supra*, pp. 36, 43 ; Mayans, 103. Vives taught and wrote learned works ; he also tried, it seems, to make his books more profitable by recommending them in some public orations, as he did in Louvain, in July 1530, and offering to explain them privately against some retribution : still he was not very successful : GoclE, 33 v.

²⁾ Antwerp, Michael Hillen, 1529 : Mayans, 97.

³⁾ VOO, v, 187-193 ; to be true Vives wanted, before all, to promote peace in Church and State ; he therefore urged Charles ' in cuius manu & voluntate maxima est sita pars concordiae ac quietis hominum ' to procure concord to the nations and, by means of a Council General, to the Church : cp. Carlos Riba y Garcia, *Luis Vives y el Pacifismo* : Zaragoza, 1933. Still it is not an accident that he applied to Charles almost immediately after his expectations had completely foundered in England.

⁴⁾ Brewer, III, 2202 ; *CaballCrist.*, 102-3.

master of Salamanca Cathedral School, bishop of Badajoz, 1499, bishop of Cordova, 1516 ¹), and archbishop of Seville, 1524. In 1509 he was sent on an embassy to Margaret of Austria's Court ²), and he returned to Spain only in 1517 in the retinue of Archduke Charles ³), whose 'grand chaplain' he had become ⁴). In 1523 he succeeded Adrian of Utrecht as Inquisitor-General ⁵), and in that quality he dexterously put an end — at least for a time — to the growing opposition against Erasmus by convening a conference at Valladolid in 1527, at which the attacks of the opponents were made to die out, thanks to the temporization and the humanity of the arbiters chosen ⁶). If the office of Inquisitor added a great authority to his honour of primate of Spain, *Archiepiscopus Hispalensis*, he certainly reached the zenith of glory when he was created Cardinal in March 1531 ⁷). It did not preclude him from temporal disfavour, such as that of 1531, when the Empress ordered him out of her Court ⁸). He left political life

¹) Moeller, 252; Hefele, 375, 476; Brewer, II, 2166. He is said to have been especially zealous in making converts from the Mahometans, who were called after him *Manriques* : Mayans, 98.

²) On March 8, 1516, he wrote a memoir about Charles of Austria's Court, addressed to Cardinal Ximenes : *BullComHist.*, x (1845), 6-35.

³) Beatis, 58, 112; Moeller, 231; Brewer, II, 3937; Gachard, II, 503 : in the list of officials he is still called 'évêque de Badajoz'.

⁴) In the list of followers whom the Emperor intended taking to England in May 1522, the name of 'Bishop of Cordova' was inserted in the Emperor's own hand as 'grand chaplain', at the head of the members of the Grande Chapelle : Brewer, III, 2288, 4. Possibly the name 'L'évêque de Palerme' amongst the members of the *Petite Chapelle* in the list of Court officials for 1521, is a mistake for the 'Bishop of Cordova', as the 'Bishop of Palermo' is already recorded for the *Grant Conseil* in the same list : Gachard, II, 511, 517; *Acuña*, 48.

⁵) *CaballChrist.*, 102-3; Armstrong, I, 102-3.

⁶) Mayans, 98, 102; Allen, VI, 1791, *pr*, VII, 1846, 1864, &c.; Pelayo, II, 36, *sq*, 45, *sq*; *BatDial.*, 40, 66, 71, 95, 116, 119, 231, 275; Armstrong, II, 71; M. Bataillon, *Les Portugais contre Erasme à l'Assemblée théologique de Valladolid (1527)*, in *Miscelânea de Estudos em honra de D. Car. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos* : Coimbra, 1930.

⁷) On Charles V.'s urging request Clement VII. finally decided creating Cardinals Alonso Manrique and Juan Tavera, March 21, 1531, and proclaimed that decision on March 22, to the great displeasure of the French and English candidates : Pastor, II, 462, 576.

⁸) The Archbishop had favoured the marriage of Doña Luisa de Acuña, countess of Valencia, a much sought-for heiress, with Don Manrique de Lara, duke of Najera, against the Empress's pleasure : Morgado, 416-8; *CaballChrist.*, 103.

for good in 1533, and went to fulfil his episcopal duties at Seville, where he died on September 28, 1538 ¹⁾).

Vives probably had been introduced to this prelate as early as 1516 or 1517, when he entered Court as William of Croy's preceptor ²⁾, and had experienced for a time his 'humanitas' to erudites, which his friends ³⁾, the theologian Lodovico Coronello ⁴⁾, the physician Juan Martinez Poblacio ⁵⁾ and the philosophers Antony Rodrigo Davalos ⁶⁾ and Juan del Castillo ⁷⁾, had gone on enjoying as members of the archbishop's *familia*. He now dedicated to him the *De Pacificatione, Lib.vnus*, published along with the *De Concordia & Discordia* ⁸⁾.

¹⁾ Mayans, 98; Morgado, 416-422; Pelayo, II, 66-84; Allen, VII, 1846, *pr*; *CaballCrist.*, 102-3; Ciaconius, III, 519; *SepulvOp*, II, 66; &c.

²⁾ Bonilla, 71, *sq*, 731, 733; *Cran.*, I, d, 2, *pr*; Mayans, 194; Moeller, 23; Cartwright, 6; &c. ³⁾ VOO, v, 405.

⁴⁾ Louis Nuñez Coronel, of Segovia, who had studied in Paris where he became Doctor of Divinity, 1514, entered Charles V.'s Court by 1520 as councillor and Court-preacher; Alonso Manrique took him into his service, and made him his secretary; he was Erasmus' supporter and Vives' intimate friend: Allen, v, 1274, 1281, 31, 41-54; Brewer, III, 2288, 4, p. 969: Maistre Luys Coronel (1522); Mayans, 138; *CivDei*, 1727; Bonilla, 113, 147; Pelayo, II, 62-66; *BatDial.*, 72; *VivVal.*, 62; *CaballCrist.*, 22, 39-40, 48-52, 60.

⁵⁾ Juan Martin Poblacio, Vives' townsman, was an excellent physician and mathematician: VOO, VI, 372. He entered Charles V.'s Court, accompanying him to England in 1522 (Brewer, III, 2288, 4): in 1529 he was in Archbishop Manrique's service. Afterwards he was physician to Eleonore, Queen of France: Allen, IV, 1108, 28; VOO, II, 294; *CivDei*, 1850; Bonilla, 62, 93, 598; *VivVal.*, 88, 92; Lefranc, 131-2. — Juan Martin *Siliceo* dedicated to Manrique, bishop of Badajoz, his native country, an *Arithmetica*, c 1514. He became preceptor to Philip II., bishop of Murcia, archbishop of Toledo, and died May 31, 1557: Mayans, 192; Bonilla, 418, 679; VOO, I, 280, 372, VI, 373.

⁶⁾ Antony Rodriguez Davalos, the translator of 'Æneas Sylvius' *De Dictis et Factis Alphonsi Regis Aragonum* (Mayans, 74), styled as 'Dr.' in the list of Spanish officers accompanying Charles V. in 1522 (Brewer, III, 2288, 4), studied in Paris where he knew John Fuertes, *Fortis*, and Nicolas Valdaura, as results from Vives' dedicatory letter to *In Pseudodialecticos*, of Febr. 13, 1519: VOO, III, 68.

⁷⁾ Mayans, 74; *BatDial.*, 33-4, 37-8, 44, 79, 80-9, 201; *CaballCrist.*, 33, 75; &c.; probably the licentiate 'Castillo', who accompanied Charles V. to England, 1522 (Brewer, III, 2288, 4), possibly related to Joannes Castellus, Vives' student with Rod. Manrique: *Lud. Chart.*, VOO, I, 378, *sq*.

⁸⁾ Antwerp, Michael Hillen, 1529: it has an independant series of signatures (A⁸ B⁸ C⁸ D⁸ E⁸ F⁴) with title and colophon, although it is mentioned on the general title: VOO, v, 404-5; Mayans, 98.

Rodrigo Manrique.

It is not known in what way Manrique rewarded Vives for his dedication ; but it certainly occasioned him to be entrusted with the education of his son Roderick ¹⁾, — who may have come to Belgium as one of the pages in the suite of Charles V. on his visit of 1531 ²⁾. He was one of the young men by whose instruction Vives tried to gain a living at Bruges, after he had forfeited the pensions of the English King and Queen ³⁾, which loss was only made up for very tardily by Charles V. ⁴⁾, and the king of Portugal ⁵⁾, and his famous countrywoman Doña Mencía de Mendoza ⁶⁾. Indeed Rodericus Manrique is mentioned with other young Spanish boys, his fellow-pupils, in the colloquy *Ludus Chartarum seu Foliorum* ⁷⁾, in which Valdaura ⁸⁾, Tamajus ⁹⁾ and Castellus ¹⁰⁾ invite Francis Lupianus ¹¹⁾ and Rodericus Manricus to take part in their game. In the course of their conversation they refer to their master, and to a song which, a little while before, they had

¹⁾ Nobilissimus hic vir <viz., Alonso Manrique> non improlis obiit, nam filium habuit Rudericum, de quo memoriae proditum est, litteris incubuisse Parisiis : Mayans, 98.

²⁾ Charles V. reached Maastricht on January 15, 1531, and Brussels on the 24th of the same month : Gachard, II, 49, 98.

³⁾ Vives was helped in his first need by some English friends like John Claymond and Richard Pate (cp. *supra*, p. 36); also by some of the leading Spaniards Francis Bovadilla, Alfonso Idiaquez, Melchior Cano and Christ. Miranda : Mayans, 110-1, 115, 117, 118, 121-125, 132. Left to his own resources by the withdrawal of the English pensions, Vives was for several years afflicted by poverty, from which probably resulted the weakness and the sufferings that impaired the rest of his years : Mayans, 103, 164. He may have thought even of resuming his teaching in Louvain, at least in private, and he perhaps therefore wrote some of his books, about which he occasionally delivered an oration, which caused Goclenius' suspicion : GoclE, 33 v ; Mayans, 123, 169.

⁴⁾ Mayans, 97.

⁵⁾ Mayans, 104, 132 ; BatECP., 12-3, 26-7, 29, 31-3, 35-6.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 114, 80 ; Bonilla, 244 ; Mayans, 171, 211, 216-19 (also 20-23, 40, 129) ; *VioVal.*, 77-8.

⁷⁾ VOO, I, 378-385 ; Mayans, 98.

⁸⁾ Evidently Nicolas Valdaura, his brother-in-law : Mayans, 73-4 ; VOO, II, 291-2 ; *Cran.*, 102, b, &c.

⁹⁾ Gonzalez Tamayo : Mayans, 74 ; VOO, II, 287, 309 ; cp. *HispEp.*, 267.

¹⁰⁾ Juan Castello : Mayans, 74.

¹¹⁾ Francesco Lupiano : Mayans, 74.

heard him sing whilst he was walking in his orchard in Bruges ¹).

Roderick left his preceptor to go and study in Paris, where there was an important Spanish colony ²); he kept in touch with Vives, who in his *De Conscribendis Epistolis*, 1536, inserted the sentence : 'salvebit a me Rodericus Manricus meus' ³). That intercourse was probably enlivened by the presence of friends and even relatives both amongst Vives' pupils and Rodrigo's fellow-students, as is implied by what follows on the text just quoted : 'significabis Joanni Manrico a Lara accepisse te litteras a me, quibus jubeo illum salvere' ⁴), — and also by the allusions in this letter to Antony and Alonso Manrique ⁵). These Manriques belonged without doubt to the illustrious Spanish family whose members, temporarily at least, resided in Belgium in Charles V.'s service ⁶), or may have established themselves definitely in a town with such an important Spanish colony as Bruges, or in Antwerp where an Andreas and an Alonso Manriques are recorded about the middle of the sixteenth century ⁷).

One document of that intercourse has survived : a letter from Rodrigo to his former preceptor, written from Paris on December 9, evidently 1533. Besides mutual acquaintances

¹) TAM. Carmen Vergilii ? LUP. Isthuc ipsum : aut si mavis Vivis nostri, quod ille nuper canebat deambulans in pomœrio Brugensi : VOO, I, 384-5.

²) VOO, III, 38 ; Allen, IV, 1108, 13-50.

³) VOO, II, 307.

⁴) VOO, II, 307. In his *De Anima*, 1538, Vives mentions him again : explaining the process of remembering things, he asks for example : 'quis te in foro heri salutavit ? ... Jo. Manricusne, an Lod. Abylensis ?' : VOO, III, 351. Don Juan Manrique de Lara became imperial ambassador in Rome in 1551 : MasE, 86, 88, 91, &c., and was sent to levy troops in Germany for King Philip of Spain : SepulvOp., III, (ii), 21.

⁵) *ManrEp.*, 6-10.

⁶) Morgado, 416-8 ; *CaballCrist.*, 102-3 ; 'Don Roderigo Manrique' was one of the leading Spanish noblemen : Brewer, III, 2202 ; 'Dominus Antonius Manriquius', Duke of Najera, was elected Knight of the Golden Fleece at the Chapter of Barcelona 1519 : Guicc., 71 ; SepulvOp., I, 76, sq, 101, sq, II, 38, &c., III, 221 ; on the other hand Alonso Manrique's brother George was famous as poet : Mayans, 98 ; *CaballCrist.*, 113 ; *Acuña*, 7, 13, 26-7, 36, &c.

⁷) Andreas Manriques is recorded in documents of 1531, 1553, 1559 and 1560 : Goris, 181, 250, 411, 611 ; Alonso Manrique in one of 1560 : Goris, 613.

and countrymen like Alonso Manrique and John Vergara ¹⁾, some of the leading French humanists are mentioned : James Toussain, Bartholomew Latomus and Peter Danès ²⁾, as well as other members of the *Collège de France* with whom the young student had made friends. For although originally he seems to have been rather averse to the growing revival of learning ³⁾, he soon became a convert in the school of the broad-minded Vives ⁴⁾ ; his influence is abundantly shown in the interest which the young man evinces in the controversy between the Faculty of Divinity and the eager group of humanists ⁵⁾, who evidently have all his sympathy ⁶⁾. Nor was he a mere onlooker in the famous adventure of the Rector Nicolas Cop, which he witnessed from beginning to end, and about which he reports to his preceptor ⁷⁾, showing an acquaintance with facts, apparently gathered from Cop himself or from his most intimate friends. No doubt Manrique was on a friendly footing with most of them ⁸⁾ on account of the important position of his father in a neighbouring realm, and of his attitude as regards Erasmus and the revival of thought and learning ⁹⁾. At any rate, this letter provides a circumstantial relation of the whole affair, which suggests the missing year-date, and also constitutes an interesting document about an incident which is only summarily treated by official chroniclers ¹⁰⁾, although its primary importance in the life of Calvin and in the history of Reformation can hardly have escaped anybody even perfunctorily interested in such matters ¹¹⁾.

¹⁾ *ManrEp.*, 6, 21, *sq.*

²⁾ *ManrEp.*, 240.

³⁾ *ManrEp.*, 48-53.

⁴⁾ *ManrEp.*, 89-90.

⁵⁾ *ManrEp.*, 105, *sq.*

⁶⁾ *ManrEp.*, 184-185, 212-214.

⁷⁾ *ManrEp.*, 105-198.

⁸⁾ He may have been an inmate of St. Barbara's, or Fortet, College.

⁹⁾ Armstrong, II, 71.

¹⁰⁾ Bulæus, VI, 238-9.

¹¹⁾ *DébAgeMod.*, 237, 284 ; Viénot, 117, 185, *sq.* ; Mourret, 414-5 ; *CMH*, II, 351 ; Hearnshaw, 195 ; HermelMau, 198 ; Lefranc, 144 ; Imbart, III, 371 ; *BullProtFr.*, LII, 213, *sq.*

Rodrigo Manrique seems to have been thoroughly interested in studies and learning when at Paris, for he wrote to an acquaintance Pontus — most probably Constantino Ponce de la Fuente ¹⁾ — enquiring about a Latin translation of Alexander Aphrodisiensis' Commentaries on Aristotle's *Physica* by Ponce's friend Joannes Genesius Sepulveda, residing in Rome ²⁾. The latter wrote to Rodrigo from Rome on July 15, 1534 assuring him of his friendship, and offering him a copy of his book printed in Rome; he praised Alexander's commentary, and also Manrique's eagerness : and requested him to see that the edition should be quite exact and careful, if ever he should have the book reprinted in Paris ³⁾.

Although Rodrigo was taken up about that time with the study of Aristotle ⁴⁾, there is not any trace of a reprint of Alexander's commentary in Paris through his interference. He seems to have come into oblivion about the time of his father's death, and it looks even as if Sepulveda's letter is the last document that mentions him ; for all details about his further life are missing — at least as far as can be judged from the literature and records available on this side of the Pyrenees.

Manrique's Letter.

Manrique's letter now belongs to the famous 'Rehdigerana Collectio' in the Breslau Town Library, in which it ranks under the number 2780 : 3/138. It consists of a double leaf, of which three full pages and nearly one half of the fourth are taken up by the text ⁵⁾. Part of the lower half of that fourth

¹⁾ About that time Constantino (c 1500-1560) became preacher and canon in Seville Cathedral, where he illustrated himself by his writings, especially by his *Suma de Doctrina Cristiana* : Pelayo, I, 427, II, 746, sq ; BatDial., 198, 309-11 ; CaballCrist., 68-9 ; SeviVal., 6-47. Ponce may have met Rodrigo in Alcala University.

²⁾ Sepulveda (1491-1572), of Cordova, canon of Salmantica, was an erudite theologian, historian and philosopher, who worked in Bologne and Rome : SepulvOp., I, i-cxii ; SaxOnom., 215 ; *infra*, MorinckEp., 2.

³⁾ SepulvOp., III, (iii), 126-8 ; Joannes Genesius de Sepulveda *Epistolarum Libri VII* : Salmanticae, 1557 : (lib. II, ep. viii), 52 r-53 v.

⁴⁾ ManrEp., 85, sq.

⁵⁾ The first page of the Rehdigerana document has the pagination (138) and (22) ; in the textual notes to the letter reproduced here, the pages of the original are indicated as f 1 r and v, f 2 r and v.

page was outside when the letter was folded up for the dispatch ; it is much more soiled than the rest, and bears the address, in opposite order to the writing of the text ; traces of the lost seal are still visible round about the slits, which correspond to those all over the rest of the document ¹⁾. The text is reproduced with Rodrigo's peculiar orthography, for which he rightly apologizes : 'ex tempore ... est quicquid uides' ²⁾ : only the use of capitals and punctuation marks is regularized without any indication of the changes in the textual notes.

† R. MANRICUS .D. LODOVICO VIUI PRÆCEPTORI SUO
.S.

Quum pararem ad te literas dare, redditæ mihi fuerunt tuæ ; quæ me uehementer delectarunt. Nam tuæ ualetudinis (quæ me prope semper sollicitum tenet) iam cupiebam certior fieri ; postquam ergo uales bene est ; nos
5 omnes tui amantissimi ualemus.

De D. Alfonso, quia mandasti ut nunciarem tibi an uenisset Luteciam, nihil dicam ; nam plane falsi sunt qui tibi retullerunt illum reddijsse, decepti fortassis cognomine, nam alter quidam uenit eiusdem familiæ, meus &
10 illius cognatus, Antonius Manricus nomine, iuuenis modestus, et studiosus ualde. Vtinam ille relictis uitijs, quibus nunc indulget, resipisceret, & istius indueret probitatem ac spectatos ingenuosque mores. Haud dubie quam bellissime cum illo agi arbitraremur omnes qui
15 fascinora ac grauia scelera sua detestamur ; sed ut uideo longe alia mens est illi ; ideoque περὶ τούτων μὲν δὴ ᾔλλες, ne dicar exulcerato animo loqui : quod re uera haud mihi

Textual Notes. † R. Manricus &c.] on f 1 r 8. retullerunt] r retulerunt 8. reddijsse] r redijsse 8. fortassis] r -tassis 15. fascinora] r faci- 16. ᾔλλες] r ἄλλες

¹⁾ Cp. for the way in which letters used to be closed up, *Gran.*, p. xvi. After the letter had been folded up to be sealed, Manrique added a few words (ll. 240-2) on the very edge inside of the fold.

²⁾ *ManrEp.*, 201-2 ; cp. also ll. 67-70.

soli contingeret, sed optimis quibusque sui generis, quum
scilicet sua turpitudine illius pulchritudini maximo dede-
20 cori sit.

De Vergara nostro nil amplius habui quam quæ
superioribus meis literis ad te perscripsi. Laboro tamen
ut sciam quo in statu sint res eius. Crede mihi, mi præ-
ceptor, quod quum illius elegans ingenium intueor,
25 præstantem item eruditionem &, quod summum est, inno-
centissimam uitam, uix possum adduci ut credam quic-
quam detrahi posse optimo uiro; sed dum uideam impu-
dentissimorum calumniatorum officio id factum, timeo,
præcipue si tradditus est quibusdam indignissimis homi-
30 nibus atque agrestibus, et optimorum uirorum osoribus;
qui pulchrum, imo pium putant, si doctos ex verbulo aut
ioco faceteue dicto de medio tollant. Plane uerum est quod
dicis inuidam atque superbam illam nostram patriam;
adde & barbaram. Nam iam pro certo habetur apud illos
35 neminem bonarum literarum mediocritur excultum, quin
heresibus, erroribus, Judaismis sit refertus; ita ut doctis
positum sit silentium; ijs uero qui ad eruditionem prope-
rabant iniectus, ut ais, ingens terror. Sed quid tibi hæc
recenseo: cognatus, de quo ante dicebam, meus, narrauit
40 mihi Compluti — nam is ibidem per aliquot annos egit
— moliri ut penitus literæ græcæ exularent; quod hic
Lutecie etiam multi commentantur id facere; de quo ilico
dixero. Qui sint qui illud in Hispania aggrediantur facere,
fautores imperitiæ, facile est colligere.

45 Vide quam altam inscitiae, superbiæ, et suæ calumniæ
arcem teneant, & subinde magno studio annituntur cus-
todire! Utinam congredieremur (quod ut spero breui erit)
ut in hac re animum meum cognosceres! Videres utique
quantum mutatus, quam alienus ab illis rebus sim: nec
50 mirum cum intima pene prospexerim, & quæ calumniæ
illic excitent mordicus retinuerim; ita ut elligerem potius
uel in summa barbarie et imperitia herere, vel in patriam
tam ingratam nunquam reddire! Nam quid, quæso, potest

29. tradditus] r traditus
51. excitent] r eligere

51. excitent] corrected from exciti
53. reddire] r redire

excogitari exitiabilius quam ut gimnasia uaria ac regiones
 55 obire ut eruditior euadas et peritiam rerum compares,
 reuersus hereseos acusari vel potius calumniari ?

Nuper accepi literas a quibusdam quos non agnosco
 amicos, in quibus consulebant ut penitus studia ista
 foeliciora, ad quæ me iam diligenter composueram uita-
 60 rem, & doctissimorum uirorum alloquia fugerem, quia
 uariæ me martis incerti exitus manebant strophæ, eram-
 que in illorum nomenclatione facile princeps, eorum
 scilicet quos Hispania alebat ; quibus me satis copiose
 respondisse arbitror, & tam acerbe, ut illorum postulabat
 65 arrogantia. Fateor tamen omnia me ex tuis libris hau-
 sisse ; neque enim aliunde fortius quam ex illis potuissem
 caussam tam odiosam tueri. Misissem ad te literas & si
 Hispanas, nam amplius similibus nolo tibi obstrepere,
 quanquam id uitij Latinis accidere possit, ut malis mea
 70 haud legere quam tantam contentionem imperitiæ pati.
 Humanitas tamen tua, simul et tuus in me animus quem
 ex meo ellicio, me impellit ut non ommittam hoc officij
 genus, quod tibi fore gratum tuis primis ad me literis
 testatus es, nec adducor etiam ut boni consulas præcer,
 75 nam reor putasse te, iam a me dictum, postquam impe-
 ritas illas susceperis grate, et mihi respondere dignatus
 sis atque admiscere curam quam meorum morum habes,
 quæ mihi gratissima fuit ; idque pro uestra beneuolentia
 ut frequenter facias etiam atque etiam rogo. Nam etsi ex
 80 tuis monumentis literarum extrahere possem ut hactenus
 acurate feci, tua tamen uox, literis mihi mandata unice,
 longe efficacior est, ut sunt tuorum dictorum et factorum
 diligens admirator (nam immitatorem me non ausim

54. ut gimnasia] *r* gymnasia 56. acusari] *r* acc- 60. alloquia]
 corr aloquia 62. eorum] *before it three letters are crossed off*
 63. scilicet] *MS .f. over line* 65. libris &c] *on f l v.* 72. ellicio]
 corrected from elicio which *r* 72. ut] *before it me is crossed off*
 72. ommittam] *r* ommittam 78. uestra] *ms uŕa : might be nostra*
 80. hactenus] *two strokes through the h may mean that Manricus*
wanted it crossed off 81. acurate] *r* accurate 82. efficacior]
second f added later 82. sunt] *the MS has clearly sunt : it could*
not be taken as a correction (by crossing off last stroke of m) of
sum into sim : either of which I suggest reading 83. immita-
 torem] *r* imit-

dicere cum ad tuam perfectionem fingere me atque com-
 85 ponere non possim, quin destituar uiribus) : versor igitur
 in Ethicis Aristotelis quotidie, & posthac diligentius
 uersaturus ita ut hanc ueram philosophiam pertinacissime
 calleam, quæ, ut prospicio, mihi inexperto rerum poterit
 esse usui magno. Intelligam tamen me hoc tibi debere, &
 90 singulari tuæ in me sollicitudini et curæ.

Ceterum libros de Ratione Dicendi nuper a te æditos,
 uidimus : qui quidem magno applausu ab omnibus recepti
 sunt ; ego uero, ut mei est officij, sedulo obseruaui quid
 docti sentirent ; & ita omnia pro uoto meo succedere ut
 95 sane cuperem laud tecum loqui, ut laxarem quantam —
 iuditio omnium doctorum — assecutus sis laudem ; cum
 pene partem hanc cum populo non loquente quæ iam
 amissa erat, omnino instauraueris. Desinam tamen facere
 quod uolebam, ne dicar speciosa quædam et beneuolentiæ
 100 ostentamenta sequi, et indulgere affectui, recto quidem
 ut mihi uidetur : abhorreo tamen ab istis, nedum ab
 assentationis gratia.

Quia pollicitus superius sum me dicturum quid hic
 ageretur, paucis absoluam ut liceat interdum a serijs ad
 105 jocos traduci. Nosti, ut arbitror, Copum illum Basyllien-
 siensem doctum atque eruditum medicum, et in uertendis
 Galeni libris, ut aiunt, fœlicem. Is reliquit inter omnes
 liberos (quorum fuit satis fortunatus, ob id quia eruditi
 admodum in uarijs disciplinis) Nicolaum Copum Medicine
 110 candidatum, et in Aristotelis libris, ut apud Gallos magni
 nominis, ita & dexteritatis summe. Paucis abhinc men-
 sibus connatus est ut honoraretur dignitate quam hic
 uocant Rhetoratus, nec multum laborauit ; nam placide

88. calleam] *corr from caleam* 93. officij] *r officij* 94. succedere]
r successere 97 non] *ms nō ; it might be nostro* 97. loquente]
ms lōqute 101. assentationis] *corr* 104. ageretur] *r ageretur*
 105. jocos] *ms Jocos* 105. Basylliensem] *r Basiliensem* 109. disci-
 plinis] *a word like sint or eminent seems left out* 109. Nicolaum
 Copum ... candidatum] *before these words inter quos est is crossed*
off ; Manr. losing sight of his sentence (l. 107), started here another
which he crossed off : he then changed the original final -s of
Nicolaus Copus & candidatus into the abbreviation 3 for -m : Nico-
lau3 Copu3 & candidatu3 110. Gallos] *second l added afterwards*
 112. connatus] *r conatus* 113. Rhetoratus] *evidently r Rectoratus*

et grate in illam delatus est. Contigit ut in trimestri —
 115 nam non amplius durat dignitas hæc a multis tam cupita
 — ut festum Omnium Sanctorum aduentaret, et, ut anti-
 qui moris est, parauit concionem apud cenobium Francis-
 canorum, doctam sane et aptam huic tempestati. Igitur
 cum in illa acriter inueheretur in hos libros scolasticos,
 120 tum in sophistas, cum doceret nil ad religionem, nil ad
 bona opera, nil ad bonos mores pertinere; simul et inse-
 ruisset quædam periculosa et scandalosa, scilicet quod
 fide sola saluaremur, et illud Pauli: Animalis homo
 nescit &c., perperam interpretatus fuisset, male habuit
 125 Franciscanis, et statim relicto illo, deferunt in Senatum.
 Ille perfecta oratione domum reddijt; percitus tamen, quia
 audiebat rem delatam tum ad theologos, tum ad primum
 Præsidem, cui est sacer auricularius Franciscanus quidam
 nomine de Cornibus. Rector uero quia autumabat nil a se
 130 incorrupte dictum, iterum parat aliam orationem, quam
 sperabat se habiturum apud Theologos; Præses Summi
 Senatus sciscitatur diligenter de caussa, nec aliam inuenit
 quam quæ a Francisnanis dicta fuerant. Iam res quæ
 occulte gerebatur incipit palam agi, et testes aduersus
 135 Rectorem disquirunt. Hæc cum uidet Rector, omnia
 pedagogia, facultates, decanos, procuratores conuocat in
 ædem diui Maturini, vbi incepit ab officio a Consilij sui
 caussa atentos auditores reddere, et deinde in calumnia-
 tores inuehi, ex quibus tantummodo duo adderant. Postea
 140 incepit purgationem suam, et varijs verbis opinionem
 aduersam quam de illo habebant reuellere, et confutare
 sex propositiones quas aiebant a se dictas; ex quibus
 tantummodo illam Pauli recognouit, de qua antea dixi;
 et testes in suam caussam induxit, nempe antiquum et
 145 ante ipsum Rectorem; is surrexit, et labefactare atque
 infringere studuit propositiones Rectori impositas, et se

125. illo] *the final o is very narrow and resembles the upright stroke of i* 126. reddijt] *r redijt* 128. auricularius] *corr. from auricularis* 133. Francisnanis] *r Franciscanis* 135. uidet &c.] *on f 2 r* 138. atentos] *r attentos* 139. adderant] *r aderant* 141. reuellere] *r refellere* 144. antiquum] *ms antiqū to which a small stroke was added, like an i without dot*

propter ueterem amicitiam et diuturnam consuetudine,
 quæ cum dignissimo Rectore intercesisset, testimonium
 afferre ; neque etiam is recognouit nisi illam Pauli ; — is
 150 enim de quo nunc dicebam Lusitanus est. His igitur per-
 fectis, secreuit sese concio in suos procuratores atque
 decanos facultatum, ut quid agendum in caussa ~~esset~~ una-
 quæque facultas decerneret. Nam Rector caute & astute
 inseruit in sua oratione rem et causam non ad priuatam
 155 personam, sed ad omnem Vniuersitatem attinere. Decer-
 nunt igitur primum Prouiciæ, nempe Gallica, Norman-
 diæ, Germaniæ, et Brugensis, ut quia erat res Vniuersitati
 simul et iniuria illata, ut priuarentur illo aureo munere,
 et nunquam posthac haberetur concio apud Franciscanos.
 160 Constituunt item ut publicis expensis causa ageretur, et
 illi calumniatores exularent atque agerentur in exilium
 uoluntarium Vniuersitatis. Cum his pollicitis reuertitur
 Rector ad Theologos, Jurisconsultos et Medicos, putans
 se pollicitationes similes desumpturum. Sed aliter res
 165 succedit. Nam Theologi nil pollicentur, quia res fidei age-
 batur ; Jurisconsulti idem responsum dant ; Medici uero,
 ex quorum consorcio erat, pollicentur quod nationes.
 Tunc Rector agit publice gracias magna oratione, et
 ilico in exilium agi calumniatores postulat. Finita ora-
 170 tione surrexit theologus de Cornibus, et se omnino et
 cœnobium purgat : scilicet, numquam a quoquam mona-
 chorum rem delatam in Supremum Senatum ; sed quia
 iam opinio erat a Franciscanis id comentum, postulabat
 propositiones dari publico notario Vniuersitatis, idque
 175 cum beneuola suportatione dignissimi Rectoris. Nondum
 perfecerat hic, ecce alter Franciscanus efflagitat palmis
 beneuolam attentionem, dicens se regentem esse apud
 Franciscanos, eaque caussa audiri debere ; id quod Cor-
 nibus dixerat, dicit Scotica quadam oratione. Aduenit iam
 180 tempus concludendi : id muneris incumbit Rectori, ut

147. consuetudine] *r* -dinem 148. intercesisset] *r* -cessisset
 156. Prouiciæ] *r* Prouinciæ 162. uoluntarium] -rium *corr* from -tis
 165. succedit] *r* -essit 165. agebatur] *corrected* from agebant
 166. idem] *corrected* from eundem 173. comentum] *r* commen-
 tum 175. suportatione] *r* supportatione

post omnia responsa et postulata se sic concludere dicat. Facultas uero Theologorum uetuit ne concluderet, quia res fidei erat; facultas uero Artium postulat concludi, alioqui amitteretur penitus ius artium; denique post multas inutiles et varias contenciones rixasque, non concludit
 185 Rector, sed domum reuertitur hora iam pene duodecima. Altero die vocatur a Supremo Senatu Rector; is acceptis suis litoribus, parat ire, et cum esset iam in uia, uidet duos qui accurate contendunt ut ad mandatum Senatus
 190 properet, instare iam horam a qua Senatus disoluebatur. Rector tunc augurium atque præsagium infaustum uidet, et relictis litoribus domum reuertitur, nec paret Senatui, sed sumpto sygillo Vniuersitatis, latrebras querit; ita ut usque in hunc diem, quid actum de illo sit desideretur.
 195 Manet igitur desolata atque destituta Vniuersitas suo Rectore, spectans quotidie electionem futuri; bona uero Rectoris, et ingens biblioteca, in fiscum Regis et sequestrationem posita sunt et propediem distrahenda.

Alia quædam vulgaria acciderunt quæ mihi in præsentia non occurrunt; hæc uero quia uidebantur mihi digna scitu, ad te perscribo fusius quam speraram; ex tempore tamen est quicquid uides. Sed quid? oblitus eram de literis Græcis. Conuocantur post discessum Rectoris omnes primates pedagogiorum in Supremum Senatum, et agitur
 200 a consulibus ut literæ græcæ omnino dimouerentur, et profeso-
 205 res græci tacerent; inter quos surrexit quidam qui dixit: Sane, Domini mei, si tam radicitus literas græcas diuellitis, quid fiet in sacris de illo cirie eleyson? Uetuit tamen interim, dum Rex uenit, ut nec Melantonis,
 210 nec Fabri Stapulensis, nec Erasmi puplicitus legeretur opera. Tum etiam consulunt ut nec Terentius, nec Plautus, nec multa Aristotelis legantur, simul et Cicero. Sed dabit Deus his quoque finem: itaque orandum est, nobis ut mentem sanam rectumque animum præbeat.

187. acceptis] *r* acceptis 188 (also l. 192). litoribus] *r* lictoribus
 189. accurate] *r* accurate 190. properet] *corr* properat 190. disoluebatur] *r* dissol-
 193. sygillo] *r* sig- 206. profeso-
r profess- 208. diuellitis] *corr* diuelitas 209. nec] *over line*
 210. puplicitus] *r* publi- 211. opera] *over* legeretur 211. Tum]
corrected from tunc 212. Sed &c.] *on f 2 v*

- 215 Qui tibi has defert monachus ordinis S. Augustini,
sanguine coniunctissimus D. Gomecio. Venit Luteciam, et
ausus est aggredi quod nunquam ante illum quis ten-
tarat : quippe Hispanice concionari ; nam quam arduum
et difficile sit in tanta vbertate et varietate ingeniorum,
220 facile est colligere ; iste uero ita rem suam confecit ut
acceptus fuerit permultis ; quamquam fuit rogatus ut hic
maneret et officium suum continuaret, renuit, et omnino
constituit in Flandriam proficisci. Arbitratur se peruen-
tuum Brugas, vel Antuerpiam, vel ubicunque Hispani
225 fuerint, ut ibi possit doctrinam concionando aut loquendo
Euangelicam seminare. Itaque impese me rogauit, ut se
tibi commendarem ; idque facio, ni tibi molestum fuerit ;
nam tantum abest ut tibi molestiam aliquam uelim
adfferre ut quamquam mihi familiarissimus esset, haud
230 commendarem. Nam neque eo animo quo alij proficis-
cuntur, ut pecunias, eleemosinam atque fauorem aucu-
pentur abit, sed tantummodo ut ea quæ dixi perficiat ;
inuenies, ni fallor, ex eius alloquio hominem pium et
spectatæ uitæ, et religionis integræ.
- 235 Vale, & me plurimum sanctissime ac probissime tuæ
Vxori commendato. A Ualdaura accepi literas ex opido
quodam Sabaudia : aiebat se optima ualeitudine atque
prospero itinere illousque peruenisse. Iterum vale.

Parisijs, 9 Decembris.

- 240 Saluebis a Lathomo atque Tussano & Danessio quibus,
ut nunc primum mihi nunciatum est, Senatus interdixit
ne græce profiterentur.

† .D. Iodouico uiui præceptori
meo vndecūq3 doctissimo
brugis

226. impese] r impense 229. adfferre] r adferre 232. abit]
before this word id crossed off 236. opido] r oppido 240-242.
Saluebis...profiterentur] these words, on two small lines, are written
on the outer edge of what became the inside of the letter when
folded up : they evidently were added at the last minute, after the
paper had been folded, ready for being sealed up (cp. Cran., pref.,
p. xvi) 243-245. the address comes, upside down, on the lower
half of f^o 2 v ; to the left, another hand added †/ 1533/ Parisijs a
dño Roderico Manrico

Notes to Manrique's Letter.

- 2 ualetudinis] since 1529 Vives was continually suffering from headache and eyesore (*HispEp.*, 267), and especially from podagra, to which he alluded in his letters as 'hospita hæc mea molestissima' (VOO, vii, 144; *Farr.*, 25 v), and about which he sorely complained in 1532 (*Farr.*, 6 v; VOO, vii, 136) and 1533 (to Damian a Goes, June 17, 1533 : VO, ii, 977); on May 10, 1534, he wrote to Erasmus : 'Aestate superiore grauiter & periculose ægrotaui e colica. Podagra facta est mihi adeo familiaris, ut iam minus sit ex assuefactione grauis' &c. : VO, ii, 976; EE, 1492, F; Mayans, 164, sq.
- 6 Alfonso] evidently a Manrique; he is most probably the 'nobilis Alphōtius Manerick hispanus', who matriculated in Louvain on May 24, 1524 (*LibIntIII.*, 314 r); he was trained by Vives before going to study in Paris, where he seems to have played the truant. Apparently he is the 'Alonso Manrrique' who, with Alvaro Gomez, is mentioned amongst the members of the 'Natie van Spanje', residing in Antwerp in 1560 : Goris, 613; Mayans, 122.
- 21 Vergara] Juan de Vergara, born on Sept. 5, 1492 at Toledo, became an able humanist at Ximenes' new University of Alcalá, and in his service. At his death he came to Belgium to instruct his master's successor William de Croy in the affairs of his diocese (Mayans, 62-63, 194); on that occasion, he made the acquaintance of Erasmus and Vives : Mayans, 92-3, 101, 169, 215. He entered Charles of Austria's service as chaplain, and returned to Spain, where in 1524 he became the secretary of the archbishop of Toledo, Alonso de Fonseca. He remained in close connection with Erasmus and Vives, and was accused of Lutheranism in 1530 before the Inquisition with his 'brother' Tovar, chiefly by the famous Francisca Hernandez. He was absolved thanks to his master's protection, but his enemies soon brought in a new charge, to which this letter refers. It was only at Fonseca's death in 1534, that they actually could proceed against him. On May 10, 1534 Vives wrote to Erasmus about his and

his brother Tovar's imprisonment (EE, 1493, c; VO, II, 976). On December 21, 1535 he was condemned to a recantation and a fine, and was only released from prison on February 27, 1537; afterwards he lived at Toledo, where he enjoyed a canonry, and died on Febr. 22, 1557 : *Civ Dei*, 1727; *Farr.*, 37 v; VOO, II, 309, VI, 373; Pelayo, II, 64-7; Bonilla, 150, *sq.*, 233, 651, &c.; Allen, v, 1277; Mayans, 130-2, 153; Hefele, 116, 359; *Viv Val.*, 62, 75; *Caball Crist.*, 22, 26, 31, 41-4, 51-2, 60-1, 76; M. Bataillon, in *Bull Hisp.*, xxxi, 182-95, 202; *Bat Dial.*, 33, 41, *sq.*, 56, 65-89, &c.; *Mendoza*, I, 44.

- 33 dicis inuidam &c.] although it is an injustice to state that Vives 'was Spanish only by the accident of his birth' (*CMH*, I, 379), it is not right, on the other hand, to represent him as owing *all* his virtues and his meritory characteristics to his native country whose influence he is said to have felt through the countrymen with whom he was in constant personal connection : *Viv Span.*, 15, *sq.*, 30-47. He certainly was not blind to the shadow-sides of his nation, and it is peculiar that he never wanted to return. Once, in May 1523, he started the home journey planned since the last months of 1522, not out of his free will, but almost against his choice, since he considered himself bound by duty to go and help his father and his sisters in their dire need : *Cran.*, 32, ²⁶, 47, ³, 56, ¹⁶; Allen, v, 1362, ¹⁰²; *supra*, p. 5, *sq.* : and it was not difficult for More and his English friends to retain him on his way, probably since better tidings had come. Nor is there anything in the calm impassionate erudite that warrants the supposition that he should have been kept back from the voyage by his love for Margaret Valdaura, whose presence at Bruges was not indispensable, as she was not the only girl in the family : *Viv Span.*, 48. It looks much more consistent with facts that Vives, who seems to have been most miserable in London in the first days of his arrival, when apparently he was waiting for an occasion to embark, dreaded much less the sea-passage than the prospect of having to live in a country unsettled through family rivalry, through social hatred, and through impatience of what seemed a foreign tyranny :

Acuña, 7, *sq* ; Hefele, 450, *sq* ; a country which he knew too well to ignore the bitter opposition that was awaiting all favourers of the new ideas of studying and teaching ; it had especially been experienced by Nebrissa, whose succession he had declined evidently on that account : *VivSpan.*, 47-8 ; *supra*, pp. 5-6.

34 apud illos] cp. further ll. 52 *sq*.

39 cognatus] viz., Antonio Manrique : cp. l. 10.

42 ilico] cp. ll. 203, *sq*.

43 qui sint &c.] like in other countries the most obstinate opponents of the new movement were found amongst the religious orders : *CaballCrist.*, 37, *sq*, 52-59, 458, &c.

49 quantum mutatus] Rodrigo had evidently come to Vives with preconceived antipathy to humanism, which, however, had vanished since.

52 patriam tam ingratham] it was owing to Vives' apprehensions of difficulties raised on account of his opinions that he was not at all eager to accept the succession of Lebrija which Vergara offered in Sept. 6, 1522 (*HispEp.*, 247-50) : *BatDial.*, 40-43, 65-91 ; Bonilla, 153, 631 ; *CaballCrist.*, 52, *sq* ; *Acuña*, 9-17, 37, *sq*, 92, *sq*.

54 gimnasia uaria &c.] this may be an allusion to Aelius Antonius of Lebrija, Nebrissensis (1444-1522), who went to study for years in Italy, and on his return to Spain tried to propagate the new methods by his teaching at Salamanca and Alcalá, but who was disquieted for his emendations of the Vulgate, and owed it to Ximenes that he was not condemned and censured : Hefele, 109, *sq*, 358, *sq* ; Allen, II, 487, 14. Even his teaching of literature was mercilessly criticized, and the story goes that Vives himself had been put up by his master Jerome Amiguet at the Valencia School to speak declamations against the man whom he afterwards greatly honoured : *VivSpan.*, 8 ; Bonilla, 36.

85 versor &c.] on account of his studies on Aristotle, he, no doubt, had wished for Joannis Genesius Sepulveda's translation of Alexander Aphrodisiensis' commentaries on the *Physica* : cp. *supra*, p. 433.

91 de Ratione Dicendi] sold by Gravius, it was printed by

Rescius, Louvain, whom Vives had asked in vain in July 1530 to publish *de Disciplinis* : GoclE, 33 v; it came out 'Pridie Idus Septembris, 1533' under the title *Ioannis Lodovici Viuis... De ratione dicendi libri tres*. Joined to it was *De Consultatione*, dedicated 'ad Franciscum Bouadillam, Episcopum Corieñ & gymnasiarcham Salmaticensem', who had seen and appreciated the manuscript on the preceding year in Louvain : VOO, II, 89-237; Mayans, 121-123. It was reprinted in Paris and in Basle in the next few years : Bonilla, 787.

- 105 Copum] William Cop ¹⁾, born in Basle about 1466, knew Reuchlin in his native town, and was taught by his disciple John Heberling (ReuchlE, 223); he studied Greek at Cologne and at Ingolstadt, where he promoted doctor of Medicine in 1495. He went to practise his art in Paris, and attended in 1497 Erasmus, who afterwards (Aug. 27, 1526) applied again to him for a remedy in his sufferings : Allen, I, 50, 3, 124, 16, VI, 1735 ; Renaudet, 393. From the beginning of his stay, he was praised as a *Musarum Cultor* ; he showed his zeal for humanism by studying Greek under John Lascaris, Erasmus, and, afterwards, under Aleander, whom his advice and munificence kept in Paris until he left for Liège : *Aléandre*, 87-94 ; AleaE, 18, 54 ; *Budé*, 75, 91, 95 ; Friedensburg, 2 (p. 482). The esteem in which he was held (Beatis, 76, 133) is shown by dedications both from Erasmus (*Carmen equestre, vel potius Alpestre*, 1506, and *Carmen de Senectutis Incommodis*, 1507 : Nollhac, 8, 30 ; EOO, IV, 756 ; *CatSél.*, 337 ; Pennington, 72) and Aleander (*Aléandre*, 74, 85, 87). He used his prestige as physician of Louis XII. (*AléoJo.*, 33) and of Francis I. to promote humanists, and to dissipate all prejudice against the struggling movement : thus he advocated Reuchlin's cause (ReuchlE, 223, 237 ; Herminjard, I, 16, 24, 28, 31, 449 ; Renaudet, 650) ; he caused Erasmus to be invited to France already in February 1517 (Allen, II, 523 ; *Budé*, 91), and he contributed greatly to the erection of the *Collège de France* (*BudéRép.*, 17, 28 ;

¹⁾ Cp. note to l. 193 for the pretended second name of 'Lafille'.

- Aléandre*, 100; *Hutten*, 198; Imbart, I, 557, II, 363, 542, III, 60; Renaudet, 688; Lefranc, 46, 49-54, 142). He died on Dec. 2, 1532: Allen, I, 124, ¹⁶; FG, 330; RE, 41, 161; AmerE, 141; Polenz, I, 178; Bulæus, VI, 937; *DelPoBel.*, II, 250; *DelPoGerm.*, II, 811; *JovEDV.*, 292; Renaudet, 405, 489-94, 612, 650, 688; AgrE, 188, 190, 192; Iseghem, 269; *CorrAgric.*, 315; VadE, II; *ZwOZ*, VII, 48; *NBG*; &c.
- 107 Galen] William Cop published his rendering of Galen, dedicated to Louis XII. in 1513 (Paris, H. Stephanus); it was reprinted in 1523 (Josse Badius). He also translated from the Greek Paul of Eginet's *Præcepta Salubria*, 1510/11, and Hippocrates' *Præsagia*, 1512: FG, 71, ⁴¹; *Budé*, 91, 95; *BudéRép.*, 17; *CatSél.*, 197, 389; &c. Amerbach referred to his work in his letter to Dorp, March 19, 1520: cp. *supra*, p. 378: Ep. 37, l. 38.
- 108 *liberos*] William Cop left at least four sons, namely Nicolas referred to in this letter; John, a canon of O. L. of Clery (Lefranc, 149; Viénot, 115); Luke; and Michael, who followed Calvin to Geneva where he became a protestant minister (Herminjard, II, 346, 348, 393, 409, III, 130; FG, 330; *CMH*, II, 351; Viénot, 215, who also makes him a canon of Clery). Many noteworthy personages of the same name occur in the history of those times: a Catherine Cop, banished in 1551 from Geneva by Calvin for favouring Servet (Viénot, 264); Gregory Cop, Albert of Brandenburg's physician (*Hutten*, 234; Allen, III, 986, ¹⁴; *Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte*, XIX, 106); Leonhard Koppe, who saw Catherine de Bora out of her convent (Grisar, I, 438, *sq*; Janssen, II, 279, 539); John Copp, the Swiss reformer (Humbel, 228, 230, 234); George Coppus (*DelPoGerm.*, II, 831); John Cop (*EobHessus*, I, 339; Mayer, 218); Vitus Coppus, Schlettstadt *ludimagister* (RE, 490-2, 516, 524, 527), and others: Mayer, 27, 90, 211, 240; Schrevel, I, 445; Sleidanus, III, 425; &c.
- 109 Nicolaum Copum] Nicolas Cop, William's son, after studying in the University had taught in the College of Cardinal Lemoine, when he became a member of St. Bar-

bara College where he lectured on philosophy from 1530 (cp. note to l. 193 ; *BatGouv.*, 17-18) ; all the while he studied medicine, and was one of Calvin's friends (Herminjard, II, 346, 393, III, 117-8). On October 10, 1533, he was elected University Rector : ' Nicolaus Copus, Parisinus, in Medicina Baccalaureus, in collegio San-Barbarano præceptor ' (Herminjard, III, 109-11, 115-8, 129, 130-1). During the first weeks of his Rectorate the University was requested to consider her condemnation of Margaret of Navarre's *Miroir de l'âme pécheresse* (Alençon, 1531) : owing to royal influence, and to Guillaume Petit's interference, one faculty after another disclaimed ever having proscribed the book, which consequently was taken off the list of suspicious writings : Bulæus, VI, 238, 964, 977 ; Herminjard, III, 94, 108-11 ; Viénot, 113-6 ; Delisle, 37, 93-5 ; Jourda, I, 178-80 ; *BullProtFr.*, LII, 209-13 ; *BatGouv.*, 17-21 ; Polenz, I, 222, sq.

- 117 concionem] the sermon preached by Cop at the *Mathurins* before the University, is believed to be the one of which the beginning is found amongst the writings of Calvin (Geneva Library, n° 145 : Herminjard, III, 418-20). The fragment extant praises the Gospel as far above sophistry and discussions ¹⁾ ; from the various reports it appears that the *oratio* laid the stress on faith in the process of justification ; pronounced the New Testament the real basis of theology, and meekness the remedy to the dissensions in the Church instead of persecution, real peace being the result of the word and of conviction, not of the sword and of terror. Those ideas and others expressed by Cop were those of all humanists, as well of Lefèvre d'Étaples and Margaret of Navarre, as of Budé and Erasmus, and can hardly be taken as frankly reformatory ²⁾, although, as Beza remarked in his life of Calvin, another

¹⁾ The opening parts of the sermon refer to the Gospel of All-Hallows : *Beati pauperes spiritu*, Matth., v ; also to the *magistratus* which requires the preacher to deliver that *oratio* ; that he was a catholic, is proved by the invocation of Our Lady at the end of the exordium.

²⁾ J. Pannier, in *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuse* : Strassburg, 1923 : 308, 312-315.

tone was given in that oration than was usually heard (Viénot, 117). It certainly went against the ideas accepted by the strict adherents of the old order, and it is no wonder that it raised an outcry ; it was as if reformation had got a footing in the old Paris University. That sermon is now looked upon as the beginning of reform in France, and invariably it is attributed to Calvin, who either is said to have written it down entirely to be pronounced by his friend Cop ¹⁾, or ' built ', inspired, it in such a way that it was not Cop's, but his ²⁾. Still so far as can be made out, the attribution of that sermon to Calvin is based on a note added to the manuscript by N. Colladon about 1570, who probably is as much mistaken in that attribution, as he is in the dating of the sermon, which he assigns to 1534. Indeed it is hardly to be believed that the Rector of a University should apply to a student to suggest, let alone to compose, what may be considered as an inaugural address ; that student had only recently arrived in Paris, namely in February 1532, and had since then resided in Orleans for his doctorate ; although being a good friend of Cop's, he cannot have got such an ascendancy on the lecturer of St. Barbara's, that he could use him as his mouthpiece. Indeed he himself was just then only developing from the meek young man, who in June 1532 went to see his friend Francis Daniel's sister at Chevilly, but did not keep her back from becoming a nun : Viénot, 184-5 ; Herminjard, II, 347. Even supposing that the Calvin of October 1533 was able to make the Rector of the greatest University of the world lower himself in his own eyes to such an extent that he learned by heart and recited as his own composition the work of an adventitious student, it is quite inconceivable that the deceit was not noticed, as the sermon was delivered to Cop's own colleagues, many of whom were his lifelong acquaintances, his fellow-students, and even his own masters. For there is not any

¹⁾ *BullProtFr.*, LI, 213 ; Viénot, 117, 185 ; HermelMau, 198 ; Lefranc, 144.

²⁾ Imbart, III, 371, 531 ; Herminjard, III, 117-8, 129-30.

trace of suspicion about the authenticity of this oration in any of the contemporary reports, or in that correspondence of friends which, like this present letter, shows an intimate and first-hand knowledge of facts and persons : Bulæus, vi, 239 ; Herminjard, iii, 117-118, 129-30. Nor can it be inferred from Calvin's absconding at the outcry that followed Cop's flight (Jourda, ii, 181 ; Herminjard, iii, 114, 158), that it was an implicit avowal of his being responsible for its composing : indeed, his connection with the suspicious party, probably his unhidden approval of the sermon, and, especially, the ruthless repression that did not spare the sacred authority of the University Rector — and sent numerous persons to prison — are amply sufficient to explain that prudent move : Hearnshaw, 195 ; HermelMau., 198 ; Herminjard, iii, 130. As to the presence of this sermon among his papers — in the supposition that it is the sermon delivered by Cop, for which, as far as can be judged from Herminjard's reproduction, there is not any real positive proof — nothing can be concluded from it, even though it be in the Reformer's hand. The writer of a document is not necessarily the author. Although there is nothing extraordinary about the fragment preserved ¹⁾, Calvin may have wished to keep as a document that bold expression of the want of a wider scope for thought, and that public apology of the new method in studying Scripture, which greatly appealed to him. It may have meant to him a stage in his gradual development, and Cop's oration, instead of having been made or inspired by Calvin, may have been the turning point in his career. Indeed after his studies of law he was perfectly orthodox, as is proved by his *de Clementia*, 1532, and by the care he took of Miss Daniel's religious vocation ; he dislikes the Sorbonne theologians, siding with Cop and the Bishop of Paris ; he wishes for changes, not through a revolt, but through the authority of the Church and of Churchmen like du

¹⁾ It contains nothing striking : for by 1530 complaints about the neglect of Gospel study, and criticisms of sophistry and discussions *de lana caprina*, had become hackneyed themes.

Bellay, thus sharing the opinions of Roussel and Margaret of Angoulême ¹⁾; he expresses those views in a brief comment on the events sent to Daniel and the Orleans friends by the end of October ²⁾; far from sympathising with the Lutherans, whose sect was just then swarming in Paris ³⁾, he even still stigmatizes all religious innovators: he justifies the measures taken against those who had libelled the Queen, and adds: 'Visum est statui pessimum exemplum eorum libidini qui rebus novis inhiant, si impunitas daretur huic improbitati'. That mention of the innovators and their disapproval — which is his opinion — causes only surprise to those who suppose, without warrant, that Calvin's conversion did take place before the end of October 1533: Herminjard, III, 107-8; Pannier (quoted p. 447 n 2). For Calvin wrote all that on October 27, 1533, four days before Cop's oration, which itself was catholic in spirit, notwithstanding its seditious tone. From Cop's flight the change sets in: Calvin is suspected, not as author of the speech, but as partisan: he is surprised at the unexpected danger, which shows that he as yet feels guiltless (Herminjard, III, 158); his rooms are searched; he hides at Noyons and at Angoulême; in April 1534, he visits Lefèvre at Nérac; finally, on May 4 following, he sells his prebends of Pont-l'Evêque and Gesine, and leaves for good: he breaks away from the road which he had followed unto then, and, as D. Sabatier remarks, not once will he turn back his head ⁴⁾.

¹⁾ Viénot, 185; BatGouv., 18.

²⁾ The report of the news, without date or addressee, is accompanied by, and announced in, a letter to Francis Daniel, of Orleans, dated from Paris, October 27 < 1533 >: Herminjard, III, 103-111.

³⁾ René du Bellay, in his letter quoted in *BullProtFr.*, LI, 220, sq; also that of Francis I. to his Parliament, Dec. 10, 1533: Herminjard, III, 115.

⁴⁾ D. Sabatier, *La 'Conversion' de Calvin*, in *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, 1911: LXXXII, 245-271: the movements of Calvin's religious mind from 1532 to 1534 are described in that history of the development of the systematical Reformer (Imbart, III, 414, sq), whose conversion is still a mystery; Hasting Eels (*Martin Bucer and the Conversion of John Calvin*, in *Princeton Theological Review*, 1924: 402-419) has studied the same problem, and concludes that the connection with Bucer, whom he knew only from 1536, does not explain how, in 1535, Calvin took a

- 123 Animalis homo] 1 Cor., ii, 14.
- 127 primum Præsidentem] since 1529 the first president of Paris Parliament was Peter Lizet, who had been the King's advocate : *Budé*, 98, 128 ; *Delisle*, 31-33, 83 ; *Herminjard*, I, 235, III, 73 ; *Lefranc*, 404.
- 129 de Cornibus] Pierre Cornu, was professor of theology of the Sorbonne ; he belonged to the College of Navarra : *Herminjard*, I, 294, III, 58, 295 ; *Delisle*, 92, 94, 95.
- 135 Hæc cum uidet &c.] the Rector considered it as a slight of the privileges, that Parliament should attempt judging a member of the Alma Mater, and, even more, that his own *suppositi* had applied to a jurisdiction outside the University. A similar conflict of power had caused the Faculty of Divinity to oppose Parliament in July 1523 about James le Fèvre's commentaries : *Delisle*, 18, 52-54.
- 136 conuocat] that meeting took place as late as November 19 : a report is given in *Bulæus*, VI, 238-9, followed and partly reproduced by *Herminjard*, III, 117, and *Viénot*, 117-118.
- 143 illam (also on l. 149)] probably supply 'interpretationem'.
- 144 antiquum ... Rectorem] Cop had succeeded on Oct. 10, 1533, to a native of Portugal Andrew de Gouvea, the Latin poet, president of St. Barbara College, replacing his uncle Diego de Gouvea, the *primarius*, at least for two and a half years. He was elected Rector on June 23, 1533 ; his standing up for Cop illustrates his opinions ; they were widely different from those of his conservative uncle, who also prosecuted him for his gestion of St. Barbara College : Andrew afterwards managed for several years the College of Guyenne at Bordeaux : *Bulæus*, VI, 238, 919-20, 977 ; *BatGouv.*, 14-23.

religious interest in the Bible which, long after April 1532, had had only a literary interest for that votary of humanistic studies. The question is also treated by J. Pannier : *Recherches sur l'Evolution Religieuse de Calvin jusqu'à sa Conversion*, in *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuse* : Strassburg, 1923 : 312, sq. Still whatever the present day opinions are (cp. *HermelMau.*, 198), this letter, by its absence of any mention of Cop's great friend, suggests that he, by himself or by the reports of his acquaintances, did not strike Manrique as an audacious reformer, but was a mere malleable student, at least up to Cop's flight. Nor is Calvin referred to in Bucer's report of Cop's incident to Blaarer, c Jan. 13, 1534 : *Herminjard*, III, 129-30.

- 155 ad omnem Vniuersitatem] Cop wanted the approval of the University in his protestation against the breach of her privilege of juridical immunity, about which the academic bodies were extremely particular.
- 156 Prouiciæ &c.] cp. Bulæus, I, 250-257, VI, 230, *sq.*
- 177 regentem] possibly Toussaint Hémard : Jourda, I, 180.
- 187 vocatur &c.] the summons of Parliament and Cop's flight are related by Bucer — evidently from hearsay — in a letter to Ambrose Blarer, c Jan. 13, 1534, and then, much later, by Theodore de Bèze, in his preface to Calvin's commentaries on Josue, 1564/5 : Herminjard, III, 117-118, 129-30, 156, 158. Diego de Gouvea, in the evidence given in a case of heresy in 1551 refers to them : *BatGouv.*, 17-18. In his letter to Parliament, Dec. 10, 1533, King Francis also mentions the incident : he implies that instead of suspecting some danger on account of the urging invitation to appear before Court, Cop was warned by a member of Parliament ; consequently he requests that they should find out, and arrest the councillor 'qui est cause d'icelle fuitte et qui parla au dit Recteur' : Herminjard, III, 118. It thus appears that Manrique's letter brings new light, and, no doubt, first-hand information about the incident, of which the importance in the history of the Reformation in France is evident : cp. N. Weiss & V. L. Bourilly, *Jean du Bellay, les Protestants et la Sorbonne, 1529-1535*, in *BullProtFr.*, LII, 213-4 ; Mourret, 414-5 ; HermelMau, 198 ; Hearnshaw, 195 ; *CMH*, II, 285 ; *DébAgeMod.*, 237, 284 ; Polenz, I, 329, *sq.* ; and especially Viénot, 116, *sq.*, 177-93.
- 188 in uia] it was said that Cop had nearly reached the palace, but René du Bellay, in a letter to his brother John, of December 20, 1533, denies it and declares that 'jamais le recteur n'approcha le pallais' : *BullProtFr.*, LII, 214.
- 189 duos] the version of Manrique contradicts the statement generally admitted — and even quoted by the King : cp. l. 187 *n* — that Cop was warned by a member of Parliament about the hostile intentions of his colleagues : the divines, who probably took up that story, identified Cop's friend with René du Bellay, brother and vicar of the bishop

of Paris, Jean du Bellay, or with one of his agents ; they were just then in conflict with him about the right of judging heretical preachers, and made him responsible for the Rector's escape : *BullProtFr.*, LII, 214-227.

- 193 sumpto sygillo] that detail is corroborated by Martin Bucer in his letter to Ambrose Blarer, c Jan. 13, 1534 : 'ablato secum, forte per imprudentiam, signo Universitatis' (Herminjard, III, 130 ; Imbart, III, 371, 531) ; also by a manuscript note in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris (MS. ff 17527, f 41) quoted by Viénot, 118, with reference to the loss of the seal, which has never been seen again : '1533. Icelle année le viii^e jour de Novembre fut banni troyz jours de l'Université et ville de Paris à cause qu'il avoit presché aux Cordelliers de Paris le jour et feste de Toussains et parla de Purgatoire faulcement et pour icelle cause s'enfouyt et emporta les sceaux de lad. Université. Iceluy Recteur estoit fils d'un docteur en médecine nommé Monsieur Lafille, homme de bien, et luy maystre Lafille (le fils) demouroit pour lors au collège Ste. Barbe et estoit natif de Paris'. This note was evidently jotted down by a contemporary, who knew the facts from hearsay : for it does not appear that Cop was sentenced already on Nov. 8 ; indeed he convened the University to protest, not against his condemnation, but against his own *suppositi* who had slighted the Academic privilege of jurisdiction : cp. II. 135, 155 ; that meeting happened on November 19, according to Bulæus, and at that date no judgment had yet been passed by Parliament, as also results from the letters from John du Bellay and from the King : cp. II. 187, 188. The name of Lafille given to the Rector, not mentioned in other documents, is probably as authentic as some of the details in that note ; it is no doubt a confusion with Nicolas Lafillé, 'Dr. Medicus', recorded in Paris in 1510 and 1518, and with William Lafillé, a Paris canon about 1541 : Bulæus, VI, 953.

- 193 ita ut &c.] Cop had fled to Basle, as Erasmus announced to John Choler on Febr. 19, 1534 : EE, 1490, B ; meanwhile Parliament had offered 'ccc. coronatos' to whoever should bring the fugitive Rector, either dead or alive, as

Bucer wrote to Blaarer, about Jan. 13, 1534 : Herminjard, III, 130, 131, 156, 161 ; *DébAgeMod.*, 240 ; Viénot, 118-9. He kept up an intercourse with his friends in Paris, so that he could announce to Bucer from Basle, on April 5, 1534, the imprisonment of Beda, the pardon of Roussel and the execution of a German : Herminjard, III, 158-9, 162.

- 196 bona Rectoris] in his preface to Calvin's commentaries on Josue (Geneva, 1565, f a 7), Beza relates that bailiff John Morin went to the College of Fortet to arrest Calvin ' pour la familiarité qu'il avoit eu avec ...Cop ', probably suspecting him of hiding the Rector ; not finding him, Morin confiscated Calvin's books and belongings, amongst which there were several letters from friends, which, however, were sifted to no effect. Meanwhile Calvin had had the time to abscond into the house of his friend Louis du Tillet, a canon at Angoulême : Herminjard, III, 118 ; Viénot, 185-7 ; Polenz, I, 329, *sq.*
- 203 literis Græcis &c.] the Faculty of Divinity had taken some decisions against translations of Scripture and ecclesiastical texts from Greek into Latin on August 12, 1523 : Delisle, 20, 54 ; and had condemned on April 30, 1530, two propositions asserting the necessity of the knowledge of Greek for the study and the explanation of the Bible : Delisle, 27, 81-82. That suspicion about Greek studies was fairly general at that time, and, strangely enough, was attributed to zeal for the purity of faith : *Cran.*, 213, c, 9-21 ; Budé, *De Transitu Hellenismi ad Christianismum* : Paris, March 5, 1535 ; P. de Nolhac, *Le Grec à Paris sous Louis XII.*, in *Revue des Etudes Grecques* : Paris, 1888 : I, 61-67 ; *BudéRep.*, 199-200, 231 ; *AgeEr.*, 118, *sq.* ; *DébAgeMod.*, 458.
- 204 in Supremum Senatum] most probably the victorious theologians availed themselves of the opportunity and silenced some of the suspected lecturers ; indeed, before dispatching his letter, Manrique had heard that their teaching had been stopped, — probably provisionally, in the absence of the King : II. 240-2.
- 209 Uetuit &c.] the Faculty of Divinity had more than once condemned, and forbidden the reading of, books by

Melanchton (Delisle, 17, 50), by le Fèvre d'Étaples (Delisle, 14, 18, 48, 51, 69, *sq*) and by Erasmus (Delisle, 14, 21-23, 59-61, 69, *sq*; Herminjard, III, 109; Bulæus, VI, 210, *sq*; *DébAgeMod.*, 284).

209 dum Rex uenit] on December 10, Francis I. wrote about this incident to Parliament from Lyons : Herminjard, III, 114.

211 Terentius ... Plautus] though their works were often printed and translated in Paris (Renaudet, 125, 273, 286, 474, 518), there was a certain diffidence about them in several quarters : thus Terence was proscribed in Mont-aigu College in 1508 by Nicolas Beda : Renaudet, 466 ; Creizenach, II, 59.

215 monachus &c.] this Augustine monk who wanted to preach in Spanish to his countrymen in the various places where they had settled, and whom they wanted to remain in Paris — is certainly not the *Augustinensis* who preached 'apud ecclesiam Sancti Salvatoris' and was summoned on that account by the Faculty of Divinity on Nov. 6, 1533, 'et multum reprehensus in facie Facultatis propter suas predicationes' : Delisle, 94. Indeed that friar preached not to get money, but to sow the Gospel — evidently in a perfectly orthodox sense. The words 'ausus est aggredi quod nunquam ante illum quis tentarat' do not mean any innovation in the doctrine proposed, but, most probably, refer to the language used so as to be understood by, and to satisfy, the great number of natives of the Peninsula, every one of them clinging to his own language or dialect : for, indeed, the unification of Spain had rendered unavoidable one common idiom : yet, since that unification had been for many a disagreeable and unavoidable compulsion, they tried to save at least a vestige of autonomy in their idioms : hence Manrique's remark : 'quam arduum ... <Hispanice concionari> sit in tanta vbertate et varietate ingeniorum, facile est colligere ; iste uero ita rem suam confecit ut acceptus fuerit permultis' : cp. Altamira, II, 367, *sq*, 515, *sq*.

216 D. Gomecio] most probably the 'Benavidius' Gomez, one of Vives' pupils, whom he mentions in his *De Conscri-*

bendis Epistolis in one breath with the writer of this letter : 'salvebit a me Rodericus Manricus meus ; jubebis salvere Gomezium Benavidium' : VOO, II, 307. — Clenardus mentions a 'Petrus Gometius', a friend of Resendius and Vasæus, in his letter to John Petit, Azila, August 21-September 18, 1541 : ClenE, 203. The Gomez here may be related to one or other of the numerous Gomes or Gomez recorded as merchants in Bruges and, for the xvith century, in Antwerp : Goris, 162, 249, 275, 613, 615, 627, 654 ; *BrugEst.*, 87, 287 ; *Brug&Fr.*, I, 287.

236 Ualdaura] evidently one of Vives' brothers-in-law : possibly the numismatist Bernard (*Cran.*, 102, *b*), or more probably Nicolas, who was in Paris in 1519 and returned there in November 1529 to study medicine : *CivDei*, 1733 ; *Cran.*, 102, *b*, 250, 8 ; VOO, III, 67, VII, 218-21. He apparently went to Italy before settling in Bruges as physician : *BrugTon.*, 165 ; *BrugInscr.*, I, 139 ; Mayans, 72-4 ; VOO, I, 378.

240 Lathomo] Bartholomew *Henrici*, Masson, *Lapicide*, Lathomus, born at Arlon in the last years of the xvith century, matriculated at Freiburg, March 10, 1516 and promoted 'magister artium' on October 31, 1517 (Mayer, 225) ; he studied especially under Zasius and taught for a time there and in Treves. He became 'pedagogus' to the two canons John-Louis of Hagen and his brother Wolfgang, and matriculated with them in Cologne Aug. 28, 1526 (Keussen, 884) ; at the end of July 1530 he was in Louvain, where he matriculated on Aug. 1, 1530 : *LibIntIV.*, 25 *r*. He lectured for a time in Cologne (Keussen, 884), and then settled in Paris in St. Barbara College by 1531, where he attracted Budé's notice as humanist and poet ; and was consequently appointed the first professor of Latin in the 'Collège de France'. He left Paris in 1541 at the request of his former pupil John-Louis of Hagen, who, meanwhile, had become Archbishop of Treves : he entered his service as councillor, married a daughter of Catherine Zieglein, cousin of Louis Hillesheim, humanist and mayor of Andernach. He took in hand not only the emendation of education and instruction, but also the

organisation of the rendering of justice ; he died on Jan. 3, 1570 at Coblenz where he had resided since 1544 ; he left several educational and controversial works, besides poems. Cp. E. Wolff, *Un humaniste Luxembourgeois du xvi^e siècle*, Barthélemy Latomus, d'Arlon : Luxembourg, 1902 ; VigliE, 41 ; BN ; Allen, vi, 1252, ¹² ; Herminjard, iii, 305 ; MasE, 292 ; Bulæus, vi, 922 ; Paquot, ii, 110-24 ; Bianco, i, 747 ; SonnE, 29 ; Varrentrapp, 200-1 ; J. Schwab, *Ludwig Hillesheim* : Andernach, 1906 : 27 ; Lefranc, 183-4, 112, 120-1, 136-8, &c. ; SaxOnom., 99. — Bartholomew Latomus was in Paris in March 1532, when Janus Secundus on his way to Spain met him at the house of Joachim Politès : JSecIt., 18 ; G. Prévot, *Jean Second à Paris*, in *Rev. Belge de Phil. et d'Hist.*, 1930 : ix, 554-6.

240 Tussano] James Toussain, *Tusanus* or *Tussanus*, of Troyes, studied in Paris, where he had started teaching privately in 1515, and became connected with Josse Badius, whom he helped correcting Latin, and also Greek, which he had learned from his host Louis Ruzé, and, after 1518, from Budé. He was the latter's intimate friend and favourite disciple, and for his sake he even broke his old acquaintance with Erasmus. He had begun teaching Greek publicly in 1527, and at the foundation of the 'Collège de France' he was entrusted with one of the two Greek chairs, which he filled till his death, March 15, 1547 : Lefranc, 173-76, 66, 69, 111, &c. ; Renouard, ii, 49, 236-8, &c. ; *BudéRép.*, 33, 107, 124, 134, 212, 217 ; Allen, iii, 810, ⁴⁵⁰ ; NBG ; SaxOnom., 135 ; Herminjard, iii, 161 ; Renaudet, 475, 640 ; Bulæus, vi, 944. — Vives knew him, possibly from the time of his studies, certainly from that of his visit to Paris in 1520, as results from Budé's letter of Jan. 10, 1521 : *BudéRép.*, 133 ; he sent greetings to him through Budé in a letter of Jan. 1533, which he quotes in his *De Scribendis Epistolis* : VOO, ii, 295.

240 Danessio] Pierre Danès (1497-1577) studied in Paris and became one of the professors of the College of Fortet ; he was appointed as the second of the two Greek professors of the 'Collège de France' ; he read the Ethics of Aristotle in the College of Cambrai. Afterwards he was Francis I.'s

deputy at the Council of Trent, 1545-6, became preceptor of the 'dauphin' Francis, and, in 1557, bishop of Lavaur, thus abandoning humanism and the 'Collège de France', to the success of which his excellent teaching greatly had contributed : Herminjard, II, 348, III, 118, 161 ; EE, 1288, c ; Allen, VII, 2044 ; *BudéRép.*, 33 ; Lefranc, 171-3, 111, *sq.*, 120, 150, *sq.*, &c. ; Bulæus, VI, 966 ; *NBG.*

- 241 *Senatus interdixit &c.*] the three professors mentioned here probably were suspected of being sympathetic to the ideals of the Reformers ¹⁾, which may have led to a provisional prohibition of their lectures until the King's arrival, as had been done for the reading of some authors. The interdicted Greek teaching mentioned by Manrique, does not seem to be recorded elsewhere. Still it is quite conceivable that the partisans of the old ideas should have availed themselves of their victory to silence their adversaries : hardly one month later, on January 9, 1534, they found another *casus belli* in the announcements of their lessons which some of the humanistic professors had stuck up on the bill posts which then were used daily for satirical placards in Paris. Beda laid a claim before Parliament, requesting an interdiction to read any part or extract of Scripture, especially in Greek or Hebrew texts, as had been announced ; an action was started, of which the documents still exist, but of which the result is unknown : the absence of all sign of victory in the Sorbonne, and the free movements of their opponents, seem to indicate that the King had interfered in favour of the humanists, who, without doubt, enjoyed it as their revenge, when, in 1535, John Cop, brother of the fugitive Rector, pronounced in the solemn meeting of jurisprudents an eloquent panegyric of Francis I. and of the beneficent lectures of Greek and Hebrew which he had instituted : Bulæus, VI, 239, *sq.*, 256, 258-64 ; Lefranc, 144-9, 404-5 ; Herminjard, III, 161.

¹⁾ Cp. for Danès and Toussain, Herminjard, III, 161 ; Lefranc, 172.

GERARD MORINCK

AND HIS

FRIENDS

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Morinck in Louvain.

Gerard Morinck, *Moringus* ¹⁾, a native of Bommel ²⁾, in Gelderland, on the Waal ³⁾, went to study in Louvain where he matriculated on December 12, 1510 ⁴⁾. He belonged to the Castle ⁵⁾, and was as such presented and admitted to the degree of Magister Artium, in 1513; he was classed the first among 155 competitors ⁶⁾, the second being Peter de Corte, who afterwards became the first bishop in his native town Bruges ⁷⁾. With him 'gerardus morinck de bommele, castrensis, nationis hollandiæ' requested, and got, on Oct. 2, 1515,

¹⁾ Morinck has had for a long time only very scanty and even inexact biographical sketches, as in Mol., 523; Sweerts, 284; Miræus, II, 56; *BibBelg.*, 281; Burman, ***2; Coppens, III, 15-16; FG, 99, 395; BN; &c. Cp. Vern., 16; VAnd., 244; Sax*Onom.*, 118; Hurter, II, 1497; *LatCon.*, 381-2; *Cran.*, 77, 76; Allen, VII, 1994, *pr.*

²⁾ Through a confusion with *Gerardus Morrhuis Campensis*, Morinck has been erroneously said to be a native of Kampen, *supra*, p. 121.

³⁾ H. van Heussen, *Antiquitates Ecclesiasticæ*: Leyden: II, 371. A Rodolph Morinck of Bommel matriculated in laws at Cologne, Oct. 26, 1520: Keussen, 828; Knod, 356: Jacob Morink, 1539.

⁴⁾ *LibIntIII.*, 164 v: 'gerardus morinck de bommel traiectens. dyoces.'; two days earlier — just before him — had been inscribed 'henricus huygmannj de bommel', December 10, 1510, a *minorennis* for whom 'Jo de Turnot' — evidently John Driedoens of Turnhout — took the customary oath: *LibIntIII.*, 164 r.

⁵⁾ A 'gerard de bommel' is recorded as being admitted in the Castle to the Baccalaureatus Artium, Jan. 26, 1510, to the 'determinantia' and the licenciate Dec. 12, 1510 and Jan. 27, 1511: *LibActArtV.*, 291 r, 304 v, 307 r. This can hardly be Morinck, even though he had studied and resided in Louvain some time before he matriculated; it probably was his townsman, 'Gerardus filius gerardj die Juede de bommel', who matriculated on March 31, 1509: *LibIntIII.*, 151 r.

⁶⁾ *PromRs.*, 69; *PromLv.*, 5.

⁷⁾ *Cran.*, 83, a-h, &c.

admission to the Council of the Faculty of Arts ¹⁾. Besides the branches imposed by the *curriculum*, he studied languages and literature, and he thus soon became acquainted with Adrian Barlandus ²⁾ and Martin van Dorp amongst the professors, and with Cornelius Musius amongst the students ³⁾; afterwards he seems to have been on friendly footing especially with Conrad Goclenius ⁴⁾ and with Tilman sClerkx, of Geldrop, who became president of Adrian VI.'s College ⁵⁾. He began studying theology, possibly whilst earning a living by tutoring younger students; at his request the Faculty of Arts nominated, on May 8, 1516, 'M. Gerard Morinck', a 'clericus' of Utrecht diocese, to the first vacant benefice at the disposal of the dean of St. Martin's Cathedral, Utrecht ⁶⁾.

The short while elapsing between his promotion and that nomination, indicates that Morinck was in precarious circumstances, as only very small benefices were granted unless five or six years had elapsed, even if the Master of Arts was *de facto* teaching philosophy in a pedagogy ⁷⁾, of which there is no mention for Morinck ⁸⁾. Probably there were no vacancies of that kind in the Castle when he finished his studies of Arts, so that he was thrown back on his own resources. Most likely he became an inmate of Holy Ghost College ⁹⁾, or at

¹⁾ AFAExc., 85-86.

²⁾ There seems, however, to be no authority for the mention that Moring should have been Barland's pupil: Sweerts, 284; BB, B, 250, 13.

³⁾ BibBelg., 160; OpmHistMart., 74; cp. *supra*, p. 375.

⁴⁾ Cran., 95, e; FG, 101, 12.

⁵⁾ Cran., 258, b; FUL, 2493.

⁶⁾ LibNomI., 107 v; the appointment was witnessed by Nicolas Copin and John de Neve.

⁷⁾ A distinction was made between the *seniores* and the *juniores magistri Artium*: the latter could only be appointed to the smaller benefices; in any case preference was granted to *legentes et docentes philosophiam*: VAnd., 23; FUL, 4747, 4765.

⁸⁾ The register only mentions that 'M. Gerard Morinck de Bommele' was 'clericus Trajectensis Diocesis, Artium Magister in Facultate graduatus': LibNomI., 107 v.

⁹⁾ That seems implied by a passage in his life of John Briart, in which he describes the humility of the professor (who came once a week at least to the Holy Ghost to preside over disputations): 'quid referam cum quanta animi humilitate omnibus nobis in collegio contubernalibus vir tantus supplicauerit si quid quemquam lesisset vel vnquam disputando vel aliter offendisset. Mirabamur magnopere hominem cui ea cogitatio obuersaretur': MSGerMor., 397 v, 395 v.

any rate amanuensis to the President Martin van Dorp, for in 1547, writing to Nicolas de Winghe, he refers to the beginning of the Reformation, when Luther issued his opinions and explained them in long declarations, and Dorp often inquired into them most keenly and vehemently both in public at discussions, and at home when together at the hearth ¹⁾). That seems to have been only possible before the condemnation of Luther's doctrines by the Faculty, which may have failed to give satisfaction to Dorp as inopportune, but which must have necessarily prevented him from being too outspoken, for fear of renewing the trouble caused by the students of Holy Ghost College for the publication of his *Oratio* on his return from Holland. At any rate his inquiring about Luther's writings cannot have gone on after that time in public; the trouble which the Faculty caused him at the meetings of July 31 and August 4, 1520 ²⁾), will certainly have taken away every wish of raising further difficulties. Besides if Dorp was imprudent and impulsive, he was also very truthful; and facts must have been found exact to his representation, or his colleagues would not have given him their trust as deputy on August 11, five days after the meeting at which he had refused what had been asked of him ³⁾). To be true, on September 30, they put as a condition to his resuming his lectures that he should submit to the judgment of the Faculty ⁴⁾ : yet it hardly lasted two months before the foremost of his opponents Nicolas Baechem was decidedly courting his favour ⁵⁾).

It looks as if Gerard Morinck, who without doubt shared Dorp's rooms in the College during his presidency, also followed him to his new home, as seems implied by a few words of the same letter, assuring that he never heard a word that indicated any connection or sympathy with the heretics although he was his constant daily convictor ⁶⁾).

¹⁾ Morinck wrote : ' Non inficior in exortu Luteranismi, æditis Luteri placitis eorumque fusioribus declarationibus, acerrime Dorpius simul et vehementissime, tum domi nobiscum ad focum, tum foris in diatribis in illa numquam non inquirebat ' : *MSGerMor.*, 218 v : *infra*, Ep. 5.

²⁾ Cp. *supra*, pp. 240-1, 213-4.

³⁾ De Jongh, 24* ; cp. Allen, iv, 1162, 79, 1165, 26-28.

⁴⁾ De Jongh, 46*.

⁵⁾ Cp. *supra*, pp. 240-1.

⁶⁾ The letter reads : ' cum quotidianus ei et assiduus essem ' : *MSGerMor.*, 218 v : *infra*, Ep. 5.

The connection with Dorp, which provided him with board and lodging, also allowed him to apply himself zealously to the study of divinity, apparently under the direction of John Briart of Ath, Adrian of Utrecht's successor both as Vice-Chancellor and as president of the weekly disputations in Holy Ghost College ¹). It is most significant for his standing and his opinions in after life, that his admiration for the erudite professor and for the generous friend, reached effusive affection. Briart helped students from his own ample means, and without doubt Morinck experienced that kindness. At any rate, he relates that if through the damages caused by the war, which seemed to be continually harassing his native Gelderland, there would be ever any danger of discontinuing his studies, Briart would, as he once had declared in public, be sure to help, even if he should have to part with his paternal inheritance ²). Such kindness, as he could hardly have expected from his own father, warmed Morinck's heart to his professor, in so much that his grateful admiration prompted him to write a few months after his death, the fine biography entitled : *Vita Ioannis Briardi Atensis academiae Louaniensis vicecancellarij, et sacrarum literarum interpretis doctissimi* ³). That document dates from the latter half of February 1522, for it refers to Adrian of Utrecht's recent election as Pope as well as to his choosing his name ⁴), and it is dedicated to the licenciante of theology Julian de Gaver, or Gavere ⁵), of Ath, by letter of March 2, evidently 1522. In that

¹) De Jongh, 149-151 ; *MSGerMor.*, 395 v.

²) *MSGerMor.*, 395 r. Bommel was taken in 1504 & 1511, and sacked in 1512 : Henne, I, 59, 264, 288.

³) *MSGerMor.*, 392 v-398 v.

⁴) *MSGerMor.*, 393 r : ' vir ... summus ..., nuper diuina benignitate delectus Pontifex maximus Hadrianus eius nomenclaturae sextus '. Adrian was elected on January 9, and only heard of it on January 24 ; he accepted that election, and decided on keeping his own name, on February 9 : Pastor, II, 17-9, 32-5. The fact that no mention is made of Dorp in Briart's *Vita* made me conclude wrongly that it was composed after Dorp's biography (cp. *supra*, p. 284), especially since in the dedicatory letter to Thierry Persyn, Morinck regrets that Briart's memory has vanished into oblivion (*Dorp Vita*, 14). The reference to Adrian VI.'s elevation is quite decisive ; whereas Briart, notwithstanding Morinck's biography, seemed actually to be forgotten : for Julian of Gavere, who was to edit that *Vita* and his works, did not publish anything.

⁵) Cp. *supra*, p. 283 ; *LibNomI.*, 109 r.

dedication Morinck praises the erudition of Briart, than which Louvain had never had a greater professor, and urgently entreats Gaver, who had been one of his *convictores*, to fulfil the request of the deceased and edit his writings with the help of James Latomus and Ruard Tapper ¹⁾. Probably Morinck had hoped that his biography would have been published as a preface to the complete works of his master, but as they were never published, his *Vita* also remained unedited amongst his papers.

It is surprising that Morinck, who in Briart's *Vita* refers to Latomus and Tapper as the familiar friends of the last years ²⁾, does not mention his own host van Dorp, who, for certain, proved a grateful disciple ³⁾ and a trusty confidant, in so far that Erasmus suspected him of being a tool in the hands of his former master ⁴⁾. Most probably it was the sincere wish not to rip up old wounds, or revive old quarrels, that made him abstain from hinting at the past difficulties between the Great Humanist and the chief of the Louvain divines; whereas to prevent the appearance of complicity, he even omitted Dorp's name, just like a few years afterwards, in Dorp's *Vita*, he refrained from every allusion to the difference which had parted those men for several years ⁵⁾.

Whatever this may be, there is no need to conclude from the omission of Dorp's name to a breach between him and Morinck; certain though it is that they parted company ⁶⁾, possibly about the time when Briart's *Vita* was written, there is not the least trace of any dissension. It is quite conceivable that he had installed himself in a house of his own, and made a living, as many other young masters did, by taking in, and tutoring, students of a richer class. He did not abandon his studies, and wrote that same year a paraphrase of the

¹⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 392 r, v.

²⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 397 r.

³⁾ Dorp had repeatedly spoken out his gratitude towards his master : cp. *supra*, pp. 133, 134, 135, 318, &c.

⁴⁾ Cp. *supra*, pp. 144, 157, 173, sq, 193-4, 209-10.

⁵⁾ Cp. *supra*, pp. 139-187.

⁶⁾ Morinck refers to another convictor who was with Dorp at his death, and was suspected of having taken away some of his writings : *Dorp Vita*, 446-49.

XIV chapters of the book of *Tobias*, which he finished on May 8, 1522 ¹⁾; nor was it the only writing that showed that all his attention was bent on theology. In 1524 he was in Holland, and met at a dinner at Woudrichem a Licentiate of Law of his acquaintance, Gerard Keteler of Gorcum ²⁾, with whom he started an argument about the repression of heresy, and about the use of holy water and other 'sacramentalia'. It gave rise to a memoir dated Woudrichem, *Vorcomij*, Sept. 10, 1524 ³⁾, by which Morinck wishes to instruct his opponent, who had manifested his sympathy for Luther's cause ⁴⁾. He writes it out of love for truth; also 'causa præceptorum meorum Louaniensium', he says, 'quorum honorem tueri debeo quoties res postulauerit, in rebus iustis et legitimis : qualibus equidem eos fultos contendo, dum anno superiori corrigendis Luteranis istic aliquot septimanis sedebant' ⁵⁾. He concludes the confutation of his opponent's principles — in the course of which he quotes Erasmus' authority as interpreter of St. Paul — by an argument of authority referring to the great number of the contradictors of Luther in all countries : 'primum Louanienses, mox Colonienses, deinde Pontifex summus cum toto ordine cardinalitio; postremo Parrhisienses, quorum schola præter cæteras semper arcem tenuit in re theologica'. And as to the thoroughness of the consideration and examination of the doctrines previous to their condemnation, he makes this statement : 'Memini theologos Louanienses dum eam condemnationem parturirent, nescio quoties congregatos consultasse, acriusque singula

¹⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 293 r-308 r; after 'Finis' he wrote : 'Euigilaui pro mea tenuitate Anno Dni. M^o Quingentes^o xxij^o, Mense Maio, 8^a mensis'.

²⁾ 'M. Gerardo Keteler, Gorcumij, amico suo præcipuo' : *MSGerMor.*, 339 r (on first leaf of quire, otherwise blank) : possibly the 'Gherardus Keteler de Buschoducis', who matriculated in Cologne, May 22, 1489 : Keussen, 258.

³⁾ 'Gerardus Moringus, egregie erudito viro iurisque licenciato eximio M. Gerardo cognomento Keteler, salutem dicit' : *MSGerMor.*, 340 r-6 v.

⁴⁾ In the letter Morinck refers to 'Lutherus tuus', which he explains : 'tuum appello vt cui fauere videaris'; and also : 'Hec habui, vir erudite, quæ responderem ad ea quæ potissimum super prandium in medium promebas ex Luthero' : *MSGerMor.*, 345 v, 346 r.

⁵⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 340 r : that examination of Luther's doctrines by Louvain University in 1523 seems to have escaped notice.

axiomata pensitasse, ne temere ac præter causam hominem hæreseos carbone notarent' ¹⁾).

In his reply to Keteler, Morinck declares that, if his opponent wishes to start again the argument, he will find him ready ²⁾ : that, and the dating of the lengthy memoir from Woudrichem, may be indications that he was someway or other connected with the place, at least temporarily. For he was back in Louvain about the time of Dorp's decease, on which occasion he wanted to pay his tribute of gratitude to the professor who had greatly contributed to his scientific formation by insisting on the necessity of a conscientious study of the authentic texts, and of a judicious reference to the oldest witnesses of tradition. Indeed, although Morinck cannot be taken as a headlong partisan of the new movement, yet his addictedness to the old order was so thoroughly penetrated and tempered by the principles advocated by the humanists, that he takes up quite a different standing from that of his admired Briart and that of the impetuous Dorp. In fact his doctrine and teaching was so sound that the Faculty of Divinity, possibly at the suggestion of the president Ruard Tapper ³⁾, appointed him by the end of 1525 as lecturer in their College of the Holy Ghost. It was a place of trust which clearly showed the great confidence they had in him, for he was merely a bachelor of divinity, in which science he promoted *licenciate* only on February 5, 1527 ⁴⁾. He was to instruct the students and bursars of that College in divinity, and to supply what was not provided by the public teaching of the Faculty. He even delivered regular lectures explaining Scripture, as results from some of his manuscripts, which have reached us. On the strength of his autograph documents, he started on January 2, 1526, a series of lectures by an oration in which he infers the necessity of a thorough study of the

¹⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 341 r, 346 v.

²⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 345 v.

³⁾ De Jongh, 180-6; *BN*.

⁴⁾ De Jongh, 54* : 'Gerardus de Boemel'. Morinck's old competitor Peter de Corte was quite as late in promoting *licenciate*, which he did on June 5, 1526; still he had been at work in the Lily, and at the head of that pedagogy since 1522 : *Cran.*, 188, 10, 189, 5, 191, 3, &c.

Bible from the aberrations of his time ¹⁾, which lessen the 'prestige' of Peter's successors, and attribute to the average man and woman the right of interpreting, according to their own light and affection, what has to direct them in their lives, what endangers, not their goods or their health, but their very souls : — thus pointing out the excellence of theological studies over those of lawyers and physicians ²⁾.

A few weeks later he addressed them in an oration in praise of temperance on the occasion of Lent ³⁾, whereas in the mean time he had started explaining the first Epistle of St. Peter ⁴⁾. In August he resumed his lectures — probably after some respite — by an introduction to the second Epistle of St. Peter and to that of St. Jude ⁵⁾. On November 26, he started by a *præfatiuncula* the study of the three canonical Epistles of St. John ⁶⁾. In 1527 he inaugurated with a description of the life of the first Christians proposed as our example, the study of the Acts of the Apostles ⁷⁾. Most probably he followed up the reading of that book by the explanation of the Gospels, as can be gathered from the fact that on June 3, 1528 he introduced the study of St. Mark by a summary preface ⁸⁾, probably since most of the matter had been treated in the general preliminary lecture to the evangelic books, of which the text may have been lost.

¹⁾ Oratio parænetica ad literas sacras ex præsentibus moribus ducto argumento habita a° 1526 in collegio Theologorum postridie circumcisionis : *MSGerMor.*, 259 r-267 v.

²⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 260 v, 261 v.

³⁾ 'Oratio in commendationem temperantiæ habita a° 1526 tempore quadragesime Louanij in collegio theologorum' : *MSGerMor.*, 252 r-258 v. That oration was published along with his *Quæstio Quodlibetica* of 1527 in Antwerp in 1530 : cp. *infra*, pp. 472-3.

⁴⁾ 'Præfatio in epistolam priorem diui Petri habita A° 1526 in collegio theologorum Louanij' : *MSGerMor.*, 285 r-288 r.

⁵⁾ 'Præfatio in epistolam posteriorem Petri simul et in Judæ unicam epistolam An° 1526 Jn mense Augusto' : *MSGerMor.*, 271 v-273 v.

⁶⁾ 'Præfatiuncula in tres Canonicas epistolas Joannis habita in Collegio Theologorum An° 1526 altera Catharinæ' : *MSGerMor.*, 275 r-276 r.

⁷⁾ 'Oratio parenetica ad modestiam vitæ, desumpto argumento a moribus priscis surgentis ecclesiæ habita ante prælectionem Actorum Apostolorum An° 1527 apud Collegium Theologorum Louanij' : *MSGerMor.*, 373 r-379 r.

⁸⁾ 'Qualiscumque præfatio in Marcum habita a° 1528 3 Junij' : *MSGerMor.*, 282 v-284 v.

It was during the first year of his readership that he wrote the sketch of Dorp's life, in which he probably passed by in silence the story of his intercourse with Erasmus, on account of the difficulties which had caused an intervention of the Datary John Matthew Giberti, and even of Clement VII. himself, in 1525 to put an end to the obloquy of Baechem and Dierckx. The letter of Albert Pigge to his old masters, of July 12, 1525, probably was not received with equanimity, and although Thierry Hezius brought the two monks to abstain from naming names, yet the opposition rankled in the minds of several theologians, as can be judged from the reports which Heeze sent to Rome on October 26 and 27, 1525 ¹). Being dependent on the Faculty, Morinck for certain felt that it was more advisable not to make his position untenable, although he found congenial spirits like Peter de Corte, who, not later than January 21, 1525, effusively invited Erasmus to come and live in the Lily ²), and who, with his co-executor of Dorp's will, Thierry Persyn ³), placed at the biographer's disposal all the papers of the deceased, as far as they had not been taken away by the too selfish convictor ⁴).

The difficulties caused to Dorp by some colleagues, the recent trouble resulting from the too vehement public criticism of Erasmus, as well as other incidents which he had experienced, may have prevented Morinck contemplating a final appointment by the Faculty of Divinity ⁵). It was probably with a view to find a congenial situation that, on the advice of a 'Hasselanus', as he wrote ⁶), he tried to get into

¹) *Recueil*, 48-51; *BalanR*, 552-563; cp. *supra*, p. 124.

²) Allen, vi, 1537.

³) Cp. *supra*, pp. 281, sq, 347.

⁴) Cp. *Dorp Vita*, 445-9; *infra*, *MorinckEp.*, 1, 171-3.

⁵) That Morinck felt sympathetic with Erasmus, results from his letter of May 8, 1528 by which he blames and vituperates Titelmans' aggressive lectures, of which he is going to write a fuller report, — as well as from the fact that Goclenius had sent one of his letters to Erasmus : Allen, vii, 1994, 69-88.

⁶) *MSGerMor.*, 269 r; this *Hasselanus* responsible for Morinck's application to the Archbishop, may have been Arnold Ghinck, of Hasselt, who promoted M. A. in 1516, being classed the 8th : *PromLe.*, 6; he became bachelor in divinity, and succeeded Barlandus as Professor of Rhetorics on December 22, 1539 : *VAnd.*, 247; he distinguished himself

connection with John Claray, Clericus, 'archiepiscopus Arbo-rensensis', who was then studying divinity in Louvain ¹), and to whom he wrote a letter full of praise for his humane manners ²), requesting to be admitted to argue and devise with him about theology in order to improve mutually their knowledge of that science and their mastery over the appropriate way of expressing it ³). The request was eagerly accepted, and in a second letter, Morinck, praising his new correspondent's style and learning, answers two questions about some words in St. Jerome and St. Augustine, whereas he proposes a difficulty about the Acts of the Apostles ⁴).

A few years later he probably tried to find some help amongst the Augustinian canons of Bethlehem convent, near

by a remarkable eloquence, and died on Febr. 13, 1549; he bequeathed some of his goods to Standonck House and founded an anniversary: FUL, 2084; *Cran.*, 62, a; VAnd., 272; *ReusDoc.*, iv, 118, 471. — Possibly it was the future professor of divinity John Leonardi van der Eycken, of Hasselt, who promoted M. A. in 1517, obtaining the 10th place (*PromLv.*, 7), licenciate in divinity on Aug. 19, 1532, and Doctor of Divinity on Sept. 23, 1539 (de Jongh, 46*, 48*, 60*; VAnd., 108). He became famous as professor, and also as divine at the Council of Trent, where he died on January 5, 1552: VAnd., 42, 79, 288, 291, 363; Vern., 205, 273-4; FUL, 1672; Mol., 517; SonnE, xii; *BibBelg.*, 160, 526; *PF*, i, 77-8; *BaxH*, ii, 203; *ReusDoc.*, iii, 17; Hurter, ii, 1506.

¹) He promoted (Licenciate) 'in Bibliis' August 30, 1524: de Jongh, 51*: 'In Biblia 8, inter eos Revmus D. Joannes Clerci administrator archiepiscopi Arbovensis' (apparently 'archiepiscopat'us Arboren.', as Clericus probably was not ordained). — The primate see of Sardinia, Oristano, *Arborensis*, granted to John Briselot on Dec. 23, 1517, had been resigned by him to the successor of his choice on April 16, 1520, with the consent of Leo X. and Charles V.; Claray remained administrator until, in 1530, Augustine Grimaldi succeeded him: Gams, 838; Berlière, 88.

²) Morinck writes to 'Reuerendissimo et eidem clarissimo archiepiscopo Arborensi D. Joannj Clerico': 'incredibilis ista et incomparabilis φιλχντροπία, qua sic te vel ad obscurissimos libras ac deponis, vt omnia potius quam quod es, esse videaris! Quis presulem, quis archiepiscopum esse attendat, quis tam illustri familia, tam claro loco natum animaduertat, mej similibus plusquam familiariter vtentem': Louvain, April 26, 1526: *MSGerMor.*, 268 r-269 r.

³) 'Cuperem vero', — Morinck wrote — 'si visum foret, vnum au<t> alterum obscurum locum e Scripturis tecum disserere: jta et stilus exerceretur, simul et res theologica commodius procederet. Id si placet, rescribere dignaberis his; valeat reuerentia tua, cui me totum despondeo, et in clientelam addico: *MSGerMor.*, 269 r.

⁴) Chapter v: *MSGerMor.*, 269 v-271 r.

Louvain ¹⁾, of whom John Bosverkens was then prior ²⁾; at any rate he interested them to such an extent in his work that, in the summer of 1527, they requested, and even urged him to procure a trustworthy study on St. Augustine's life and doctrine : 'quiddam haud ambiguum, ex ipsis Augustini scriptis petitum, atque id phrasi quadam praesentis saeculi ; ne, cum aliorum vitae tam graphice depingantur, huius, qui in maximis censetur, omnino neglectui habeatur'. He at once started that work, which his friend John Symons, of Heemstede ³⁾, mentioned to Erasmus, who in consequence wrote and requested that the life should be sent to him, offering to publish it in the great edition of his works which was then printing : on May 8, 1528 Morinck wrote to Erasmus, that on hearing of that complete edition, he had abandoned his biography, which he suggests Erasmus to make himself, since he has a much greater knowledge of Augustine's writings ⁴⁾. Consequently, when Erasmus' edition appeared in 1529 ⁵⁾, and there was no biography except that by St. Augustine's pupil Possidius ⁶⁾, Morinck again took up his work, and finishing it by the end of 1531, he dedicated it to 'D. Ioanni Achterio Priori ⁷⁾, & patribus Bethleemitanis, amicis suis', dating that letter from St. Gertrude's, Louvain, on October 5, 1531 ; a final address 'Ad Patres Bethleemitas' at the end, was signed from St. Gertrude's, January 8, 1532. The book was printed in Antwerp under the title ⁸⁾ :

¹⁾ Gestel, I, 216-218 ; Mol., 274-284 ; *ArchEccIbrab.*, 14178-14205.

²⁾ This monk, a native of Brussels, is called 'Joannes Achterius' in the dedication of the *Vita Sti. Augustini*, 1533 ; he made his religious profession on Aug. 29, 1503, and, succeeding to Peter Ympens, or Impens († Dec. 13, 1523), he ruled the convent from 1524 to his death, May 17, 1540 : Gestel, I, 216-17 ; *ArchEccIbrab.*, 14178 : 72, 74.

³⁾ Louvain Carthusian : cp. *supra*, pp. 284-6.

⁴⁾ Allen, VII, 1994, 1-56. In that letter he refers to Titelmans' criticisms in his lectures, about which he is going to write more profusely.

⁵⁾ *BibEr.*, II, 11.

⁶⁾ AugO, I, 31-66.


⁷⁾ Evidently a second, or adopted, name of prior Bosverkens.

⁸⁾ In-8° : A⁸-G⁸ H⁴ ; the dedication is on A v-A iij r ; the *Vita* starts on A iij v and extends with a *Peroratio ad Lectorem* to H₂ r ; on H₂ v follows the address of Jan. 8, 1532 ; on H₃ r comes a poem in honour of St. Augustine by Mark Jerome Vida, followed by *Finis* and *Errata* on H₃ v ; H₄ is blank. Cp. *BB*, x, 33 ; *BullBiB.*, xix, 409 ; *NedBib.*, 1544 (952).

VITA DIVI / AVRELII AVGVSTINI / a Gerardo Moringo sacrae
The- / ologiae Licenciato, potiffimū / ex ipfis sanctiffimi
viri mo / numentis, submotis / nugis, terfe de- / picta. ///
Antuerpiæ ex officina Michaelis Hillenij / Anno. M. D. XXXIII. /
menfe Augufto. /// Cum Gratia & Priuilegio.

Since Hillen published two other books for Morinck, in 1530 and 1533, it is probable that his is also the first edition of this *Vita*, although he had it printed by some one else; for there exists another issue, which is identical with Hillen's, with the exception of the title-page, which has: Antuerpiæ in ædibus Delphorum per / Ioan. Steelfmanū. Anno. M. D. / XXXIII. menfe Augufto. / &c.; and of the last page [H 4], which is blank in Hillen's issue, whereas in Steels', its obverse side has Grapheus' device, by whom evidently also Hillen's edition was printed ¹).

Morinck did not break with the Faculty of Arts to which he still belonged, and which could always procure him the appointment he wished for. He officiated as procurator of the Holland Nation during the terms beginning from the last day of September in 1527 and in 1529 ²). At the first of those dates he was even appointed *quodlibetarius* for that year: he chose as subject the one which he had treated a few months before in an address to the students of Holy Ghost College: 'Oratio parenetica ad modestiam vitæ, desumpto argumento a moribus priscis surgentis ecclesiæ' ³). Afterwards he published the oration he delivered at the *Quodlibetæ*, joining to it the sermon on temperance delivered in Holy Ghost College during Lent 1526 ⁴), under the title ⁵):

 DEFINI- / TIO EIVS Q VOD HODIE A Pl.E / *risque in*
quæstionem uocatur, utrum oporteat Eccle- / siasticos
pauperes esse quemadmodum Apostoli erāt / tempore

¹) *NedBib.*, 1543; *BB*, M, 33. — In 1644 this *Vita* was republished by Jerome Verdussen, Antwerp, with notes by Antony Sanderus: *BB*, M, 36.

²) *LibNomI.*, 204 v, 211 v.

³) *MSGerMor.*, 373 r-379 r; *supra*, p. 468.

⁴) *MSGerMor.*, 252 r-258 v.

⁵) In-8°: A⁸-G⁸: the *quodlibetica oratio* starts on A 3 v; the second *oratio* on [E 7] r, finishing on [G 7] r; [G 7] v has the *Errata*. Cp. *BB*, M, 32; *BullBib.*, XIX, 405; *NedBib.*, 1542. The first treatise was reprinted in Cologne in 1519 as *Disputatio de Paupertate Ecclesiastica*.

*naſcentis Eccleſiæ. Et quantum interſit Eccleſiæ aut opibus exutam eſſe aut donatam, per Gerardum Morin-
gum ſacræ Theolo-
giæ Licentiatum Louanij, tempore / Quodlibetorum quæ uo-
cantur. Anno. 1527. ||| Oratio eiufdem, habita tempore quadrageſimæ in cō-
mendationem temperantiæ & deteſtationem intempe-
rantie, adiectis nonnullis quæ ad delectum ciborū per-
tinent, præfertim quid eſus piſcium magis ad uirtutem / con-
ducit, q̃ carniū. Anno. 1526 ||| Antuerpiæ Michael Hillenius Hoochſtra-
tanus excudebat. Anno m. d. xxx. / Menſe Ianuario.*

That book was dedicated by a letter of May 3, 1529 ¹⁾ to 'Petro Vuassio', Peter Was, abbot of St. Gertrude's ²⁾, who highly esteemed genuine erudition and knowledge, and considered it as the best means to re-introduce discipline and religious spirit amongst his brethren. It was probably on that account that he secured the services of Morinck, who, not long after, went to live in the Abbey, and was as a tutor in theology, placing himself at the disposal of the monks who wanted to be instructed. It was without doubt an excellent opportunity for work and research, and he fully availed himself of it: he had his *Vita D. Aurelii Augustini* printed with a dedication dated from the Abbey of St. Gertrude,

¹⁾ The dedication takes up ff A 2 r to A 3 r.

²⁾ This abbot, the son of Peter Was, knight, burgomaster of Brussels, and of Michaela 'sWolfs, was born in Brussels in 1474. After having been prior of St. Gertrude's, and parish priest of Helvoirt, he was elected as successor to Antony van Nieuwenhoven, and consecrated in January 1527. He was a learned and zealous prelate, who restored discipline and piety in his abbey. He adorned his church with a font and statues, and with the celebrated stalls carved by Matthew de Waeyer, who represented Was in the scene of the Resurrection. He also enlarged his convent, and enriched even Louvain with five elegant houses in Mechlin Street, and with a splendid building serving as wine-press: *Louvain*, 212, 215, 406-9. He was Conservator of the University Privileges from Jan. 19/24, 1527 to his death, with Reinerus Joannis, of Enkhuizen, provost of Walcourt, as partial delegate from 1540: *VAnd.*, 70, 188; *Vern.*, 51; *ReusDoc.*, 1, 519. Having been helped for several years by his coadjutor and successor Philip de Hosden, he died on February 14, 1553, and was buried, next to his mother, in the choir of the Abbey church: *Mol.*, 227; *Gestel*, 1, 160; *BruxHist.*, 1, 288, 11, 526-31.

October 5, 1531; and he worked at a study on the *Ecclesiastes*, on which he may have lectured in the Abbey ¹⁾).

Meanwhile he appears to have been looking out for another situation; his office at St. Gertrude's may not have been very remunerative, and for certain proved hardly stable — as in the very precincts of the University, a lecturer on divinity in an abbey so closely connected with the Alma Mater, seemed like the fifth wheel to a wain. It was probably on that account that he requested a new nomination from the Faculty of Arts, who on January 28, 1530 appointed him to the collation of the Abbot and the Benedictine Monastery of St. Quentin 'in *Insula Veromandiae*' ²⁾): that act was witnessed by Peter de Corte, S. Th. Lic. ³⁾, and by the notary of the Faculty of Arts John Maquet, M. A. ⁴⁾. When in consequence of the stipulations of Charles V.'s *placetum* to Adrian VI.'s and Clement VII.'s confirmation of the privilege granted by Leo X., the Faculty of Arts prescribed new regulations in August 1531 ⁵⁾, Morinck complied with them on September 6, resigning his former nomination into the hands of the dean, and requested to be again nominated to the same collator, declaring that his income did not exceed the limit stated in the imperial approbation ⁶⁾. A few months afterwards, on January 4/5, 1532, he accepted one 'portion' of the parish church of Our Lady of Damme ⁷⁾, near Bruges, as a result of the nomination of September 6, 1531 ⁸⁾. That benefice probably yielded

¹⁾ Cp. *infra*, p. 478.

²⁾ *LibNomI.*, 213 r.

³⁾ Cp. *supra*, p. 299.

⁴⁾ Cp. *supra*, p. 415.

⁵⁾ Ghent, May 12, 1531: *Privil.*, 104-108; *LibNomI.*, 227 r-234 v: the first nomination subsequent to the new regulations is of Sept. 1, 1531.

⁶⁾ *LibNomI.*, 236 r; the candidate to a nomination is to declare 'qu'il n'a en reuenu biens temporelz ou benefices, ne és deux parensamble, la somme de quatreuingtz Ducatz de camera par an': *Privil.*, 105.

⁷⁾ *FlandIll.*, II, 203-7.

⁸⁾ *LibNomI.*, 241 v: ... D. Licent. M. Gerardus Moerinck de Bommel ... insinuanit Dno. Notario pres^s mgro. Nic. de Monte Ste. Gertrudis et Anth. de Bürgundia testibus se ... acceptasse alteram portionem eccl^{ie} parochialis Be. Marië Virginis in Damme prope Brugas' — and wanted that declaration to be written down in the register according to the Emperor's prescription (*Privil.*, 106).

only a very scanty income; consequently, and most probably on his friend Was' advice, 'gerardus Moringus de Bommele, presbyter traiectensis diocesis', resigned it on May 10, 1533 into the hands of Adrian Barlandus, *vice-decanus* of the Faculty, stating that he had not had any profit out of it; he then requested to be appointed to the first vacancy at the collation of the Abbot of St. Gertrude's, Louvain which was granted to him on his declaration that he did not enjoy a total yearly income of 'lxxx ducatorum auri de camera' ¹⁾).

Amongst the acquaintances whom Morinck had made in Louvain — perhaps with the secret hope of a promotion — was William Bollart, or Bolais, of Brussels ²⁾; that prelate had been for a few years Abbot of St. Amand's in Pevelé, *Pabula* ³⁾, near Tournai: he resigned that dignity ⁴⁾ soon after

¹⁾ *LibNomI.*, 246 v.

²⁾ That prelate, born from a humble family in Brussels, served first as secretary to Bishop Henry de Berghes, of Cambrai, Erasmus' patron. He then entered the Cistercian order at Clairveaux, and, having reformed the Cistercian nunnery of Flines (near St. Amand's), he was requested by the Bishop of Tournai Charles du Hault-Bois, of Chastelleraut, to undertake the reform of the famous Abbey of St. Amand, of which he had become abbot on July 21, 1505. Bollart executed that charge with great efficiency, and restored order and discipline in the Abbey. He secured the Abbotship from Hilary Rogier, late provost of 'Barisiacum', to whom Charles du Hault-Bois had resigned it a few months before his death (June 10, 1513): and, having received the permission to pass from the Cistercian to the Benedictine order, he was approved of by Leo X.: *MSGerMor.*, 182 r, sq; *GallChrist.*, III, 267-8.

³⁾ Now St. Amand-des-Eaux, on the Scarpe, the *Elno* of the Romans: *GallChrist.*, III, 254-271.

⁴⁾ When Tournai became English, William of Brussels resigned in favour of Gerard de Ovinghien, prior of 'Wast' (prob. St. Vaast), 'in diocesi Morinensi', of the Congregation of Cluny, which appointment was sanctioned by Leo X. on Nov. 27, 1518. That Gerard, who never set foot in the Abbey, was replaced by Cardinal Louis of Bourbon in 1518, after Tournai had been given to France; he took possession through his vicar-general on Oct. 18, 1519, and personally on April 25, 1520. When on Dec. 3, 1521, Tournai became part of Charles V.'s estates, Louis de Bourbon resigned in favour of Georges of Egmont, to whom the Emperor had granted the Abbey; his nomination was approved of by Clement VII. in 1526: *GallChrist.*, III, 267-8. William of Brussels, however, had reserved a rather considerable pension on the Abbey: *MSGerMor.*, 183 v; Brom, I, 136.

obtaining the abbotship of St. Trudo's, near Tongres ¹⁾. That abbey, too, had declined considerably under the last abbots; it was in a miserable state materially and financially, and the spirit of monastic piety and discipline was sadly wanting. The new Abbot put order into the affairs; he greatly improved buildings and furniture ²⁾, and introduced in July 1520, a new spirit with the help of the reformed abbey of Gembloux, by young monks, his 'plantaria'. As his health was very precarious, he often resided in Louvain ³⁾, where, out of his savings, which must have been considerable ⁴⁾, he had erected a fine mansion with an ample library; it was destroyed by fire on Aug. 24, 1525, but he rebuilt it even more sumptuously. It appears that this Abbot, who was greatly interested and well versed in the history of countries and families of his time, and who, on the other hand, was avoided on account of an irascible temper, found a ready listener and a sympathetic collocutor in Morinck, for he was held in great esteem by him. When age and illness grew heavier, he chose as his coadjutor and successor the pious and religious abbot of the Bernardine Abbey of Our Lady's Vineyard, Boneffe, George Sarens ⁵⁾, who

¹⁾ Antony of Berghes, who was both abbot of St. Bertin's, at St. Omer, and of St. Trudo's, resigned the latter to William of Brussels, against a pension, in 1516; he himself went to live at Corsendonck, where he built a house near the priory to spend his last years: *MSGerMor.*, 181 v, 183 r; *GallChrist.*, III, 964-5; *Daris*, v, 147.

²⁾ He enriched the church with new shrines for St. Trudo and St. Eucherius and for the other relics, which were from then on exposed to the view; he renewed the tabernacle, and had most precious vestments made: *MSGerMor.*, 183 v; *Daris*, v, 152-7.

³⁾ Abbot William of Brussels directed his abbey from a distance by means of trusty men, chief amongst whom was his supply Peter Pels: *MSGerMor.*, 183 v. Cp. *Daris*, v, 147-161.

⁴⁾ He had lent to Charles V. a sum of 6.000 rhenish florins, which at his death constituted for the Abbey a rent of 300 florins, and 65 fl. on the town of Termonde; Henry Count of Nassau borrowed from him a sum of twelve thousand gold *caroli*. He had found an abbey nearly ruined with debts: he left it well fitted and amply provided: *MSGerMor.*, 183 v.

⁵⁾ George Sarens, was born in Mechlin on June 15, 1477, and was sent to be trained and instructed in the abbey of Boneffe, where he took the habit on September 8, 1493. He was for a time *œconomus* of the community; afterwards spiritual director of the nunnery of Florival; and, at the death of the abbot, he was elected his successor in August 1524. He was consecrated by the suffragan of Liège, and was succeeded in 1533 by Matthias Hortebeeck: *Royal Library Brussels*, MS 18181: 203 v; *MSGerMor.*, 159 r, sq, 187 v-188 v; *GallChrist.*, III, 600; *BelgMon.*, 67-68.

had proved a prudent and pious administrator; his past experience gave full warrant that he would promote the renewed monastic spirit of the Abbey and take care of the *plantaria*. On account of the increasing infirmities of the Abbot, Sarens came to live with him in Louvain, and gave him the benefit of his help and assistance in the last days of his life. It was there that he made Morinck's acquaintance, and conceived for him the high esteem which was going to influence the rest of his days.

It does not seem, however, as if Morinck expected great things of the Abbots of St. Trudo's, for he appears to have been courting more especially the favour of William Bollart's successor at St. Amand's, the Count George of Egmont ¹⁾. That young nobleman, studying at the *Trilingue*, was already invested with the abbotship of one of the most important abbeys, although not being a priest. Morinck had met him two or three times; and was well acquainted with two of his familiares, 'Georgium Stritium' ²⁾, probably George Strijten,

¹⁾ George of Egmont, lord of Hoogwoude, 3rd son of Count John III. of Egmont (1438-1516), governor of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland, and of Magdalen, Countess of Werdenberg (1464-1538), was born in 1504: *NobPB.*, I, 710; he was trained in Louvain for several years by Hadrian Barlandus together with his brother Philip and his cousin Maximilian of Ysselstein; to these three illustrious pupils the tutor dedicated his *De Hollandiæ Principibus*, April 20, 1519 (*BB.*, B, 250, 12, 255, 256, 2). He matriculated in the University on Dec. 6, 1522 (*Excerpts*, 103), studying under Goclenius (Hoyneck, I, i, 118), and was appointed to several benefices: he became first canon (1526), and then dean (March 10, 1534: Halkin, 267) of St. Lambert's Chapter, Liège. When Tournai came into his power, Charles V. appointed him as Abbot of St. Amand's, which office Cardinal Louis de Bourbon willingly resigned in his favour; Clement VII. confirmed that appointment in 1526. George ambitioned a mitre, and tried in vain to become Cardinal de la Marck's coadjutor (Halkin, 244). At Cardinal William van Enckenvoirt's death (July 19, 1534: *Cran.*, 141, n), he was appointed Bishop of Utrecht, which charge he accepted on December 24, 1534 at Mechlin (Hoyneck, I, i, 112-3). His appointment was confirmed by Paul III. on Febr. 26, 1535; he was helped by men like Herman Lethmaat, his vicar-general; and as his episcopate was not disturbed by wars, he could devote all his efforts to the welfare of his flock, to whom he gave the benefit of an exemplary life. He died on Sept. 26, 1559 in his abbey of St. Amand's, where he was buried: *BatSac.*, I, 246-51; *HEpU.*, 32-4, -L, 14-6; *GallChrist.*, III, 267-8; *BelgSChron.*, II, 481-2; *Cran.*, 56, a, 62, a, 95, e, 263, b, 265; Hoyneck, III, i, 292; Brom, I, 188, 289, 447, 688-9, 713-6, II, 11-2, 48; *MatthAnal.*, 113; *UltrEpisc.*, 174-5.

²⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 230 r.

of Saeftingen, and Francis 'a Quercu', van der Eycken, a theologian, who had seen to the boy's moral education and welfare from his earliest years, and was now at the head of the household ¹⁾. To this young man he dedicated his commentary on *Ecclesiastes*, by a letter in which he tries to raise his interest in the work, and greatly praises him for his nobility, also extolling his most pious mother. It is dated from St. Gertrude's on January 29, 1533 ²⁾, and addressed to 'Illustri simul ac generoso Domino, D. Georgio ab Egmont, monasterij apud diuum Amandum administratori ³⁾ ac Comiti in Pabula' ⁴⁾. That commentary was published about that time under the title ⁵⁾ :

COMMEN- / TARIA IN LIBRVM / ECCLESIASTAE, PARTIM PA, /
raphraſtice, partim aliter a Gerar- / do Moringo, ſacræ
Theolo- / giæ Licentiato, accu- / rate concinna- / ta ///
Omnia vanitas. / τὰ πάντα ματαιότης. /// ANTVERPIAE APUD
MICHAEL / lem Hillenium, in Rapo, Anno / M. D. XXXIII. /
Cum Gratia et Priuilegio.

If that dedication had actually been devised to secure an office for its author, it missed its aim : Moring was not requested to enter Egmont's service ⁶⁾ ; little more than three years later, in 1536, George of Egmont, who meanwhile had

¹⁾ Possibly an uncle or elder brother of John Leonardi Van der Eycken, of Hasselt : cp. *supra*, p. 470 ; *MSGerMor.*, 234 v.

²⁾ An autograph copy of that letter — of which the last leaf is missing, — is preserved in *MSGerMor.*, 230 r-234 v.

³⁾ It is recorded that George of Egmont was ordained a priest on June 27, 1531 : the year may be a mistake for 1534, which would explain why he had not yet been installed as abbot in his Abbey, and consequently could be styled only *monasterij ... administrator* : if he had been a priest since 1531, it is hardly conceivable why he should have waited two more years to be consecrated abbot : *GallChrist.*, III, 268.

⁴⁾ *Pabula*, Pevèle, the neighbourhood of St. Amand's, was in those times a small independent state, governed by the Abbot, who on that account bore the title of Count : *Guicc.*, 256.

⁵⁾ In 8^o ; A⁸-X⁸ ; the dedicatory letter takes up ff A 2 r to [A 8] v ; then follows a preface to the reader : B 1 r to B 1 v r ; the paraphrase starts on B 1 v v and is followed, on [X 7] v, by an advice *Ad Lectorem* and the *Errata* [X 8] r, with the colophon ; the last page has the printer's device : *BullBiB.*, XIX, 409 ; *NedBib.*, 1541.

⁶⁾ In 1540 George of Egmont proposed as his suffragan a townsman of Morinck's, John Adriaansz of Bommel, who was appointed on April 16, 1540 : *Brom*, I, 715-6 ; *HEpU.*, 33.

been appointed and consecrated bishop of Utrecht, took into his employ as secretary the famous poet Janus Secundus, who had just come home an invalid from Spain and from the archbishop of Toledo Tavera's service ¹). With him he went to his Abbey of St. Amand's, where the young man, who just then was invited to become Charles V.'s own secretary ²), was laid up with a cold, and died after having been ill four days, on September 24, 1536 ³).

Fortunately Morinck had better luck with the second of William of Brussels' successors. The old abbot had hardly dispatched to Rome a request for a *bullâ coadjutoria* and for the confirmation of his choice of his successor (August 1532), when he died on November 14, 1532 ⁴). His *familiâres*, knowing the spirit of the elder brethren in the Abbey, who had not been advised of the 'bullâ', nor of the choice of a successor, kept the decease a secret ⁵) to allow Sarens to send a 'procurator' to Rome and have his succession duly approved of by the Pope and completely arranged, before any difficulties could be raised. The *Bullâ*, signed by Clement VII. on October 2, 1532 ⁶), having been unduly delayed, it was possible to announce at the same time at St. Trudo's, William of Brussels' decease ⁷) and the Pope's confirmation of Sarens' appointment. And yet it was most bitterly contested.

¹) Secundus entered that service much to the displeasure of his old mother and his family : *DelPoBel.*, III, 475, 476 ; *JSecInfl.*, 25, 86.

²) Nicolas Perrenot of Granvelle had written to him on his master's behalf : *DelPoBel.*, III, 475.

³) *JSecOp.*, ***8 v ; *Cran.*, 280, 1 ; *JSecInfl.*, 25, 86 ; *DelPoBel.*, III, 476.

⁴) William of Brussels requested by his will that a stained-glass window with his picture should be erected in the Charterhouse of Scheut, near Brussels — possibly in gratitude for help imparted ; a sketch of it is preserved in *MSGerMor.*, 184 v-185 r. Cp. Daris, v, 160-1.

⁵) *MSGerMor.*, 161 r, 184 r, v, 187 r.

⁶) *MSGerMor.*, 151 r-155 v, 161 r.

⁷) William of Brussels' *viscera* were buried in the *ambitus* of the Louvain Charterhouse, where a laudatory epitaph, composed by Pascal Berselius, of Liège, was erected. The embalmed body was transferred to St. Trudo's, and laid to rest in the church. A stained glass-window (Annunciation and Saints) with his crest, was erected by his will in St. Martin's, Louvain : *MSGerMor.*, 184 v-186 r ; *ChronSMart.*, 324.

Morinck at St. Trudo's.

When the monks who had not been favourable to Abbot William's reform, heard of his death and of his successor, they ignored Sarens' appointment, and at once proceeded to an election, from which they positively excluded Sarens by an agreement sworn to beforehand ¹⁾. The leader of the opposition Rutger Vrancken, *Franconis*, was chosen ²⁾. Resistance was prepared, so that when Sarens tried to enter the Abbey, he found the gate closed, and the monks with some hirelings ready to prevent his opening it by force ³⁾; the interdiction against the rebels ⁴⁾ did not prove more successful than an intervention by the public authorities ⁵⁾; finally Prince-Bishop Erard de la Marek brought about an understanding which appointed Vrancken as provost of the abbey and granted him the revenues of that office besides a pension of 400 florins to be paid by the Abbey ⁶⁾. That compromise was rejected by Sarens, as it consecrated the very cause of monastic decline, a monk's right to private property beyond his abbot's control; still on the Bishop's insistence, he finally accepted it, for the sake of peace, on February 10, 1533 ⁷⁾. He was not long in

¹⁾ Cp. *Informatio totius negotij* (*MSGerMor.*, 65 r-66 v), joined to the collection of documents of the contest, *MSGerMor.*, 53 r-150 v.

²⁾ That monk had asked and obtained leave to enter another abbey in 1520, as he disapproved of the Abbot's reform; he was refused entrance in the Cologne abbey, and having wandered some time, he took refuge in St. Laurent's, near Liège, until he finally begged to be readmitted in St. Trudo's: he signed a promise of obedience and a humble request for forgiveness on June 26, 1521: *MSGerMor.*, 54 r. Such was his character that the documents of the lawsuit mention that on the eve of his election 'iniecerat manus in clericum vsque ad effusionem sanguinis', which was quoted to explain that his choice was null, and due to the awe he struck into his electors: *MSGerMor.*, 128 r, 65 r, 161 r.

³⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 69 r, 70 r.

⁴⁾ Sarens pronounced the anathema on Jan. 15, 1533, on the advice of the abbot of St. Laurent's, Gerard a Solre, who had received him from the Cistercian into the Benedictine order: *MSGerMor.*, 162 r.

⁵⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 162 r-v.

⁶⁾ Cp. the authenticated copies of the claims of Vrancken and his party, submitted to the Bishop, and annotated by Sarens, as well as the latter's offer of an agreement: *MSGerMor.*, 191 r-193 v, 199 r-200 v.

⁷⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 65 r, 162 v-163 v; Cardinal Erard managed to serve his own interests by annulling a stipulation in the bull of Sarens' nomina-

finding out that he ignored the financial standing of Abbey and provostry, and that Vrancken's revenues were far more abundant than had ever been stated, whereas the pension for that one monk was much too heavy a burden for the community ¹). On a visit, in April, Cardinal Erard got convinced of the iniquity of the contract, and, after some haggling, Vrancken ended by accepting the reduction of the pension by one half, at a verbal agreement passed before the Bishop at Dinant, on August 23, 1533 ²).

In the absence of a peremptory document testifying to that verbal, though public, agreement ³), Vrancken, hurt by his

tion : for the Abbey, which up to that time, was directly dependent from the Holy See, was submitted by him for good to his authority ; he also suppressed the clause allowing that monks should be sent from Boneffe to St. Trudo's, which the bull stipulated, evidently, for the sake of favouring reform : *MSGerMor.*, 164 r. Cp. Halkin, 219, mentioning that 2000 florins were paid as fees by the new Abbot to the Bishop.

¹) *MSGerMor.*, 164 r, v.

²) Of that compromise, related afterwards in a notarial report, unfortunately no authenticated document was made up, notwithstanding Sarens' repeated requests ; when a few years later, after the Bishop's death, the last witness of the agreement was no more, Vrancken brazenly declared that there had never been any reduction : *MSGerMor.*, 64 v, 65 r, 164 v-165 r.

³) The — nearly all authenticated — documents of the difficulties between Sarens and Vrancken gathered in *MSGerMor.*, give a sad impression of Cardinal Erard de la Marck's principles as to the reformation of monastic spirit and discipline : about the time that this happened, he was most bitter in his judgment about Erasmus ; and yet, notwithstanding all the pomp and show of a reformatory action throughout his diocese, which is said to make him the pioneer of all subsequent reform (Halkin, 252-3), we see here, in the light of first-rate evidence, that the man whose reign 'appears' to be one of the greatest in Liège history, was by far not so great as official reports and conniving biographers make him. The documents show for certain that he did not so much take to heart the welfare and the reform of his diocese as his own personal interests ; for when he granted to Vrancken the right of disposing of ample revenues, and refused to Sarens the control of their use, he gave to the former the means of financing a scandalous opposition which lasted for nearly twenty years, and he thought less of the correcting of perverse customs than of submitting the abbeys to his ambitious hegemony. The remissness in procuring to Sarens an instrument to protect him from the attacks of a troublesome personage like Vrancken, whose character he must have known, far from being fair, or charitable, can hardly be pleaded free either from partiality, or from a Machiavellian desire to let two enemies fight for an improve-

Abbot's reproaches about his licentious life, intrigued in Rome, and already asserted in 1535 to have obtained an approval of the compromise of February 1533, — which allowed him 400 florins of rent besides the income of the provostry ¹⁾. Still Sarens was not urged to pay more than the pension reduced according to the agreement of Dinant, although his provost did not refrain from slandering him; things went on until Cardinal de la Marck's death, when the quarrel flared up again. From October 1538 on, the Abbot was mercilessly worried by Vrancken, who claimed the full pension, and the restitution of what had been unrightly withheld since 1533, on the strength of a decree from Rome, and notwithstanding his condemnation by the Apostolic Judges in Liège, Bishop Gedeon van der Gracht and Abbot Nicolas Balis; as well as by the Judge of Appeal, Abbot Peter Was, in Louvain (1544). The affair was rendered even more entangled when Sarens saw himself compelled to imprison his provost on a heavy charge of misbehaviour in January 1545; yet the latter managed by intrigues to gain partisans in the diocese and protectors in Rome, in so far that in May 1549 a decree was appended to the Liège *Perron*, excommunicating the abbot himself and his faithful monks ²⁾. Fortunately that evident injustice caused a revulsion of feeling: the tide turned: Jules III. entrusted the final decision to the dean of St. Gudula's, Brussels, Philip Nigri, and to the abbot of Parc, Louis van den Berghe, who reinstalled Sarens in his right on October 24, 1550. Vrancken was at last compelled to submit ³⁾; he was allowed to remove to St. Laurent's Abbey, Liège, where he died on December 6, 1551 ⁴⁾.

ment of his own influence. It shows that under the Roman purple he was the son of his father, and it throws an uncanny suspicion on his dealings with Louvain University, and even with the institutions in his own diocese.

¹⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 91 r-94 v, 165 r.

²⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 188 v, 121 v, 124 r, v.

³⁾ The act of submission was signed on January 19, 1551: *MSGerMor.*, 149 v-150 v, 168 v-169 r.

⁴⁾ 'Acta Rutgerj Vrancken prepositj monasterij Stj-Trudonis in Hasbania'; and 'Concordia cum abbate ingrediente abbatiam': *MSGerMor.*, 53 r-150 v, 191 r-200 v; Daris, v, 164-173.

Possibly on the advice of his predecessor, the new abbot Sarens had engaged Morinck's services ¹⁾, who found final rest and tranquillity in the troubled atmosphere of St. Trudo's. That apparent contradiction was made actual, probably thanks to Sarens' lofty mind; for he calmly accepted the heavy trials in the sense of his device 'A Domino factum est istud'; he also had a beneficent influence on his community, amongst whom monastic discipline and genuine religious spirit was strengthening day by day. In that uphill work he was efficiently seconded by Morinck, whom he kept as familiar adviser and assiduous helper against a very liberal fee. Putting into practice the principle of Erasmus, that the renovation in the religious spirit and life was to be the result of intuition of truth and of righteous understanding of all the sources of revelation, he placed at the disposal of his brethren and of himself a man who, for over twenty years, had devoted all his time and efforts to the pursuit of that knowledge, and had already secured a well-merited fame as theologian ²⁾. Morinck evidently assisted his Maecenas in the struggle against Vrancken, and in the several other difficulties ³⁾. It seemed indeed as if all kinds of trouble congregated over the community that was struggling upwards. Some were merely financial — as the difficulty about a great amount of money found at William of Brussels' death, and which was claimed by George of Egmont as belonging to St. Amand's ⁴⁾; and several other law-suits ⁵⁾; others were disciplinarian or canonical, such as the one which had been started by Sarens' predecessor on account of his right to the Easter Candle, which the dean

¹⁾ Probably Sarens waited until he saw his way clear in the Abbey: at any rate on May 10, 1533 Morinck was still free, for he requested the nomination to the collation of the Abbot of St. Gertrude's: *LibNomI.*, 246 v; cp. *supra*, p. 475.

²⁾ Cp. Sweerts, 284-5; Guicc., 155.

³⁾ Morinck occasionally appears as witness at transactions or agreements: *MSGerMor.*, 51 r.

⁴⁾ A law-suit, started by George of Egmont, which lasted eight years, was finally judged in Sarens' favour: *MSGerMor.*, 182 r-184 r.

⁵⁾ There seems, e. g., to have been some trouble about money kept back by Bollart's treasurer, who, on his deathbed, wanted to return the amount unjustly gotten; unfortunately his sons prevented anything being given back to the rightful owners: *MSGerMor.*, 169 v.

of Our Lady's Church of the neighbouring town Peter van Herckenrode had refused to acknowledge ¹⁾. That, as well as the difficulty with Vrancken, and several others, was to be decided on, at least in the first instance, by the bishop of Liège, who entrusted these affairs to his ablest advisers, and, amongst them, to Adrian VI.'s old amanuensis Thierry of Heeze. In the lawsuit about the Easter Candle, the latter took the initiative of proposing an agreement to Abbot William of Brussels' procurator, the Louvain notary John Macket, by his letter from Liège, Nov. 7, 1531 ²⁾; to which Macket replied on November 16 in his patron's name, that it was not a question of money, but a breach of duty of an inferior towards his superior, about which justice should have its course till the very end ³⁾. In the later proceedings in that same cause, and in the various other difficulties of the abbot Sarens, Hezius acted very often as adviser, or procurator, or as the bishop's delegate ⁴⁾, which probably occasioned lengthier visits to the Abbey, and at any rate a welcome acquaintance with Morinck. The latter had given an unequivocal proof of his deep admiration for Adrian VI. in his biography of Briart ⁵⁾, and he probably was eager in his inquiries about the great man, whereas Hezius must have done what he could to rehabilitate his master, whose virtues and devotion had been so callously ignored and so wickedly misinterpreted. From those interviews was, without doubt, planned and worked out the truthful, straightforward biography, expressing a deep appreciation of the extraordinary merits of that noble prelate, which in those times must have sounded as a voice in the desert, since foes

¹⁾ 'Processus contra Mgr. Petrum de Herckenrode quoad cereum paschalem in ecclesia Beate Marie opidi Sci Trudonis <1525-1539> : *MSGerMor.*, 18 r-51 r.



²⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 41 r.

³⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 43 r.

⁴⁾ Cp. *MSGerMor.*, 40 r, 43, 50 v, 55 r, 57 r, 63 v, 138 v-139 v, 167 r, &c.

⁵⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 396 r, sq : Morinck, speaking from his own experience, draws a parallel between the erudition, the character, the general behaviour, and even the figure of Adrian VI. and those of Briart, who is said to fall short of the Pope in every respect.

and friends treated his memory with utter contempt ¹⁾, whilst those who should have spoken up for gratitude's sake, were either afraid, like Nicolas Vegerius, to utter the slightest praise ²⁾; or malicious enough, like Paolo Giovio, to make him ridiculous by revealing insignificant details of his private life, which must have sounded uncouth to willingly unintelligent foreigners ³⁾. The result of those studies of Morinck's were published under the title of ⁴⁾ :

 VITA  / HADRIANI SEXTI / Pontificis Maximi,
Autore / Gerardo Moringo / Theologo. /// *Louanij ex officina Rutgeri Refscij, / Menſe Nouemb. / .1536.*

That book has on the reverse of the title-page a *Phaleucium*, a *Distichon* and an epitaph by Morinck's dear friend, the poet Cornelius Musius, of Delft ⁵⁾. By a letter dated from St. Trudo's, October 4, 1536, Morinck dedicated it to Cardinal Erard de la Marck ⁶⁾, who, he knew, held the great Pope in high esteem. He also states that he had consulted trustworthy witnesses : ' Scripsi quoque non mea fide, qui rebus narratis non interfui, sed aliena, sicuti scilicet a viris probis & spectatis accepi, qui olim familiarem cum eo consuetudinem habuere, & rerum fere omnium eius in aula Caroli, in Hispanijs, & Romæ denique gestarum præsentibus arbitri, domesticique spectatores fuere : semoto interim studio fauoreque : commemoratis ingenue, quæ laudi data, minime rursus suppressis, quæ vituperio fuere '. That *Vita* was reproduced by Caspar Burman in his *Hadrianus VI.* ⁷⁾, and was one of the chief means by which an end was put to the injustice done

¹⁾ Some ' friends ', like F. Berni and C. Battus Parmensis, even went so far as to depict him as a wicked man : Burman, 430-440. Unjust reports were also those by Vianesio Albergato, Francesillo de Zuñiga, Francesco Vettori, &c. : cp. Burckhardt, 141, sq ; Pastor, II, 151-55 ; *Cran.*, 73, 45-6, 76-81, 77, 61 ; Brewer, III, 3464 ; Höfler, 547-552.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 77, 50-75, 82, 1-7 ; Höfler, 547.

³⁾ Pastor, II, 153-154 ; Burckhardt, 141-2 ; *Anima*, 269.

⁴⁾ In 4° : A⁴-M⁴ N⁶ : BB, m, 34 ; *NedBib.*, 1545. The copy of the British Museum, London, bears as owner's mark : ' P. Vorstius '.

⁵⁾ Cp. *OpmHistMart.*, 74 ; *HEpU*, 409 ; and *supra*, p. 375.

⁶⁾ A ii r to B r ; the *Vita* starts on B v, and extends to [N 6] r, being followed by the colophon : *Louanij ex officina Rutgeri Refscij / Menſe Nouemb. / .1536.*

⁷⁾ *Vita Hadriani Sexti* : A ii v ; Burman, *****2 v.

during two centuries to the fame of the great son of Utrecht ; history, with its scientific study of records and first-rate authorities, has since long been corroborating the truth and the trustworthiness of Morinck's work ¹).

Still that book was not at all a profitable affair, as results from his letter to Hezius, which also proves the independance of Morinck's judgment, for although under great obligation to Adrian's former amanuensis, he had the courage to differ from him in his judgment on Erasmus ²).

Meanwhile Morinck studied theology and kept informed about the various questions debated : he wrote a relation of the excesses of the Anabaptists at Munster and their ruthless punishment, 1533-35 ³); when Albert Pigge's book : *Apologia indicti a Pavlo III. Ro. Pont. Concilij aduersus Lutheranae confœderationis rationes plerasque* ⁴), was sent to him from Louvain, he wrote a treatise in the form of a letter discussing the authority of the Pope by himself in matters of faith and morals, and his superiority over that of the General Council ⁵). He prepared for Rescius' press ⁶) a *Historia Urbis Hierosolymae*, written by Rudolph van Langen, which he had found in a book-collection in Louvain ⁷) ; he wrote an introductory

¹) Pastor, II, 155-6 ; Höfler, 552, sq.

²) Cp. *infra*, MorinckEp. 2, 394-401.

³) MSGerMor., 1 r-2 r.

⁴) Cologne, October 1537 ; Cran., 97, d.

⁵) MSGerMor., 225 r-229 v : he judges that Pigge, through his controversy with Protestants, who bring down the Pope to the ordinary rank of bishops, goes too far in asserting that authority. Cp. KalkEntsch., 129.

⁶) Judging from a sentence in Morinck's letter to Robert of Arenberg, March 12, 1539, Langius' *Historia* was offered to Rescius : 'Nuper dum Louanij essem, clarissime adolescens, et virum humanum in primis et eruditum Rutgerum Rescium super Langio excudendo conuenissem...' : MSGerMor., 357 v ; I do not know of any copy — if there was an issue.

⁷) Rudolph van Langen, *Langius*, born at Everswinkel about 1438, studied from 1456 to 1460 at Erfurt. He was appointed canon in Munster, but devoted most of his time to literature. He visited Italy in 1465 with Count Maurice of Spiegelberg, and in 1486 with Hermann van den Busch. Soon after his first Italian visit he made the acquaintance of the members of the 'Aduard Academy', Wessel, Agricola and Hegius, also of Liber, who published some of the letters he wrote : HEpG, 36-7 ; AgeEr., 21-4. He started a humanistic school at Munster in 1498, for which he tried in vain to secure Hegius as head-master : it was made famous from 1500 to 1512 by his pupil John Mummell (1480-1517). Langen

letter to it addressed to William of Orion ¹⁾, Lord of Oerdinghen ²⁾, dated March 13, 1539 ³⁾, as well as a post-script to the same, by which he announces the answer to the question whether it is allowed for monks to have private property with the permission of their prelate, formulated for the abbot of Averbode by Adrian VI., which Morinck reproduces ⁴⁾ to close that part of his book ⁵⁾. For from Morinck's notes ⁶⁾ it appears that the volume was intended moreover to contain two memoirs : one an 'epistola parænetica' addressed 'splendissimo adolescenti D. Roberto Comiti Arenburgo' ⁷⁾, a rela-

died on Dec. 25, 1519 leaving, besides four volumes of poems, mostly on religious subjects, a *Historia de Vrbs Hierosolymae Excidio*, dedicated to his uncle Herman Lang, Dean of Munster (who died in 1484), which was printed at Deventer by Jac. a Breda, about 1486. It is that *Historia* to which Morinck refers : it records, he declares, not only the fate of Jerusalem, but also its origin and its history and the chief facts of the Old Testament. Cp. *MünstHum.*, 1-41, 58, sq. 66, &c. ; *ADB* ; Ullmann, I, 213, II, 314, 317 ; Allen, I, 70, 45 ; Sandys, II, 255.

¹⁾ Probably one of the Williams de Horion mentioned in the Ordange anniversary register. A Will. de H., lord of Oley, married Barbara de Ghoer, lady of Gheel ; his daughter Barbara married Gauthier de Berlaymont de Floyon, lord of Bomal († 1553) : *NobPB.*, I, 543.

²⁾ Ordingen, Ordange, near St. Trond, came to a William de Horion in the xvth century as dowry of Marie d'Ordange, heiress. A century later Digna de Horion, heiress, married a Huyn d'Amstenraedt († 1584), whose daughter Herberte, wife of John de Wyenhorst, sold Ordange to Count Edmond Huyn d'Amstenraedt, Teutonic Knight, Commander of Vieux-Jones, who erected it into a Commandery : *Daris*, xvi, 22-3 ; *FUL*, 4140-6.

³⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 364 r, v : the date reads '1539, 20 Calend. Aprilis'.

⁴⁾ The answer to the consultation by Adrian of Utrecht is found, with others, Morinck says in the postscript, 'Louanij in chartophylacio eius', and he expresses the hope that they will one day be edited. He probably saw them in the Pope's College in the care of his good friend Tilman sClerckx the President. That document is still extant in Adrian VI.'s Codex in Mechlin Higher Seminary, n° 17 (3 pp.), though not in the author's writing : *ReusAdrVI.*, xxxv, xlvii and 235-239, reproduces it rather carelessly, compared with Morinck's transcription. A copy preserved in Averbode Abbey has a note, 'Consultatio hæc est edita', perhaps referring to the publishing in Langius' *Historia*.

⁵⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 365 r-367 r.

⁶⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 348 r.

⁷⁾ This Robert was so young that Morinck wondered whether it was right to offer him a dedication ; learning that he had reached the age at which one distinguishes right from wrong, he composed for him a *Regula Vitæ*. In his letter he refers to his mother, who is of the same country as Morinck, to his deceased father, and to his grandfather, who is still alive : *MSGerMor.*, 357 v, 358 r, 363 r. He was Robert III., first Count de la Marck & d'Arenberg, son of Robert II. de la Marck, Lord of

tion of the recently-deceased Cardinal Erard de la Mark ¹⁾; he had been recommended for a dedication by Rutger Rescius, and Morinck wrote for him a cordial exhortation to good morals, with a choice of precepts, represented as a rule of life ²⁾, in a letter, dated from St. Trudo's, on March 12, 1539 ³⁾.

The second document is a lengthy memoir, occasioned by a

Arenberg; his mother was Walburge d'Egmont, daughter of Florent d'Egmont, Count of Buren, Leerdam, lord of Ysselstein, St. Maartensdyck, Cranendonck, Cuyck, &c., who died in 1539, and of Margaret de Berghes; being the sister of Maximilian of Ysselstein, and of Anna, who married Joseph de Montmorency, and was the mother of the unfortunate Philip de Hornes. Robert's grandfather Robert I. de la Marck and d'Arenberg succeeded his father Everard as commander, viscount, or *châtelain* of Brussels, which office he had obtained through his marriage with Margaret of Bouchout, and his settling in the capital of Brabant, abandoning the principedom of Liège, of which the de la Marck & d'Arenberg family was one of the most powerful. Robert was already at the head of the Brussels soldiers in 1479; he led them in the campaign of the Veluwe in 1504, against the insurgents of Limburg, 1517, and against Charles of Gelderland in 1529; in Sept. 1543 William of Cleves was compelled to render up to him the estates of Arenberg at the treaty of Venlo (Henne, I, 59, IV, 22, 188, VIII, 129; *BruxHist.*, I, 293). His son Robert II. died very young; so did his grandson, for the title of Count d'Arenberg had passed to his only heir, his sister Margaret de la Marck, born at the castle of Rechem, February 15, 1527, who afterwards inherited the baronetcy of Naaldwijk, and the lordships of Wateringen, Cappellen-on-Yssel, &c. On October 18, 1547 she married John de Ligne, baron of Barbançon, Lord of Buissière, Sevenbergen, Noordloos, Heemskerck and Polsbroek, on the condition that their children should bear the name and crest of Arenberg, which Margaret got elevated to the rank of Principedom in the Empire on March 5, 1576. John de Ligne faithfully and courageously served Charles V. and his son; he was dubbed knight of the Golden Fleece at Utrecht in 1546; and died in the battle of Windschote, near Heiligerlee, on May 24, 1568, being Governor of Friesland, Over-Yssel and Groningue; Margaret became Lady-in-waiting of Elizabeth of Austria, Queen of France, 1570, and died at Sevenbergen in 1596: *BelgHer.*, I, 174-9; *NobPB.*, I, 714-5, II, 1226-7; *Guicc.*, 72; *Hoyneck*, I, I, 50-1, II, 345-8, 352, *sq.*, 443-4, 475, 481, II, II, 19, 137, &c.; Henne, III, 142, VIII, 97, 129, 142, 340, 361, IX, 193, 376; *Brug&Fr.*, VI, 265-6; *VigIE*, 23.

¹⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 363 r; *Brug&Fr.*, IV, 293, VI, 265-6; *ReusMarck*, 9; *Halkin*, 258. Margaret of Austria sent his father Robert de la Marck, viscount of Brussels, on an embassy to Erard de la Marck on January 3, 1515, together with her secretary Antony de Waudripont: possibly the apposition to 'damoiseau Robert de la Marche' *nostre cousin*, has to be read *uostre cousin*, at least in the first letter quoted in *DocPLiège*, I, 262-7.

²⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 357 v-363 r; *Sweerts*, 284-5, mentions it as *MS*.

³⁾ The letter has again the quaint dating 'An^o salutis huânæ 1539, 21 Calêd. Aprilis'.

discussion amongst noblemen after a dinner in the Abbey, about the right of ordinary people to the hares and the other game, which they catch or kill in their own fields, feeding on their harvest. Morinck expresses his opinion, which contradicts the monopoly of the nobility, and shows that their less wealthy countrymen have not forfeited the right granted by nature, because they do not use it for fear of the heavy punishment decreed unjustly by aristocracy ; and he concludes that, on account of that controversy, noblemen should be lenient on all those who might be found at fault in the matter ¹⁾. That memoir, holding up an opinion which the noblemen were likely to reject, was addressed to the same William de Horion, lord of Ordingen, to whom the *Historia* by Langius was dedicated ; it had been first destined to Richard <de la Rivière,> Lord of Heer &c. ²⁾ : as he died on Oct. 25, 1540, his name, written at the top, was erased and replaced by that of 'Orion'. The document, which has many corrections, mostly in the margin, was dated from St. Trudo's, March 15, 1539.

In the years that followed Morinck took up again the books of the Old Testament, with which he had started his theological career, and on November 29, 1547 he put the *Finis, adiutore Domino* to the Paraphrasis of the *Lamentationes Hieremie*, with a *Prefatio* and an advice *Ad Lectorem* ³⁾.

Meanwhile he had not kept aloof from the practical side of religion : he took a great interest in the life and fate of all those who struggled towards the aim of Christianity. Amongst his papers is found an 'Ordo Condemnationis Thomæ Morj, Cancellarij primarij aliquando regnj Angliæ, quia in incestas nuptias regis Henricj octauj assentirj, eumque caput summum Ecclesie Anglicanæ faterj noluerit : compendio latine reddi-

¹⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 349 r-356 v : 'epistola didactica ... an ius venandi penes solos nobiles sit et quomodo sit' : it refers to the opinions *de venatione* of Adrian VI. (*ReusAdrVI.*, 239, sq), Cardinal Caietan, Sylvester Prieras, besides those of earlier authors. Cp. *MorinckEp.* 5, 189.

²⁾ Heer, or Heers, near St. Trond, belonged to the family de la Rivière. Richard, grandson of Raes de Heers, was also Lord of Horpmael, Wimmerdingen, Neerlinter and, in part, of Jesseren : he died at forty ; his widow Jane Scheiffart de Mérode died on Dec. 2, 1567 : *Daris*, vi, 50-53, 35, sq, 81-86, 1, 479.

³⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 315 v-338 v ; cp. *MorinckEp.* 5, 169-171.

tus' ¹⁾). That document is most important, as it is a translation of an English report which, soon after the death of More and Fisher, was brought to Belgium by some of the (Carthusian) refugees. Another Latin translation was made of it, which, after being corrected, possibly by Erasmus, was printed, it seems, in Paris under the name of Philip Dumont, *de Monte* ²⁾). In Erasmus' *Opera* it is edited as a letter (Paris, July 23, 1535) from *Golielmus Covrinus Nucerinus* to Philip Montanus ³⁾). Morinck's translation differs from it ⁴⁾, and has preserved several details lost in the printed version, which, however, has the advantage of supplying the relation of Fisher's death. From a similar source he probably got the articles of the commission of the visitators of convents instituted by royal authority in England in 1535 ⁵⁾).

Morinck's attention was further directed to the life of the Patron-Saint of the Abbey and those of two other Saints, St. Eucherius, bishop of Orleans, and St. Libert, of Mechlin, also connected with the history of the Community. Since Abbot Sarens had the high altar and the other altars of the church rebuilt from 1533 to 1539, the question of those saints had become opportune on account of the relics to be sealed into them, and of the place chosen for their shrines ⁶⁾). On that occasion Morinck made a thorough investigation of all records and monuments, of which he published the result in 1540 under the title ⁷⁾ :

¹⁾ A note, in the same hand, adds : ' anno illo quo ille perierat '.

²⁾ *Expositio fidelis de Morte D. Thomæ Mori & quorundam aliorum... virorum in Anglia*, Anno m. p. xxxv. ; there is no name of place, nor printer ; the dedicatory letter entitled ' P. M. <Philippus Montanus> Gaspari Agrip. ' is dated from Paris, July 23, 1535. Erasmus sent it to his friend Damian a Goes, December 15, 1535 : EE, 1515, e, 1772, b ; cp. Ortroij, 35, 56, 65. ³⁾ EE, 1763, b, sq.

⁴⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 309 r-313 v : an *Epitaphium incertum quo auctore* follows. Sweerts, 284-5, records it as a MS (probably a copy) in Busleyden College.

⁵⁾ ' Sequuntur articuli commissionis generalium visitatorum Regni Angliæ deputatorum ' : *MSGerMor.*, 314, r, v. Cp. Blunt, 1, 295, sq ; Gairdner, 165, sq. ; Strype, 1, 330, sq (similar text), 397, sq.

⁶⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 3 r, v (*viz.*, notes about the searching for the tombs of the Saints mentioned, copied in 1540), 156 r-157 r (*viz.*, records of the consecration of the altars, 1533-9).

⁷⁾ In-4° ; A⁴-F⁴ ; St. Trudo's life extends from [A 3] r to D r ; St. Eucherius', from D v to D ii v ; St. Libert's, from D ij v to D ii j r. Cp. BB, m, 35 ; *NedBib.*, 1546.

VITA SANCTI/TRVDONIS CONFESSORIS/apud Hafbanos. // Vita S. Eucherii Episcopi Aurelianensis. // Vita S. Liberti martyris breuiter perfricta / Geratdo Moringo au- / tore. /// Eiufdem diui Trudonis vita heroico carmine per L. / Guilielmum Lupum non ineleganter defcripta. /// LOVANI / Apud Serualium Zaffenū Anno m. d. xl. / Menfe Iunio. /

That book is dedicated by a letter dated from St. Trudo's, November 7, 1539 to Abbot Sarens, who is praised for his care for the relics of saints kept in his abbey ¹⁾. The lives of those saints were finished in the same abbey on March 1, 1540. L. William Lupus ²⁾ dedicated a poem on St. Trudo to Sarens, praising him for keeping Morinck in his service, by a letter from the Pedagogy of Standonck, Louvain, June 3, 1540 ³⁾.

It was quite natural that from the patron-saints, Morinck turned his attention to the various superiors who had ruled St. Trudo's in times past. There was in the Abbey a chronicle comprising the full narration of the events from the beginning, about 628, to the time of Rob. de Ryckel, 1401-20, with stray notes to c 1469 ⁴⁾. It served him to write a short abstract of the lives of the first provost, and of the abbots, his successors, to Herimannus II., at the end of the xith century, during the reign of Godefroid of Bouillon ⁵⁾. He did not proceed any further, — or at any rate there is no sequel in the collection. Possibly his time was taken up in executing a request of Abbot Sarens, who wished for a continuation of the regular

¹⁾ On f A ij r, v. On A v, 'Servativs Zassenvs lectori', praises Sarens' devotion.

²⁾ L. William Wolffs, *Lupus*, of Gossoncourt, possibly a protégé of Abbot Sarens, studied in Louvain; he became Bachelor in Divinity and professor of philosophy in the pedagogy of the Porc from about 1541; he succeeded Arnold Ghinck as professor of Rhetorics, June 28, 1549, and was famous as orator. He was elected dean of the Faculty of Arts in June 1549 and Febr. 1561; he died in 1580: VAnd., 247, 403; Vern., 125; AFAExc., 129, 189; *BibBelg.*, 327; *ReusDoc.*, iv, 120.

³⁾ The letter takes up D iij v, the poems [D 4] r-[F 4] r; cp. *supra*, p. 493.

⁴⁾ That chronicle on vellum, contains 203 leaves; on the reverse of the last there are a few lines in a much later hand, recording the birth and the entrance into the order, of George Sarens — a proof that this chronicle was in the Abbey in his time. It now reposes in the Royal Library Brussels, *Manuscripts* 18181. It was published by C. de Borman as *Chronique de l'Abbaye de Saint-Trond* (editions of the *Société des Bibliophiles Liégeois*): Liège, 1877.

⁵⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 8 r-15 r.

Chronicle, from the time of Abbot de Ryckel, the last who is fully treated, to their days. Morinck searched through all the old documents for information; he collected, and tested, evidence from brethren who had known the late abbots, or had heard from them through contemporaries, and carefully wrote down what conclusions he could arrive at, hoping that the parts incomplete would be worked up later on, if further documents were found. He thus describes the various abbotships, from that of de Ryckel's successor John de Beesde, elected in 1420, down to that of Sarens' predecessor William of Brussels, who died on Nov. 14, 1532, and he offered that contribution to the Abbey history, to Abbot Sarens by a letter dated August 5, 1543 ¹). Even for his Mæcenas, Abbot Sarens, Morinck had prepared, probably intentionally, a document in which he attested his great esteem for his exceptional qualities and his remarkable virtues, in the form of a letter ²); Sarens' biographer Peter Cruels, of Gingelom, inserted it in the sketch of his life and management, which he dedicated in 1565 to his successor Abbot Christopher Blockeryen, of Laminne ³).

In that biography Peter Cruels mentions as one of the great

¹) The original draughts of that letter and of the biographies — as results from the numerous corrections, additions and material changes — are amongst the documents in the collection: *MSGerMor.*, 176 r-184 v. Besides the clean copy for the Abbot (which seems to be lost), a transcription was made in a register in which had been copied already the chronicle of the Abbey from its foundation to the beginning of the xvth century. Morinck's contribution with the letter to Sarens, takes up ff 349 r to 363 r: it is followed by Sarens' biography by Peter Cruels. That register is now preserved in the Brussels Royal Library, *Manuscripts* 7647-7651. Although Morinck's biographies are transcribed very carelessly, they had to serve as model for C. de Borman's *Chronique de l'Abbaye de Saint-Trond* (cp. *supra*, p. 491), to whom the far superior *MSGerMor.* with the originals was not known. Cp. Sweerts, 284-5.

²) *MSGerMor.*, 170 r-172 r.; that letter, with Cruels' biography of Sarens, is carelessly copied in the Brussels Royal Library MS. 7647-7651: 372 v-374 r; — yet that most indifferent transcription was published by C. de Borman, in the *Chronique de l'Abbaye de Saint-Trond* (cp. *supra*, p. 491), II, 385-8.

³) *MSGerMor.*, 158 r-175 r, 187 v-188 r: some portraits which adorned Peter Cruels' autograph sketch have been taken away from the book, and repose now in the Cabinet des Estampes, Royal Library Brussels. Cp. *GallChrist.*, III, 965; Daris, v, 174-177, 162, sq, VIII, 132.

feats of Sarens, the fact of having connected Morinck with the Abbey for the whole of his life, on account especially of his erudition, and of having kept him 'magnifico salario sibi familiarem, assiduumque conuictorem ... vt religioso suo Collegio numquam deesset, quem super quacumque re praesertim literaria consuleret' ¹⁾ He mentions the great authority which Morinck enjoyed amongst the Louvain divines on account of his writings and his erudition, which had made him famous throughout the country ²⁾. That his salary was magnificent indeed, results from a letter to Nicolas de Winghe, April 12, 1545, in which he mentions that, besides free board, lodging and attendance in the Abbey, he enjoyed a canonry — probably at St. Mary's, St. Trond — and some smaller benefices ³⁾, thanks to the Abbot's munificence, or through his influence ⁴⁾. It evidently made him the more zealous in his work.

Other abbeyes envied St. Trudo's for such an efficient help. One of the monks from the celebrated abbey of Gembloux, Peter Faber, requested Morinck to write a life of their patron saint, St. Guibert, which most heartily was granted and done. He dedicated to the abbot Arnold du Mont (1541-49) ⁵⁾ that biography of St. Guibert, Count of Darny, the founder of the abbey of 'Gemelaus', by a letter dated from St. Trudo's, October 10, 1546, in which Morinck explains that he is the more willing to write it, mostly on Sigebert's authority and with the Abbey records, as a protest against the aberrations of German 'iconomachi and iconoclastae': still he esteems that images are so far below the lives of saints in their effect

¹⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 170 r: the biographer, convinced of the good that Morinck did, repeats exactly the praise that Lupus wrote in his dedicatory letter of St. Trudo's poem (D iij v: cp. p. 491), saying that Sarens, by keeping him, gave a splendid example: abbots who do not imitate him, prove that they have neither love for good erudition, nor any wish for doing good to the flocks entrusted to them: '... nisi imitentur, certissimo argumento liqueat, illos nullo amore bonas Literas, nullo beneficio commissum sibi gregem prosequi'! Daris, v, 174-7.

²⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 172 v.

³⁾ *MorinckEp.* 4, 48-59.

⁴⁾ Writing to Martin Lips, Dec. 8, 1537, he mentions a small 'sacerdotium' granted by the Abbot and Erard de la Marck, for which, a few weeks before, he had had to pay a heavy tax to the Roman Curialists: *MorinckEp.* 3, 340-345.

⁵⁾ *GallChrist.*, III, 567; *BelgMon.*, 24.

on the faithful, as mere outward forms and colours fall short of the aspirations, and thoughts, and affections of those holy men's souls, and of the influence of their advice and their sublime example. A monastic saint is so much more welcome to his researches, as monks are so despised and contemned in those miserable times ¹).

Whether that biography, and possibly other works by Morinck, are still in existence, can hardly be ascertained : it is quite possible that some of his writings and books perished in the fire which in June 1548 consumed the Abbey Refectory and Library, with an amount of volumes remarkable for their age and writing. Abbot Sarens reconstructed them much finer than they had been before, and celebrated the inauguration of the new buildings on St. John's day, June 24, 1554, by a feast, on which occasion all the monks were represented in a picture by one 'M. Marcus', of Mechlin. No doubt in that group was also included the lifelong guest of the Abbey Morinck, who, however, did not enjoy very long the newly installed library, as he died on October 9, 1556, whereas his great friend and protector Abbot Sarens followed him in the tomb on April 3, 1558 ²).

Morinck's Friends.

At Morinck's decease his papers were carefully collected and bound together into the stately volume already described (cp. *supra*, pp. 73-74). It probably was one of the treasures of the renascent library, on account of the many documents referring to the Abbey and its past. No wonder that it was enriched with engravings and woodcuts ³), as well as by a wealth of notes, written on pages or spaces originally left blank, about a great variety of subjects : such as the history

¹) *MSGerMor.*, 202 r-203 r ; cp. *MorinckEp.* 5, 172-6.

²) *MSGerMor.*, 172 v-174 v ; *Daris*, v, 162-180, viii, 132.

³) There have been portraits of Abbot Sarens (*MSGerMor.*, 158 r, 175 v) and of a Pope reigning (109 v) ; engravings referring to St. Guibert, St. Marius and other Saints venerated at Gembloux (203 r, v) ; they were removed from the volume in 1858, and entrusted to the Brussels Royal Library, Cabinet des Estampes.

of St. Trudo's ¹⁾, details about abbeys of the same order ²⁾ or other religious families ³⁾; excerpts from devotional writings by well-known authors ⁴⁾ about monastic life ⁵⁾; information about famous men ⁶⁾, or chief historical events ⁷⁾; and a variety of *memorabilia* ⁸⁾ gleaned far and near from books, or from conversations with guests and visitors. The text was then adorned by lines and marks in a reddish pigment, bringing out titles and paragraphs, occasionally supplying punctuation-marks, and covering most of the erasures of the various writers. The volume now belongs to the General Archives of the Realm, Brussels ⁹⁾.

Besides the documents published in this book ¹⁰⁾, and those to which is referred in the sketch of Morinck's life ¹¹⁾, there are a few letters to friends, some of which have been reproduced in the following pages. To be true, they are not striking as literary compositions; yet, with all their lengths and their lack of brilliancy, they are most interesting pieces of evidence for the knowledge of that time: for they contain the impressions made by, and Morinck's own judgment passed on,

¹⁾ E. g. the rule of the House prescribed by William of Brussels, 1525 (119); the celebration of a triple jubilee, 1572 (368, *sq.*); several poems and chronograms referring to a short-lived management of heretics in St. Trond town, 1564, and to the sack of the Abbey, on October 15, 1568, by the troops of the Prince of Orange, when thrown back from Liège (4 r-5 v, 48 r, 52 r, 53 v, 67 r-68 r, 90, 112 v-114 v).

²⁾ Viz., Gembloux (99 r, *sq.*, 203 v, *sq.*, 379 v); other abbeys: 380 r, *sq.*

³⁾ E. g., Cistercians (388, *sq.*), Carthusians (118 v), Præmonstrate (125 r), military orders (387 r, *sq.*); also St. Trudo's convent near Bruges (195 r).

⁴⁾ Thus Thomas *Malleolus* Campensis (71 r), Laurent Surius (125 r, 211), Denys de Ryckel the Carthusian (250 v), Peter Dorlandus (201 r, 308 r, and, with a list of his works, 347 r), St. Bernard (219 v, 220 r), Peter, abbot of Cluny (314 v); — also Erasmus (45, 363).

⁵⁾ E. g., notes on the rule of St. Bennet (80 v); Peter Dorlandus' *De Vicio proprietatis monachorum* (201 r); excerpts about convent discipline (288 r-289 v, 383 r) and lives of Saints (267 v, 308 r, 348 v, 390 r, *sq.*).

⁶⁾ E. g., Erasmus (7 r, 210 r, 211), Cardinal de la Marck (346 v), Jac. Faber Stapulensis (175 r), Luther (89 r, 110 v), Ecolampadius (89 r), &c.

⁷⁾ Cp. e. g., 391 r.

⁸⁾ E. g., the song of the Giant of St. Trond (5 v), the list of the Cologne relics (269 r), remedies for various illnesses (150 r), &c.

⁹⁾ *CartMan.*, 391b; *supra*, pp. 73-74; *BibBelg.*, 281-2, refers to it; the notice in *GallChrist.*, III, 964-5, is taken from it; cp. Sweerts, 284-5.

¹⁰⁾ Viz., *DorpApol.* and *DorpVita*: *supra*, pp. 75-93, 257-281.

¹¹⁾ Cp. *supra*, pp. 464-471, 480-494.

many persons, and events, and various questions at issue in that most momentous period in history. That Morinck was able to form a judgment, is proved by his writings and studies, which he continued as far as circumstances allowed ; his power of discrimination is attested by the way in which he wrote history : far from embracing all the ages and spaces, like a self-sufficient youth, he produced something reliable, if only little, by limiting, as a mature man, the range of his subject to that of the unquestionable evidence at his disposal. His sincerity is amply shown by his candid disclosures to his friends, where he deplores his lagging behind on the steep path of virtue ¹⁾ ; or almost gloats over the advantages of his comfortable life at St. Trudo's ²⁾, in so much that he prefers the less intellectual atmosphere of that Abbey to the presidency of some College in Louvain ³⁾. Those letters sound most human, and impart a convincing reality to the information given about the persons and things that he sees, not, as we do, through the lenses of prejudice and biassed history, but by actual intuition and intercourse : and that he judges, not in the blaze of a crowded hour, but in the calm vision of past experience.

Only then history is worth its name when it evokes times gone by, not as we represent them after several centuries, but as they actually were ; and the only judgment on the subject that can rightly claim our attention, is the one which takes into account, not our opinions and affections, but those of the very actors in the mighty drama of the past. The more complex the plot, the more welcome, and even the more indispensable, is all first-hand evidence, not only directly, from the chief actors, but also indirectly, about them, and about the circumstances in which they move, from secondary actors, — thanks to which it is possible to check the assertions of the first-rank personages and to get out the truth — or at least a prudent caution — about many a wrong statement or misconception. As such Morinck's information is most precious ; far from bringing us mere echoes, his letters

¹⁾ *MorinckEp.* 5, 1-8.

²⁾ *MorinckEp.* 4, 45-73.

³⁾ *MorinckEp.* 4, 34-45.

provide personal views and peculiar remarks, which at times are strikingly unexpected. Thus after sophistics have been irremediably discredited as the only cause of the decadence in learning and science, as the great reason of the humanistic upheaval, it is most surprising to hear this friend of Erasmus declare to another leading humanist, that some good can be found in that disreputed discipline ¹⁾. Whereas some of the Louvain divines are covered with scorn, not only by an opponent like Luther ²⁾, or a disappointed suitor like Nesen ³⁾, but by those who claim the title of impartial historians ⁴⁾, it is amazing to find that one great admirer of Erasmus writing to one still greater, praises as most deserving the very men whom he branded as most insignificant ⁵⁾. In fact these letters are most interesting for the information provided about the circumstances of Erasmus' work and dealings in Louvain, which hitherto were only known by, or accepted from, his writings. They, moreover, enlighten us about the various impression he made on men and characters. Morinck's correspondents are fairly representative of the different affections felt for the Great Man in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. One is his humble votary Livinus Crucius, who, although not favoured with a personal acquaintance, was the more familiar with his doctrines and methods, which were as the warp and woof of his teaching ⁶⁾. Another is the staunch partisan and admiring imitator, the Augustinian Martin Lips ⁷⁾. The third is his confrater 'N.W.L.', *Nicolas Winghius Lovaniensis* ⁸⁾, whom Lips denounces to the Tournai *ludimagister* Melchior of Vianden ⁹⁾ on the last days of

¹⁾ *MorinckEp.*, 1, 1-118.

²⁾ Grisar, III, 803, 822.

³⁾ In his *Dialogus Bilinguium ac Trilinguium, Epistola de Magistris Nostris Louaniensibus* and *S. Nicolai Vita*: cp. *supra*, pp. 207-213.

⁴⁾ *KalkAnfGeg.*, I, 72, sq; *KalkEntsch.*, 152, sq, 285; *KalkVPolEr.*, 32, sq.

⁵⁾ *MorinckEp.* 3, 326-330.

⁶⁾ *MorinckEp.* 1, pr.

⁷⁾ *MorinckEp.* 3, pr.

⁸⁾ *MorinckEp.* 4, pr.

⁹⁾ Probably the 'Melchior Matthæi ex Vianda' (without doubt Vianden, near Echternach), student of the Castle, who was classed the second at the promotion of Masters of Arts in 1510: *PromRs.*, 69. Cp. Allen, IV, 1237, 41, v, 1257, 1, 1427, 1437, 125, 220, VI, 1768, 87; he died on Febr. 25, 1535, in the full enjoyment of a wide erudition, leaving a wife (his second) and several children: *GoclE*, 12 v; *EE*, 1500, F, 1509, E.

1525, saying 'sic deicit, sic horret, sic execratur Erasmi scripta, ut verbis exprimi nequeat' ¹⁾). The fourth and last is Adrian VI.'s old amanuensis Thierry van Heeze, who, after having been Erasmus' admirer and friend for several years, became his decided enemy, and tried to restrict and counteract his influence wherever he could ²⁾). Morinck takes up an independent position amongst them : he checks the impetuous Crucius, led astray from the right path, proscribing systematically things which, although condemned by the Master, prove to be bad only in their excess ³⁾). He frankly praises and defends Erasmus' predilection for a neat style and an elaborate expression ⁴⁾, and advocates the study of the classic authors of pagan antiquity, which Hezius abhors ⁵⁾). He answers Lips' upbraiding for not defending Erasmus unconditionally ⁶⁾, and blames his bitter criticisms of persons and well-pointed-out religious families as injudicious and, consequently, as inefficient ⁷⁾).

With all that, Morinck repeatedly expresses the deepest affection for the Great Humanist, and the highest appreciation of his Work ⁸⁾, — notwithstanding the bitter disappointment which he himself experienced from him about the biography he wrote of his beloved master Martin van Dorp ⁹⁾). That composition had been almost scorned by Erasmus, judging from the very little encouragement he gave for it. Its decidedly drawn-out and rhetorical style can hardly have been the cause of that disfavour, for a friendly hint would have easily brought the budding author to reconstruct the *Vita*. The cause of discontent lay in the spirit : it wilfully ignored the disagreement with the Louvain professor from 1514 to 1516 ; it passed by in silence the public acknowledgment of Dorp's defeat ; it made his final declaration about his position

¹⁾ LipsE, 752.

²⁾ *MorinckEp.* 2, *pr.*

³⁾ *MorinckEp.* 1, 8, *sq.*, 114-8.

⁴⁾ *MorinckEp.* 2, 45, *sq.*

⁵⁾ *MorinckEp.* 2, 117, *sq.*, 3, 386, *sq.*

⁶⁾ *MorinckEp.* 3, 32, *sq.*

⁷⁾ *MorinckEp.* 3, 100-104, &c.

⁸⁾ *MorinckEp.* 3, 47-76, 428-433.

⁹⁾ Cp. *supra*, pp. 258, *sq.*

towards Luther sound as a retraction, as a condemnation of what had appeared to be Erasmus' victory. At any rate the *Vita* must have seemed so to the Basle Erudite in 1526, when he still felt most bitter towards the Faculty of Divinity, whilst that very embitterment probably had caused Morinck to abstain from any reference. ¹⁾).

Whatever this may have been, Erasmus' displeasure saddened Morinck : in 1526 he revolted against that judgment, and claimed the right of his own opinion ²⁾ ; twenty years later, he still feels despondent on that head, and, notwithstanding the most earnest requests, he refuses to communicate the biography of his Master ³⁾, whose memory thus was deprived of its publishing — at least during four centuries. That *Vita* constitutes a first-class material for a final judgment, and has the more value since it is the sincere and candid — if not complete — opinion of a man, who estimates straightforwardly and judiciously, unbiassed by the censure of his friends or by that of the general public. That freedom of judgment, which is remarkably illustrated in Morinck's biography of Adrian VI. ⁴⁾, also characterizes his letters, in which he occasionally refers to other matters which were then controverted, or gives his impressions of men like Volcaerd ⁵⁾, or Cardinal Pole ⁶⁾, or Stephen Gardiner, with the spontaneous sincerity that made him cancel the severe criticism he once formulated about the latter, as soon as fresh and undubitable evidence came to his knowledge ⁷⁾).

EP. 1. — GERARD MORINCK TO LIVINUS CRUCIUS

〈August-November 1526〉

The following letter is written in Morinck's hand between his introduction to the explanation of the second Letter of St. Peter, August 1526, and that to the Epistles of St. John, November 26, 1526 : *MSGerMor.*, 271 v, 275 r ; it also results from his reference to Rosemond's illness (cp. note to l. 143). Most probably it belongs to the latter part of that period,

¹⁾ Cp. *supra*, pp. 123-4.

³⁾ *MorinckEp.* 5, 82-143.

⁵⁾ *MorinckEp.* 1, 119-142.

⁷⁾ *MorinckEp.* 4, 74-124, 5, 144-154.

²⁾ *MorinckEp.* 1, 163-170.

⁴⁾ Cp. *supra*, pp. 484-6.

⁶⁾ *MorinckEp.* 5, 35-74.

as he already seems to have an idea of Erasmus' impression of his *Vita Dorpii*, dated June 30, 1526. It extends from the lower part of *MSGerMor.*, f 273 v to that of f 274 v. The abrupt beginning and ending suggests that it is only a fragment. No doubt Morinck only wanted to keep a copy of the most interesting part of his letter, namely the information about the Louvain professors, and, especially, his contribution to a kind of investigation about the value of *sophistice* as a discipline, by his friend Livinus Crucius, who had requested his opinion on the subject, with a promise of having it published. No doubt an unconditional condemnation had been expected : still the reply was rather in favour of a judicious learning and practice of the branch, which was otherwise unexceptionally discredited by all humanists.

That friend Livinus CRUCIUS, or van den CRUYCE, born at Eenname, near Audenarde, had been trained at Nieuport, along with Jerome Clithoven (*BrugSDon.*, 197), by Baldwin Lamsanus or Lansamius ; afterwards he went to study in Louvain ¹⁾, and made the acquaintance of Dorp, Rosemond, Latomus, and even of Morinck, although it is quite possible that they met later, in the twenties, on a visit to Louvain, whereto the zealous humanist was evidently drawn by his sympathies. Meanwhile he had been actively and successfully at work in the Latin School of Bailleul ²⁾, and had even written a *Collectanea ... in Syntaxim Badianam* (1521 : Antwerp, Hillen). When, in December 1528, he edited de Spouter's *Orthographia*, he had settled as parish-priest at Boeschepe, near Poperinghe ; in the *Græco-Latinum Museum* of that *Pathmos*, he wrote most witty poems ; he continued his humble, but most efficient, work as humanist until his death in 1557 : *Cran.*, 288, a, b ; *SanSF*, 29, 116-7 ; *Diercxsens*, iv, 55 ; *BB*, c, 269, 267, 268, 317, d, 295-6, 361 ; *AnEm-Br.*, II, i, 3.

¹⁾ He probably matriculated in Arts on July 1, 1503 : ' Liuinus de cruce de gandauo cleric. tornac. dioc. ' : *LibIntIII.*, 105 v.

²⁾ He had there as colleague John of Strazeel, *Straseli* († 1558), who, became professor of Greek in the *Collège de France*, 1536 : *SanSF*, 104-5, 55 ; *SanGa*, 52 ; *Lefranc*, 132, 182, &c. Their mutual affection is testified to by their common friend Vives in *De Conscribendis Epistolis*, VO, I, 70.

SUMMARY. Answering Crucius' inquiry about his opinion of *sophistice* (1-13), M pronounces it an efficient means to sharpen the searching power of intelligence (13-14); though not the best amongst the useful disciplines (35-54), it may be necessary in contentions with adversaries and heretics (55-90), and as thus it should have a discreet part in the formation of a fully equipped theologian (91-118). News of James Volcaerd's (119-142) and Rosemond's illness (143-148); also of Latomus' activity (149-154). M is sending his biography of Dorp, which does not seem to please Erasmus (155-173).

GERARDUS MORINGUS D. LIUINO CRUTIO
SALUTEM PLURIMAM DICIT.

›Si quid præterea in sophistas legendo adnotauerim vt
perscribam propediem, quemadmodum perscripseram
proxime, vehementer mandas : te vero tuis asscripturum
tamquam tua, vtique quum ita fieri placuit, propterea
5 quod carbasa mea nondum portum tenere, verum adhuc
incerto iactari fluctu dicerem. Sane, memor mandati tui,
circumtuli huc illucque animum, si qua amico tandem
morigerarer. Et quidem in præsentia nihil quod in sophi-
stas, quinimo quod pro sophistis diceretur occurrebat ;
10 quæ sane diluere te, non minus quam si tua stabilirent
conuenit : modo certe fideliter stabilire tua velis. Nec enim
nostra demum probare, sed etiam quæ aduersariorum

Textual Notes (f 273 v) : CRUTIO] *corr over same word er* 4. ita]
corr over tua 9. quod] *over line* 10. diluere] *corr under a word er*
11. tua velis &c.] *on f 274 r* 12. nostra] *corr over meam*

1. sophistas] the names *sophistice* and *dialectica* were ambiguous already in Socrates' and Plato's time, who were accounted as sophists, although they lost no opportunity in ridiculing sophistry ; whereas dialectic had a different meaning for each of them, and for Aristotle. In the opinion of humanists, the term *dialectica* was generally synonymous with logic, whereas verbal fencing and abstract arguments without practical value, were called *sophistice*, especially because it naturally leads to

a clever statement of fallacies so as to make them pass for truth : cp. further l. 93. Evidently it was that false science and the excess of arguing which was so vehemently criticized by Erasmus, More (*supra*, p. 156) and Dorp (cp. *DorpApol.*, 297, *sq.*, and note, *DorpVita*, 185, *sq.*), and by all humanists; whilst in this letter Morinck, as results from ll. 91-96, takes *sophistice* for : the practice of arguing, merely as an exercise of the reasoning powers, as a means, not as an end : cp. ll. 27, *sq.*, 38, *sq.*, &c.

sunt dissipare debemus. Principio dixerit quispiam e
 nota sophistarum, et si sophisticè non quantam germana
 15 dialecticè, non tamen prorsus nullam vtilitatem adfert.
 Imo vero plurimum valet acuendo et exercitando ingenio,
 quo reliquas disciplinas facilius celeriusque capiat, ad
 quas non ita appositum foret, nisi his argutijs moderate
 agitatam. Quod si dixeris, alia multa esse, in quibus simul
 20 agites, simul etiam frugem multam colligas : denique ita
 esse ; tamen haud scio an quæuis aliarum disciplinarum
 peruium ingenium exerceat ut sophisticè. Siquidem cum
 reliquæ pene nihil occultent consulto, sed res esse sinant
 vt sunt, multa aperta habent captuque facilia, aut, si
 25 quaedam obscuriora, non tamen tam obscura quin ad
 sui intellectum admittant diligentem vestigatorem, non
 arceant a se. Hæ vero argutiæ dedita opera arcent a sui
 intellectu vestigatorem, nec in aliud finguntur, nisi vt
 obscuritate quadam et tenebrosis inuolucris mentis aciem
 30 euocent et propius sibi admoueant, atque, vt planius
 dixerim, non in aliud cogitantur, nisi vt animum tor-
 queant et exerceant : reliquæ vero dumtaxat vt se in
 animum inducant, non eum diuexent, quamuis hoc sepe
 etiam consequatur.

35 Porro, vt etiam dem, caeteras disciplinas æque mentem
 agitare, et præterea frugem multam adferre, quam non
 adfert sophisticè. Quid ? Ergone sophisticè nullam adfert ?
 An protinus non erit vtilitas aliqua mentem exercere,
 quia et hanc relique discipline prestant, et præterea ad
 40 alia multa commodant ? Certe non omnia aequè prosunt
 quæcumque prosunt : at alia alijs magis aut minus, pro
 sua quaque conditione, in qua a rerum omnium opifice
 Deo condita sunt. Num quis vestitum homini conducere
 abnuerit, quia fruges plus conducunt, sine quibus non
 45 fere quisque vitam degat, siue illo facilius degat ? Num
 quis tecta non esse vsui contendat, quia ignis, aer, aqua

22. peruium] *ms* piũ 28. intellectu] *ms* indistinct : itellcũ or
 -tellecũ 30. propius] *ms* p̄pus 39. discipline] *over line*

15. dialecticè] without doubt taken in the sense of logic.

magis sunt ? Crassiora sunt hec similia, sed esto, modo ita demum res elucescat magis. Proinde si sophisticè omnino vsum aliquem habet, quod est, adulescentium
 50 ingenia agitatione ad ceteras formare disciplinas, haud sane repudianda vt inutilis prorsus videtur, sed amanda pro portione compendij quod adfert ; nisi vero eodem calculo damuabis quæcumque non quantum alia conducunt : quod quam sit inscitum, quis non videt ?

55 Deinde, quid si hereticus quispiam, qualis iam Luterus, nouam heresim inferat, potissimum fucis a strophis firmatam, vnde huius, quæso, fucis occurras ? Siue enim Scripturas obijcias : ea ipsa qua sua stabiliiuit elabetur vafritia, dato nimirum intellectu aliquo, qui in specie
 60 sanus videatur, quem tum nullo alio Scripture loco vt insanum redarguas, siue rationibus premas : pari exemplo et hinc sua versutia elabetur, vt necesse sit, si dolos eius consumere et strophas dissipare pares, vt ipse captionum probe peritus sis : non aliter quam hostium insidias dux
 65 nullus ludificari, nisi qui ipse insidiandi gnarus sit, possit. Et ne non fieri posse, vt casus huiusmodi incidat, putes, repete memoria acta Concilij Nicoeni : mirum ni quam vehementissime patres sanctissimos contra Arrianos de huiusmodi desudasse tricis deprehendas. Sed
 70 nec Arius firmioribus præsijs nenias suas statuerat, vt ad liquidum perspicere est in Rufini libro, quem Eusebij Historijs attexuit, tum per totam prope Historiam tripartitam. Nec Luterus hodie alia fere armatura munitus est : et nisi theologi figuratas eius et fucatas versutias probe
 75 cognitatas haberent, quonam modo explodant equidem

66. ne] *over line*

69. huiusmodi] *M₂ in margin ; M₁ hmodus*
 70. præsijs] *before it a word was started and er* 74. et nisi] *the*
et written with capital E, may have been er

70. Arius] the great ability of Arius in dialectic and sophistry helped his errors to spread and made his refutation very difficult : *DogmGesch.*, I, 150-6, sq.

71. Rufini] *DogmGesch.*, II, 610-4.

71. Eusebij] *MigneGr.*, XVII, 615,

sq., xx.

73. alia armatura] Luther is said to have made a frequent use of disfigurement of words and texts to his own opinions : Denifle, I, 41, sq, 54, sq, &c, II, (*index* :) 902 ; Grisar, III, 1011-19, (*index* :) 1056.

ignoro. Nec enim Scripturis omnia refelli possunt, id quod re ipsa constat. Et si multa possint, tamen plurima non nisi longissime petitis possint : ita vt sophista callidus, ex facili eas in alium vertat intellectum, falsum
 80 quidem illum, sed quem esse talem non obtineas, nisi astus eius et insidias retegas. Id genus plurima de Personis Diuinis incidere queant, de earum conuenientia et discrimine, an eadem omnibus vis et potentia, an equales inter se per omnia ; tum de diuina rerum omnium præsi-
 85 gnatione, an rebus, præsertim humanis, necessitatem vllam adferat, sitne in manu hominis mutare eam, sitne ergo culpa hominum in Deum referenda ; et eius generis plurima, e quibus sophista acutus obscurissimas theologo tenebras offuderit, quas non discutiat nisi eodem in ludo
 90 probe versatus.

Discenda ergo sophisticè videtur, non quidem quo subruat veritatem, quo consilio Pythagoras, acerrimus sophista, eam profitebatur τὰ τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν· sed quo eloquentiam Augustinus dicit, vt videlicet adsit
 95 veritati aduersus falsitatem, eique laboranti præsidium et auxilium submittat : non item quia multum in se frugis habeat, sed ne quid nocumenti adferat, sicut antiquitas Febrim et deas quasdam, non quod iuuarent, sed ne nocerent colebant ; sicut denique gladios, hastas, lanceas,
 100 non quo cuiquam vim adferamus, sed quo retundamus, paramus. Sed nec istud ab omnibus fieri postulem, dumtaxat ab ijs quos in totam vitam theologiæ designamus, quibus nihil obfuerit in his tricis versatos esse, modo ne diutius insenescant, et se tempestiue ad alia recipiant.
 105 Namque qui theologiæ fastigium imponere, eamque ad summum perducere cumulum constituit, non hec aut

78. longuissime] corr 93. ἥττω] r ἥττω 96. in se &c.] on f 274 v
 98. Febrim] ms ffebrī 99. colebant] ms 100. vim] before it vī is er

92. Pythagoras] Ed. Zeller, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Griechischen Philosophie* : Leipzig, 1920 : 44-9, 53, sq.

94. Augustinus] *De Doctrina Christiana* : II, xxxi : *Quid iuuet*

dialectica. Sophismata : AugO, III, 57-58.

98. Febrim] AugO, III, 1053, VII, 105.

104. diutius &c.] *DorpApol.*, 404-417.

illa modo, sed quæcumque qualicumque ratione rem Christianam labefactent, vtcumque perspicere debet, si tandem partes suas rite exhibere, absolutique theologi
 110 functionem prestare velit. Secus longe de ijs qui ad triennium aut sexennium modo studijs vacare decreuerint : quos vt Literis Sacris et earum interpretibus, tum doctoribus reliquis operam nauent, magis consuluerim.

Possum quidem latius hec fundere si velim, et argu-
 115 menta plura adferre quæ sophisticen fulciant ; sed vereor vt vna hec omnia capiat epistola, cuius vel iam modum longe excessimus. Fac ergo primum hec dissoluas ; tum reliqua dabimus.

Jacobus Volcardus, amicus meus et Jonathas summus,
 120 is qui pridem orationem illam splendidam de eloquentiæ

108. debet] *corr over* dicit
 117. Fac] *ms* ffac

113. doctoribus] -bus *corr over* line

119. Jacobus Volcardus] James Volcaerd, born about 1500 at Geertruidenberg, — possibly the ‘ Jac. Matthiæ de bergis, castrensis ’ who was classed the second in the promotion of Masters of Art of 1519 : *PromLv.*, 7, — taught in The Hague, where he had as pupils Viglius and Janus Secundus. With the former he came to Louvain in March 1523, and stayed in Beghard College (FUL, 2464), until Easter 1524, when they removed to the house of Ægidius a Mola, Vermeulen, on Chapel Hill, near the *Capella Clericorum*. Viglius being called back to The Hague by his uncle in 1525, Volcaerd went to live with a Frisian, Severin a Feyta, and taught Latin and Greek to young men, whilst his fame as literator spread after he delivered a fine *Oratio Quodlibetica* for the Faculty of Arts in 1525. From this letter it appears that his health was very precarious : he died before May 1528, when Erasmus, editing in the *Cicero-*

nianus his Latin and Greek epitaph on Dorp, added one for himself : in *Jacobum paulo post defunctum* : *Cran.*, 260, 8. Viglius wrote to him from The Hague about his contemplated journey, on August 15, 1526 : *VigLE*, 9 ; and Janus Secundus composed an elegy on his untimely decease : *In obitum doctissimi viri Iacobi Volcardi Bergensis, Nænia*, with an *Epitaphium* : *JSecOp.* 213-5. *Cp. BibBelg.*, 435 ; *Paquot*, xv, 128-30 ; *Hoyneck*, I, i, 7, 65, II, i, 27 ; *Cran.*, 189, 11, 274, a ; *Coppens*, III, 240.

120. orationem] that speech, which de Corte sent to Cranevelt on May 26, 1526, and recommended as ‘ certe non indoctam ’, was printed in Antwerp by Michael Hillen, ‘ anno M. D. XXVI. Mense Maij ’, under the title ‘ *Oratio de vso eloquentiæ in obeundis muneribus publicis, habita Louanij in disputationibus (ut vocant) quodlibeticis, a Iacobo Volcardo* — probably Dec. 1525 : *Cran.*, 189, 11-12 ; *BullBiB*, XIX, 301 ; *NedBil.*, 2180.

studio dedit, ancipiti admodum apostemate ex latere fluctuauit, ita vt omnes animum prorsus ac spem proijcerent. Namque cum, hulcere introrsus erumpente, sanies nullo meatu profligari posset, reliquum videbatur nihil
 125 nisi vt periret. At vero Dei benignitate aliquid rursus spei affulsit : medicus quispiam, infimae notae habitus a reliquis qui Louanij sunt, potionibus quibusdam ac fomentis per poros vesice (honor sit auribus), saniem sensim profligat, cum id Rabbini illi maximi non satis
 130 tutum putarent. Sed tutum esse res ipsa indicat, quandoquidem hac demum ratione ille periculum omne prope modum euasit, nisi quid aliud accesserit : quod, precor, Deus prohibeat ! Quae quidem ad te scribendi visa ratio est, vt quia eruditionem consummatissimi iuuenis iam
 135 perspexisti, quantum spei perijsset, si perijsset, quam grauem iacturam literae ameniores fecissent, tecum aestimes. Nam dicere ausim, aut neminem esse Louanij aut Volcardum, qui literas ad summum fastigium perducatur, modo Deus optimus iustae aetatis numeros omnes implere
 140 dederit : tam est ingenio facili, tam memoria certa, tam continenti studio, postremo tot disciplinis alijs probe instructus.

Godscalcus nihil emisit, sed nec emittet vnquam, quippe qui mortifere decumbit : in parte tam aridus
 145 quam pumex, in parte totus turgidus ac tumidus aqua

129. maximi] M_2 ; M_1 maxime

Volcaerd explains the advantage of eloquence for all ecclesiastical offices, for the law and the Courts, for embassies and for teaching. By a letter dated from Louvain, April 18, 1526, he dedicated the book to his Maecenas and protector, Andreas de Bronckhorst, Imperial Councillor in the Holland Senate : *HEpD*, 101 ; *Guicc.*, 155.

132. nisi quid &c] it appears as if James Volcaerd died soon after Morinck's letter : Erasmus in his *Ciceronianus*, Basle, May 1528, mentions that he did not outlive

Dorp very long : *Cran.*, 260, s.

143. Godscalcus] Morinck refers to the professor of divinity, president of Adrian VI.'s College, Godschalk Rosemondts, of Eindhoven : *Cran.*, 213, *d, e, f*, 35 ; on August 6, 1526, Vives announced to Erasmus that he was dangerously ill ; he made his will on October 7, and received a second time the Extreme Unction on Nov. 11 ; he died on Dec. 5, 1526, leaving great regrets and a judiciously arranged heritage : Allen, vi, 1732, 40, 1765, 62, 1768, 46-55 ; FUL, 1661, 2732.

intercute. Nec vnquam domo prodit : verum assidue vel lecto decumbit, vel intra cubiculum (si per pedes licet) inambulat.

- Latomus quoque nihil dedit, sed nec quid daturus sit
 150 ignoro. Professus est hisce septimanis cum summo plausu Epistolam Pauli ad Hebreos, et mox item ad Galathas Epistolam interpretabit ; dein ad Romanos scriptam. Ita certe constituisse scio, nisi si qua negocia intercludant ; ceterum, sit ne editurus aliqua, nihil prorsus fertur.
- 155 Mitto ad te Dorpium pro mea pusillitate effigiatum ; qui si minus ad veritatem respondeat, non est quod nos quisquam in culpam vocet, qui quod potuimus prestitimus, plura prestaturi si facultas suppetisset. Quod si quispiam alius dexteriori stilo in idem sudare voluerit,
 160 accepisse a nobis segetem vberiore et materiam, abunde mercedis fuerit. Vbi legeris ne committas quin proxima quaque occasione remittas : siquidem preter istud, exemplar aliud habeo nullum. Vnum quidem per amicos ad Erasum missum est Basilyam, nisi quod subuereor ne
 165 non arrideat Erasmo, ob opiniones quasdam quæ non satis cum ipsius consentiunt ; quod tamen an sit, certum non scio ; tantum suspicor. Vt vt fuerit, si non Basiliae, certe

149. Latomus] evidently the professor of divinity James Latomus (de Jongh, 173, sq ; Godet, 37, 126-9 ; *Cran.*, 46, b-c) ; although he obtained a canonry in St. Peter's only in 1535, he was allowed to teach by the Faculty from 1519, the year when he became a doctor, to 1529 (de Jongh 43*-55*). From the summer of 1529 he lived for some years at Cambrai, where he had a canonry since 1526, and often resided : VO, II, 971. Latomus was one of Briart's confidants in his last years (*MSGerMor.*, 397 r-398 r), and as thus he probably was greatly venerated by Morinck ; Erasmus (Allen, IV, 1059, 1113, 12-4, 1123, 17-9) greatly disliked him : so did Vives (*Cran.*, 46, 18). Still he was gratefully appreciated by his

pupil Clenardus (ClenE, 3-54, &c. ; MB, VI, 333), and also by Livinus Crucius, who submitted to him his *Parænesis*, and urged him to publish a letter against Melancthon's *Ecclesia* and a reply to an oration pronounced at Ratisbon (BB, c, 267, 3-4). Cp. FUL, 1101, 1666, 2079, 4481 ; Allen, VI, 1732, 43 ; Hurter, II, 1447-8.

150. septimanis] *DorpVita*, 577 n. 153. qua] *ms* ; cp. l. 154 : aliqua.

154 editurus] Latomus had published in 1525 *De Confessione Secreta* with two other treatises ; in May 1526 *De Primatu Romani Pontificis* : de Jongh, 178 ; *BibRefNe.*, III, 87-195 ; *NedBib.*, 1325-9.

155. Dorpium] *supra*, pp. 257, sq.

158. Quod &c.] *DorpVita*, 96, sq.

164. Erasum] *MorinckEp.* 5, 98.

Antwerpie, cura amicorum excudetur, vt opinor. Nec enim omnes idem sentire possimus, ne si velimus quidem.
 170 Et recte Cicero, in Tusculanis, iuditia esse libera dicit. — Transmitto Apologiam Dorpij, sed hac pactione vt bona fide remittas, quatenus non aliter ab amico quopiam vtendam accepi. <

EP. 2. — GERARD MORINCK TO THIERRY HEZIUS

<Summer of 1537>

Judging from Morinck's complaint about his unprofitable labour (ll. 395-401), this letter was written a considerable while after the appearance of the *Vita Hadriani Sexti*, November 1536. It was given in a copy to a friend, — possibly Nicolas de Winghe, to whom *Epp.* 4 & 5 are addressed, — and unduly communicated to Martin Lips, who expressed his dissatisfaction at the criticism passed on Erasmus : Morinck replied on December 8, 1537 (*Ep.* 3). It follows that it belongs to the summer months of 1537.

The letter takes up 3 double leaves in *MSGerMor.* : *f* 205 being blank, it begins at the top of *f* 206 *r*, and ends by the middle of *f* 210 *r* ; the rest of that page, and *f* 210 *v* are blank. The writing, though similar to Morinck's, it is not in his hand, as results from the occasional corrections undoubtedly made

170. Cicero] *Tuscul.*, I, 29.

171. Apologiam &c.] evidently the *Apologia* which Dorp wrote for the *Oratio* edited in September 1519, to his great patron, the abbot of St. Adalbert Abbey at Egmond, Meinard Man : cp. *supra*, pp. 75, sq. That generous prelate contributed to the costs of the building of S. Maria dell' Anima in Rome, in 1510, especially for the middle window in the choir, for which he sent the money to Henry of Cologne by means of the Mechlin banker William Petri : *Anima*, 225, 251. Amongst the wealth of documents about Egmond Abbey in the Italian libraries (which even

contain some of the Abbey manuscripts : Brom, II, 274, 282-3), one refers to the approval of his election 1510, and two to that of his successor William of Goes, of The Hague, February 25, 1527 : Brom, I, 663, 682, 711.

172. amico] probably one of the executors of his will, Peter de Corte, or more likely, Thierry Persyn (*supra*, pp. 281-3, 347), who placed at his disposal the documents that might have helped him for his biography. Morinck copied probably that document (*supra*, pp. 72, sq), which explains its presence in *MSGerMor.*, 235-42.

by him (cp. *ll.* 81 and 404), his letters being much smaller and more slanting; the few Greek words (on *ll.* 313-4) were also added afterwards by Morinck in a space left open: they are in the same weak ink as the corrections, and show the same much thinner and fainter strokes. The mistakes of the writer, who, e. g., on *ll.* 268 and 386, copied out one line of the original for another, seem to imply that the copy was not made by the author himself. The matter treated, namely the statement of his personal opinion about Erasmus, was probably the cause of the transcribing of this letter.

Thierry ARIAANS, of Heeze, HEZIUS (*Cran.*, 228, *a-e*; Allen, v, 1339, *pr*), to whom it was addressed, had been appointed on January 7, 1524, to, and had taken possession in June 1525 of, a canonry in St. Lambert's, of Liège, probably even by dint of a nomination, which the Louvain Faculty of Arts had granted to his former master Pope Adrian VI. on Aug. 9, 1515, and which he had been allowed to pass on to Hezius or to John de Fraxinis (*LibNom.*, 85 v; *AFAInd.*, 15; Halkin, 151). Hezius had been, for years, a great friend and favourer of Erasmus, although not a regular correspondent: on Jan. 25, 1523 he wrote to him from Rome: 'Multi anni sunt ex quo te suspicio et maxima in veneratione habeo ... Eo itaque hoc tibi epistolion scriptum scias, vt te et virtutes doctrinamque tuam a Theodorico Hezio, sanctissimi D. N. Hadriani qualicunque secretario suspici, amari, coli, mirari summeque desiderari tibi persuadeas, eumque inter eos qui tibi addictissimi sunt perpetuoque erunt, habere ac numerare velis. Hoc si impetrare dignus habitus fuero, rem maiorem quam si mihi Sanctissimus vel episcopatum dedisset (testis est mihi conscientia quod non mentiar), me impetrasse putabo' (Allen, v, 1339, 2, 21-28). That declaration from the stern and matter-of-fact man that Hezius was, cannot but be taken as earnest and sincere; in answer to the wish he expressed that Erasmus might attack Luther (*ibid.*, 60-64), he was offered one of the first copies of the *Collatio de Libero Arbitrio*, on September 2, 1524 (Allen, v, 1483), whereas in the meantime he had been most friendly remembered in a letter to Peter Barbirius (Allen, v, 1470, 49). Still about that time an estrangement had begun: it manifested itself at first in the report he sent to the

Datary Giberti and to Blossius, on October 26/27, 1526, of the mission he had been entrusted with by Clement VII., who wished Dierckx and Baechem to be prevented from attacking Erasmus (BalanR, 552-63). On October 28, 1530 Goclenius sent to Basle the startling news that, on the preceding evening a message had come from Pascal Berselius of Liège, relating that all Erasmus' books had been proscribed and taken away, amongst others, from the *Domus Fratrum*, the Brothers of the Common Life, the principal school in the town, after an inquest with all the *scholastici* by canon Thierry Hezius; that news was so much more surprising since Hezius was accounted to be Erasmus' 'amicissimus', and moreover was 'summa æquitate et prudentia præditus'; Goclenius felt sure that if any thing had actually offended him, he would have first told Erasmus of it, and he would not prohibit by his own authority the writings that neither Pope, nor Emperor, nor any University had prohibited : GoclE, 6.

Erasmus himself seems to have had no illusions about Hezius' feelings : on December 8, 1531, he mentioned to Goclenius that he had written to Hezius 'quando ipse hoc flagitabat, ... qui quum Romæ me impotenter amaret, reversus in patriam videtur factus alius' ¹⁾. It seems natural that the apparently flighty and ironical Humanist should have soon disappointed the steady, earnest, scrupulous and duteous Hezius on further acquaintance; and yet after the unequivocal declaration of eternal devotedness, nothing appears to have been said or done that could have justified a complete revulsion : Erasmus' irony and flightiness had evidently been known long before; nor could Dierckx, or Baechem, or any of the other Louvain divines have communicated much that Adrian VI.'s intimate friend and secretary had not heard of before. With all that, there is no doubt as to a complete estrangement; it found an adequate expression in the outburst of indignation in 1536, at being shown by James Latomus, in Louvain ²⁾, the Brief in which Erasmus was praised by Pope Paul III. on Aug. 1, 1535, for his virtues and erudition.

¹⁾ EE, 1422, E.

²⁾ *AléaLiège*, 302-3.

‘*Memores probitatis et innocentiae tuae*’, the Pope wrote, ‘*et in vario disciplinarum genere eminentiae, nec minus meritorum erga apostolicam sedem, cum adversus desertores fidei summa vi pugnasti*’; on which account the provostry of Deventer was granted to him in succession of John Ingenwinckel; whereas another Brief, of Aug. 5, 1535, announced to Mary of Hungary the Pope’s ‘*gratiam in talem virum, a quo ista natio Germanica tantum recipit ornamentum*’, and requested her to keep that benefice secure for Erasmus ¹⁾. Quite different is Hezius appreciation: he declares that Erasmus is the *inimicus homo* ‘*qui in agro Dominico tam copiosa superseminavit zizania, quique sanctam istam Sedem, sedentesque in ea tot contumeliis latenter affecit, traduxit et irrisit; ... vix quicquam amplius nocere possit quam nocuit; ... nomen eius ... odiosum factum est cordatis omnibus ex errorum multitudine et errandi perseverantia, et manifesta ... incorrigibilitate*’. No wonder that he feels indignant seeing ‘*homini ... a summis Christi vicariis tantum tribui honoris, tantaque praemia promitti, quasi res ecclesiasticas ejus potissimum consilio, qui eas maxime perturbavit, regi, et collapsa ejus arbitratu reformari debere existiment; eos vero qui illius perniciosus conatibus justissima ratione, optimoque zelo restiterunt, ac resistere parant, propemodum velut criminatores... habere videantur! ... Sed haec est potestas et hora tenebrarum*’! So exasperated was Hezius that he suspected the brief to have been forged by Erasmus: and he consequently sent a copy of it along with his letter of June 15, 1536 to his friend Jerome Aleander, with the request to have it examined and repudiated; if found exact, he besought him to warn the Pope about the threatening danger ²⁾.

The vehement tone of that criticism is in full contradiction with the appreciation of a More or a Fisher, who were at least as clear-sighted and as religious as Hezius, not to mention that of Paul III., who certainly judged from ample experience and reliable information; wishing to secure the help of every erudite and skilful man for the Council he contemplated

¹⁾ Vischer, 34, 35; FG, 262-3; Brom, I, 187, II, 352.

²⁾ *AléaLiège*, 304-305.

convening, he had urged Erasmus to cooperate, as he was convinced that only those catholic authors were able to refute error with success, who had a thoroughly classical style at their command ¹⁾; consequently on May 31, 1535, the Basle Canon Louis Ber, on a visit to Rome, was entrusted with Paul III.'s most laudatory letter to Erasmus — and very probably even with the offer of a Cardinalate ²⁾. The undoubted fact that men as upright and as jealous of the good and the honour of the Church as could be wished, saw their way to keep Erasmus in the highest esteem, suggests that the violent revulsion in Hezius, from the utmost reverence to the deepest depreciation, was not a result of spontaneous conviction, but of external influence. His acquaintance with Aleander, both before and after the latter's embassy in France, August 1523-April 1524, seems to explain that change. For Aleander was Erasmus' decided enemy : he considered the Humanist as the author of all the evil that was done to the Church by the Reformation ³⁾ : similarly in 1536, Hezius stated that '*vix quicquam amplius nocere possit quam nocuit*' ⁴⁾. About 1521 Leo X. and some of the influential Cardinals in Rome disapproved of Aleander's treatment of Erasmus, of which he bitterly complained ⁵⁾, just as fifteen years later at the laudatory brief of Paul III., Hezius complains that those who dare resist Erasmus out of love for the Church, are considered almost as *criminales atque calumniatores* ⁶⁾. Those identical feelings, as well as the same irreducible enmity in both men for all that touches Erasmus, shows Aleander's influence. The latter, as well as Hezius, had had to write under Adrian's VI.'s dictation the substance of the most flattering letter of December 1, 1522 to Erasmus, with an urging invitation to come to Rome ⁷⁾. It evidently induced Hezius, who felt his master's

¹⁾ *PastPäpste*, v, 34, 736.

²⁾ *EE*, 1501, E-1502 D, 1514, B.

³⁾ *Aléandre*, 168-171 ; 223, *sq* ; Brieger, 32, 41, 51, 52 ; *BalanR*, 101 ; *Grisar*, I, 538-9.

⁴⁾ *AléaLiège*, 305.

⁵⁾ *Aléandre*, 223, *sq* ; *AléaJo.*, 65 ; Brieger, 51-4, 59-60 ; *BalanR*, 101-2.

⁶⁾ *AléaLiège.*, 304.

⁷⁾ *Supra*, p. 389 ; *DorpCorr.*, 41, 71-3 ; *Cran.*, 28 ; Höfler, 328-52 ; Allen, v, 1324, *pr*, 1341, 27-9, 1342, 632-4, 1345, 15-7.

will, to express of his own accord, his most enthusiastic admiration a few weeks later : January 25, 1523 ¹⁾). Aleander, who had realized that the Brief meant an evident encouragement of Erasmus' work and of his opinions in general, wisely abstained from any hostility, as he did not want to arouse any animosity in the man who was eagerly expected in Rome in answer to the Pope's pressing invitation. When, however, the probability of Erasmus' journey to Rome dwindled with the advancing year, Aleander's old grudge got the upper hand : he even found in the non-acceptance of the invitation, which must have disappointed Adrian ²⁾), a new proof of Erasmus' complicity with Luther. No doubt he made Hezius see things according to his light, which must not have been difficult, the two countrymen being of a totally different mould : the refined classic style of the Humanist was an abomination to the Papal Secretary, whose precise orthodox sense must have been exasperated at the audacious exaggerations and merciless criticisms of Erasmus on the subject of religion and religious practices. The various encounters with his enemy in Louvain, and during the time of his legation in Germany, 1520-1521, can hardly have left a comforting remembrance in Aleander's mind, for he necessarily must have found out that one of the chief causes or pretexts of his declaration of war — Erasmus' authorship of, or at least active cooperation in, Luther's books ³⁾ — was absolutely baseless ; he must have felt that the invitation to the Pope's council of the man whom he himself had tried to brand as the greatest evil-doer ⁴⁾), was as the formal condemnation of his own tactics. Moreover in the days when he tried to live up to his dignity and duty, the time of his 'conversion', as his biographers call it ⁵⁾), he must have realized that he, with his rather unruly past, was not the man to throw stones at Erasmus, as far as

¹⁾ Allen, v, 1339. Cp. Mol., 75, 359, 625, 633 ; *OpmHistMart.*, 22.

²⁾ Brewer, III, 2714.

³⁾ Brieger, 41, 81, 212 ; BalanR, 40, 79-80, 246 ; *Aléandre*, 224-9, 367 ; Allen, IV, 1195, 47, sq, 1482, 30.

⁴⁾ Brieger, 59, 60, 82 ; BalanR, 79, 101 ; *Aléandre*, 226 ; Brom, I, 765.

⁵⁾ *Aléandre*, 345, sq ; *AléaLiège*, 187 ; *AléaJo.*, 9, 17, &c.

private life was concerned ¹⁾). And as scholar he can hardly have enjoyed a comparison of the vast amount of his opponent's writings, necessarily laying open all his thoughts and intentions to everybody's scrutiny and censure, with his own : his smallish editions up to 1512, and afterwards his secret memoirs and letters, mostly official, were the only fruits of his erudition and of his religious spirit, not to mention his autobiography with the strange revelations about his intimate acts and thoughts, for which he wisely made frequent use of Greek and Hebrew ²⁾).

It is most probable that it was not so much the Christian spirit that made him abstain from attacking Erasmus, as the dread of exposing himself to the all-besetting terrors of that satirist, who seemed to become wilder and keener as years went on. He therefore preferred sending others into the lists, whom an upright character made more invulnerable in the encounter, and more spontaneous in the onset. Still Erasmus thought he saw through his game, and suspected his influence on Alberto Pio, Count of Carpi ³⁾), who on being warned by a letter of October 10, 1525, wrote a *Responsio Paraenetica* ; that also seemed to take Erasmus as the author of Luther's works, and was published in January 1529 in Paris, where Pio had fled at the Sack of Rome ⁴⁾).

The friendly connections, which Hezius entertained with Aleander after leaving Rome ⁵⁾), make it more than probable that he owed to him the change of opinions on what must have seemed to them a most vital question. His mission in Louvain must have confirmed him in his new views : the theologians who had condemned Luther's doctrines on November 7, 1519, had only started mixing up Erasmus' name

¹⁾ Erasmus made Aleander's acquaintance in 1508 in Venice, where he was intimate with him, and recommended him to his friends in Paris : *Aléandre*, 26-8, 165 ; *Brieger*, 52 ; *BalanR*, 101 ; *Nolhac*, 40-42, 49-52, &c.

²⁾ *Aléandre*, 346, sq ; *AléaJo.*, 9, 17, &c.

³⁾ *Allen*, v, 1479, 130, 1482, 47, vi, 1576, 38, 41 ; *EOO*, ix, 1099, B-D, 1118, A ; *Grisar*, i, 539.

⁴⁾ *Lauchert*, 279-306 ; *Allen*, vi, 1634 ; *AleaE*, 30-40.

⁵⁾ *AléaLiège*, 238-43, 263, 272-3, &c. ; *Aléandre*, 287-8, 363 ; *Brom*, ii, 105-7 ; *Halkin*, 115-116, 138, 210.

with his in 1520, at the arrival of Aleander in the Netherlands ¹⁾ : which seems to imply that they, too, had been egged on by him : at any rate in after years some corresponded with him ²⁾ ; and he proved always ready to second their requests, at least as far as they were not in opposition with the wishes of his great friend Erard de la Marck ³⁾. That may explain the favourable report for Dierckx and Baechem which Hezius sent as conclusion of his mission ⁴⁾ ; also, partly, the decidedly ill-favour of Erard for Erasmus, as he had in his service Aleander's brother, whom the Humanist pronounced equally wicked, but less communicative than Jerome ⁵⁾.

This present letter serves as proof that Hezius did not rest at having his own opinion about Erasmus : he evidently tried to make all those who came near him, share his views. As he had provided the greater part of the material for the *Vita Adriani Sexti*, he had firmly hoped to find a ready adept of his antipathy towards the great Humanist. Still Morinck's sound sense and critical judgment evidently prevented him from following the Liège Canon in his hostile opinions : although not going to the contrary extreme, and approving unconditionally of everything that Erasmus ever said or did, he blamed what deserved blame, as results from his letter to Martin Lips (*Ep.* 3) : he acknowledged the receipt of Sepulveda's *Antapologia*, with which he did not all together find fault ; he strongly denied his friend's views as to there being no good whatever in Erasmus' writings, and protested against their being proscribed, except from the weak-minded. Chiefly, however, and especially he withstood the depreciation of his literary merits, which Hezius held in abomination : as results from what, a few months earlier, on June 15, 1535, he wrote to Aleander in his utter indignation at Paul III.'s favour being bestowed on the worthless author of the *Moria* : 'O quam misere res agitur quando homines ex verbis et linguis magis quam ex vita, iudicio, menteque aestimantur ! Non

¹⁾ De Jongh, 213, sq, 227, sq.

²⁾ So Latomus : AleaE, 4 ; KalkAl~~g~~Lu., 153-4 ; Brom, II, 43 ; MB, VI, 333-4.

³⁾ AléaLiège, 300-302, 305, 306.

⁴⁾ BalanR, 552-563 ; Brom, I, 158.

⁵⁾ Allen, VI, 1549, 10-13, 1553, 49-52, 1585, 41-44 ; Halkin, 116, 138.

quod eloquentia contemnenda sit, aut linguae nihili pendendae, sed quod haec perexigui sint momenti ad ea ex quibus juxta veritatem homines censeri debent. Sed haec est potestas et hora tenebrarum ' ! (*AléaLiège*, 304-5).

SUMMARY. — M thanks H for offering to him Sepulveda's book of calm criticism on Erasmus (1-21) ; he declares to admire what there is to be admired, and blame what is to be blamed in that great Man's writings (21-55), as St. Jerome and other Fathers did for those of Origenes (55-86), assuring that they can be perused with great profit by judicial readers (87-116). On St. Augustine's advice, he wants to have the eloquence of the gentiles used for the benefit of truth (117-165), their style and technique imitated (166-229), their words, unless ambiguous, employed (229-248), especially if a truer meaning corrects and perfects their original sense (249-291). Pagan orators often differ less from Christian orators than the Christian orators do amongst themselves (292-306). There is no danger for a trained reader in the perusing of the orations of the pagans, as their qualities are based on nature (307-335) ; it cannot be proved from the Bible that the Fathers are always inspired and pagan authors necessarily in the wrong (335-383). M does not wish to argue, but candidly expresses his opinions (384-394) ; he states that his *Vita Adriani VI.* has not yielded any profit as yet (395-405), and he closes with a final greeting (406-410).

GERARDUS MORINGUS D. THEODORICO HEZIO S. D.

Gratiam habeo non vulgarem, Vir Ornatissime, de libello Genesij mihj dono misso, cuius virj præterea et

Textual Notes. GERARDUS &c.] on f 206 r

2. libello Genesij] Juan Gines, *Genesisius*, de Sepulveda, D. D., born about 1490 at Pozo Blanco, near Cordova, from a noble but poor family, studied at Alcala and in the (Spanish) Albornoz College in Bologna. Alberto Pio invited him from that College into his *familia* in Rome ; when, at the *Sacco*, Pio went to France, Sepulveda entered the service of Cardinal Cajetan, and, in 1529, that of Cardinal Quiñones. In 1536 Charles V. appointed him Imperial Historiographer, and preceptor of Philip II. : he left Court in 1557, and retired to his property Mariano, near Cordova, where he died 1572/3 : cp. Sepulv*Op.*, I, i, sq ; A. Schott's *Vita* in Cologne edition of his works, 1602 ; *NBG* ; FG, 421 ; Hurter, II, 1273 ; Lauchert, 306-11 ; *supra*, p. 433. In March 1531, Badius printed posthumously the answer of Alberto Pio (*BB*, P, 110) to Erasmus' *Responsio* (April 1529), showing how he had been right in accusing the great Humanist of being of the same opinion as Luther in many places of his writings ; the reply appeared within a few days, viz., the *Apologia adversus rhapsodias ... Alberti Pii* (Basle, March, 1531 : *BB*, E, 306),

alia quædam ad Erasmum scripta vidj annis abhinc, nisj
fallor, plus minus quinque aut sex, neque longe dissi-
5 milis argumentj, sed talia quæ eum virum facundum,
eruditum, et quod maximj faciendum, sanum probent, sj
modo elephantum a dentibus (quod aiunt) æstimare licet.
Placet ad hæc vehementer hominis modestia, in qua an
vllum eorum quj in Erasmum calamum strinxere parem
10 habeat, nondum scio ; quamquam vir doctissimus simul
et nobilissimus Albertus Pius mihj item aliquando carp-

stating that Pio was neither a theologian nor an exegetist ; that he had not read the incriminated books, but had been shown dubious passages by the Franciscans ; and had written his criticism chiefly with the help of his friends and amanuenses. To that pamphlet Sepulveda replied by an *Antapologia pro Alberto Pio, Comite Carpensi, in Erasmum Roterodamum* (Rome, Ant. Bladus, January 1532), in which he expresses his gratitude to his late protector, whose erudition he praises ; also declares that he only had made use of the help of his amanuensis Francis Floridus Sabinus (Lauchert, 301), and tries to prove that he had not been wrong in accusing Erasmus of having prepared the way to Luther : Lauchert, 300-306 ; *BB*, E, 306, s, 390 ; Grisar, I, 529. It was evidently a copy of that *Antapologia*, or of its second edition (Paris, Ant. Augerelle, March 22, 1532 (*BB*, s, 391), that Hezius had sent to Morinck. Cp. *JovEDV*, 303.

3. alia quædam] Sepulveda had published in Rome in June 1526, *De Fato et Libero Arbitrio Libri Tres*, intending to work out further and completing Erasmus' book against Luther's *De Servo Arbitrio*, as he had argued very reservedly, though rightly, and not produced any arguments except from Scripture. That pamphlet gave him the occasion to accuse Humanism as the real cause of the religious revolution in Germany, as Aleander, and also Pio, had done before : Lauchert, 307-311.

7. elephantum a dentibus] cp. Peter Gilles' letter to Dorp, Dec. 12, 1511 : (*supra*, p. 359) Dorp's *Corresp.*, Ep. 9, 33.

11. Albertus Pius] Alberto Pio, son of Lionello Pio, Count of Carpi, and of a sister of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, was born at Carpi about 1475, where he was educated by Aldus Manutius, who in 1497 contemplated starting his printing business at Carpi. On account of quarrels with a cousin about the right to Carpi, that plan was abandoned, and Albert became ambassador in Rome for France, and even, during a few years, for the Emperor. Having been sent by Clement VII. soon after the *Sacco* to France, he settled there, and died in Paris on January 8, 1531, three days after having taken St. Francis' cowl (cp. Erasmus' colloquy *Exsequiæ Seraphicæ* : *EOO*, I, 866, F). Pio was an erudite humanist, and an able diplomatist : his palace in Rome was a centre of intellectual activity. He had turned to theology about 1525, and

tim degustatus, hac in parte non inferior est. Vtinam eadem sobrietate omnes reliquj tum <inimici> tum amicj Erasmj erga eum vterentur : non dubium plus sibj parent apud cordatos fidej, quam nunc magna ex parte
 15 amittunt, alterj procacitate linguæ, solaque libidine certandj ac sine iudicio, Andabatarum ritu, ad pugnam accedentes ; alterj nimio, atque adeo insano, amore in virum affectj, non absimiles captis amore, quibus ipsa
 20 etiam oris nariumque purgamenta amasiæ (honor sit auribus) dulcia videntur. Cæterum quo consilio nunc libellum hunc Dominatio Tua transmittat, cum nihil tale antehac transmiserit, vt aperte dicere possim quidem, tamen libet in præsentia subindicare magis quam expri-
 25 mere. Verum, Vir Egregie, quod bona tua gratia dixerim, velim te de eo quod fortassis suspicaris, securum esse. Neque enim ea cæcitate sum, aut ita expers rej Theologicæ, imperitus etiam rerum communium, vt in quibus Erasmus merito reprehendj debeat non perspiciam, aut
 30 ea affectuum peruicacia vt quæ consensus academiæ et plurimj prudentes, pij simul et eruditj homines in eo vel in totum damnent, vel vt minus circumspecte dicta

13. reliquj tum] a space is left behind tum (the last word on a line) : evidently a word like inimici was omitted by mistake

wrote in answer to an admonitory letter of Erasmus, Oct. 10, 1525, a *Responsio* communicated in manuscript, and printed, notwithstanding Erasmus' efforts to repress it, in Paris by Josse Badius, January 5, 1529. He reproaches Erasmus with preparing the way to the German protestants ; his writings, he says, show that ' aut Lutherus videatur Erasmizare, aut Erasmus Lutherizare ' ; they contain an amount of heterodox passages which are the more significative since Erasmus shrinks from attacking Luther wholeheartedly : Lauchert, 279-306 ; Allen, vi, 1634 ; Tiraboschi, vii, 424-442 ; *DelPoBel.*, iii, 92 ; FG, 292 ; BalanH, 24, 238, &c. ; Pastor, ii, 187, &c. ; Hurter, ii, 1273 ; *VisMonEccl.*, 558 ; AleaE, 105 ; JovEDV, 193.

17. Andabatarum ritu] cp. adagium *Andabatæ* : EOO, ii, 533, E.

21. quo consilio] evidently Morinck suspected Hezius of trying to make him stand against Erasmus, possibly in the hope of rousing another critic amongst orthodox divines who might write a general and final refutation of the famous Humanist.

30. consensus academiæ] up to then only the Paris Faculty of Theology had condemned Erasmus' writings : Delisle, 84, sq. In Louvain the reading of his books had been dissuaded, but not prohibited : de Jongh, 49*.

notent, tenuitas nostra aut approbet, aut defendat. Si ita
desipere existimor, respondeo illud apud Comicum :
35 Nondum me pernostj qualis sim ! Hactenus quidem,
gratia Superis, a vesania horum temporum alienus,
intactusque fuj ; spero fore, diuino præsidio, vt qualis
fuerim, talis perpetuo etiam maneam. Fateor ingenue,
laudauj aliquando per occasionem, laudoque subinde
40 Erasmus, sed quo modo ? Nimirum quo Pius, et Gene-
sius, et alij quj integrij habentur, collaudant, probatis
videlicet quæ probanda, improbatis quæ improbanda
censeam. Quid aliquorum superstitio, omnia ad suum
solius iudicium reuocantium, existimet, illj viderint ;
45 equidem non moror. Laudo hominis ingenium, laudo
doctrinam et facundiæ præstantiam ; laudo infinitarum
rerum lectionem et memoriam, qualia in eo laudare nescio
quis iustus rerum æstimator non cogatur. Libertatem
vero linguæ, fastidium pene omnium quæ in orbe gerun-
50 tur, confidentiam fere omnia quæ in Ecclesia hactenus
vsurpata receptaque fuere, arrorendj, vexandj, eleuandj,
conuellendj, et alia id genus plurima, quorum hic necesse
non est catalogum subiicere, quando vulgo nota sunt,
tantum abest vt laudem, vt grauissime etiam insecter
55 sj quando occasio inciderit. Laudo denique Erasmus,
quemadmodum beatus Hieronymus Originem. Js enim in
epistola ad Pammachium et Oceanum, cum crimineretur
tanquam nimius in laudibus Origenis : ‘Laudauj’, inquit,
‘interpretem, non dogmatisten ; ingenium, non fidem ;
60 Philosophum, non Apostolum’. Et subiicit : ‘Quod sj
volunt super Origene meum scire iudicium, legant in
Ecclesiasten Commentarios, replicent in Epistolam ad
Ephesios tria volumina, et intelligent me semper eius
dogmatibus contraisse. Quæ enim stulticia est, sic lau-
65 dare alicuius doctrinam vt sequaris et blasphemiam !’.
Et subdit : ‘Et beatus Cyprianus Tertulliano magistro

49. linguæ &c.] on f 206 v

34. Comicum] Terence, *Andria*, III, 2, 23.

57. epistola &c.] *Epistolarum Liber* : MigneL, xxii, 744-5.

vtitur, vt eius scripta probant; cumque eruditj et ardentis delectetur ingenio, Montanum cum eo Maximillamque non sequitur'. Deinde subiicit: 'Fortissimos libros contra
 70 Porphirium scribit Apollinaris; Ecclesiasticam pulchre historiam Eusebius texuit: alter eorum dimidiatam Christj introduxit œconomiam, alter impietatis Arrij apertissimus propugnator est'. Et subiicit: 'Væ, inquit Esaias, quj dicunt bonum malum, et malum bonum, et
 75 quj faciunt amarum dulce, et dulce amarum. Nec bonis aduersariorum, sj honestum quid habuerint, detrahendum est, nec amicorum laudanda sunt vicia, et vnumquodque non personarum, sed rerum pondere iudicandum est'. Et multa alia in eadem epistola eodem facientia.
 80 Ex quibus perspicuum est, non humanum modo, verum etiam pietati consentaneum esse, laudare viros magnos, de quorum numero Erasmus esse arbitror, sine calumnia et suspitione impietatis, ab ijs a quibus vere laudandj sint, modo ne simul a vicijs et erratis laudentur, quæ in
 85 nullo equidem vnquam nec laudauj, nec laudabo, dum modo ea internoscere dabitur.

Cæterum, sj quis roget censeamne ergo Erasmica legenda esse, an vero tanquam toxica fugienda: alij fortassis aliter, ego vero etiam sacra, moralia et dogmatica
 90 non indigna lectu censeo; sed quo modo idem Hieronymus ad Tranquillum scribens, Tertullianum, Nouatum, Apollinarium, Arnobium, et alios nonnullos scriptores, tam Græcos quam Latinos, legendos censet: nimirum vt bona quæ habent, inde eligamus, vitemusque contraria;
 95 iuxta Apostolum monentem, omnia probanda esse, quod bonum foret tenendum; detur modo lector firmus et sanus quj, quid inter aurum verum et subæratum, inter dextram et sinistram intersit, quæat discernere; quique, ad exemplum Jsrahelitarum in deserto calciatis pedibus, velut

67. ardentis] *supply* viri 69. Fortissimos] *ms* ffort- 70. Apollinaris] *prob r* -rius 81. pietati] *corr over* equissimum et rationj (*by Morinck*) 83. ab] *et is er*

91. ad Tranquillum] *Epistolarum Liber*: MigneL, xxii, 606.

95. omnia &c.] I THESS., v, 21: Omnia autem probate: quod bonum est tenete.

99. calciatis pedibus] DEUT., viii, 15; LUC., x, 19.

100 præmunitus, serpentes et scorpiones, in quos in ipso lectionis
progressu incurrerit, inoffense transeat; quo iudicio
Hieronymus libros Origenis *Περὶ Ἀρχῶν* a se versos legi
postulat. Passim vero omnibus sine delectu obijc, doctis
et indoctis, acribus et obtusis, firmis et infirmis, ne
105 dolo dicam, displicet; secus de hijs est in quibus, confes-
sione omnium, nihil neque de sacris, neque de moribus
agitur. Qua in parte sj quj a nobis dissentiant, nihilque
velint medium, sed propter errata et noxia, etiam innoxia
et alia quæcunque tollenda putent, fruantur illj sua per-
110 suasione, nostra bona gratia; ego vero sententiæ Hiero-
nymj accedere malim, quj prædicto Tranquillo scribens,
in similj genere, nec propter doctrinam Origenis eius praua
dogmata suscipienda, nec propter dogmatum prauitatem,
sj quos commentarios vtilis in Scripturas Sanctas edidit,
115 penitus respuendos iudicat. Sed hæc occasione libellj
Genesij.

Porro vt eadem opera respondeam ad epistolam quan-
dam Dominationis Tuæ, proxime ad me missam, qua
existimas non conuenire, hominem Christianum referre
120 eloquentiam gentilium, quandoquidem sicut stultam fecit
Deus sapientiam gentilium, ita et eorum eloquentiam
infantem reddidit, et multa alia eodem spectantia; etsj
nolim cum Dominatione Tua, quæ mihj omnj veneratione
colenda est, peruicacius contendere, cum non omnium
125 eadem esse iudicia possint, et tot sententiæ sint, vt inquit
ille, quot homines; mihj tamen, vt ingenue dicam, salua
pace Dominationis Tuæ, non displicet sententia beatj
Augustinj, quj in libris de Doctrina Christiana, inter alia
sentit si quid bonj et laudabilis apud gentiles reperire
130 est, quo veritas validius stabilirj ac excolj, et bonj mores
efficacius promouerj queant, id adeo non formidandum
esse, vt etiam, velut aurum, argentum, et vestem, tam-

103. postulat &c.] *on f 207 r* 132. esse] *after it potest is er*

102. Hieronymus] MigneL, xxii, 749.

111. Tranquillo] MigneL, xxii, 606.

120. stultam &c.] 1 Cor., i, 20.

125. tot sententiæ &c.] Terentius; Erasmus' *Adagia*: EOO, 114, A.

128. Augustinj] *De Doctrina Christiana*, Lib. iv: AugO, iii, 89, sq.

quam ab Ægyptijs iniustis possessoribus, quj illis ipsis
ad obsequia demonum abutebantur, in vsus nostros, hoc
135 est Christianos et meliores, vindicandum dicat, citans ad
hoc exempla sanctissimorum virorum : in primis Moysj,
quem Scriptura in omnj sapientia Ægyptiorum eruditum
fuisse testatur ; tum Cyprianj, Lactantij, Victorinij, Oplatj,
quj his opibus suffarcinatj, in Ecclesiam transiere, illis
140 ipsis ibj salubriter et vtiliter vsurj : quod nihil aliud esse
intelligo, quam ea quæ gentilium sunt, frugifere vsurpare
et exprimere. Et alibj in eisdem libris, non tantum non
damnat sj quis sic faciat, verum etiam vt desipientem
reijcit sj quis faciendum neget. ‘Cum’, inquit, ‘per
145 artem rhetoricam et vera suadeantur et falsa, quis audeat
dicere, aduersus mendacium in defensoribus suis inermem
debere consistere veritatem, vt videlicet illj, quj res falsas
persuadere conantur, nouerint auditorem vel beneuolum,
vel intentum, vel docilem procœmio facere ; istj autem non
150 nouerint ? Jllj falsa breuiter, aperte, verisimiliter ; et istj
vera sic narrent vt audire tedeat, intelligere non pateat,
credere, postremo, non libeat ? Jllj fallacibus argumentis
veritatem oppugnent, asserant falsitatem ; jstj nec vera
defendere, nec falsa valeant refutare ? Jllj animos audien-
155 tium in errorem mouentes, impellentesque dicendo ter-
reant, contristent, exhilarent, exhortentur ardenter ; istj
pro veritate lentj, frigidique dormitent ? Quis ita desipiat
vt hoc dicat ? Cum ergo sit in medio posita facultas elo-
quij, quæ ad persuadenda seu praua seu recta valeat
160 plurimum, cur non bonorum studio comparantur, vt
militet veritatj, sj eam malj ad obtinendas peruersas
vanasque causas, in vsus iniquitatis et erroris vsurpant’ ?
Loquitur autem, procul dubio, de aduersarijs Catholicæ
veritatis, quj tum gentiles, et patronis eiusdem veritatis,
165 quj tum Christianj erant.

Neque rursus displicet sententia sanctj Hieronimj, quj

153. jstj &c.] *on f 207 v* 159. valeat] *M* ; *AugO* valet 160. com-
parantur] *ms cōparāt* : *r comparatur (as in AugO)*

144. Cum &c.] chapter 2 of book iv of *De Doctrina Christiana* :
AugO, III, 89. 158. dicat] *AugO* : sapiat

cum a nonnullis notaretur quod candorem Ecclesiæ sor-
 dibus ethnicorum pollueret, hoc est, quod in scriptis suis
 passim dicta ethnicorum cum Scripturis Sanctis permisce-
 170 ret, plurimorum scriptorum catholicorum, tum Græcorum,
 tum Latinorum præiudicio se tuetur, et inter reliqua Pau-
 lum producens, quj alicubj etiam ethnica scriptis suis
 insereret, præsertim ad Titum et Corinthios scribens ;
 ‘Didicerat’, inquit, ‘a vero Dauid extorquere de manibus
 175 hostium gladium, et Goliæ superbissimj caput proprio
 mucrone truncare ; legerat in Deuteronomio Dominj voce
 præceptum mulieris captivæ radendum caput, supercilia
 et omnes pilos et vngues corporis amputandos, et sic
 eam habendam in coniugio’ ; deinde subijcit quod ad rem
 180 facit : ‘Quid ergo mirum sj et ego sapientiam secularem
 propter eloquij venustatem et membrorum pulchritudi-
 nem de ancilla atque captiva, Jsrahelitidem facere cupio,
 et sj quicquid in ea mortuum est idololatriæ, voluptatis,
 erroris, libidinum, vel præcido vel rado, et mixtus puris-
 185 simo corporj vernaculos ex ea genero Domino Sabaoth ’ ?
 Quæ verba quid aliud sibj volunt, quam Christianis quæ
 gentilium sunt, sit sapientia, sit eloquentia, in suos ipso-
 rum vsus transferre, præcisis, siue abrais, quæ pietatj
 bonisque moribus aduersantur. Neque vero satis perspicio
 190 quid eloquentia Ecclesiasticorum a gentilium discrepet,
 sj artificium spectes, cum vtrique eadem habeant sche-
 mata, eosdem tropos, eundem verborum, orationumque
 nitorem ; sic in exordio scriptorum lectorem beneuolum
 attentum et docilem reddant ; eundem ad modum oratio-
 195 nem diuidant ; similiter narrent, proponant, confirment,
 confutent, perorent ; affectus denique moueant et sedent !
 Nisj quis non videt, quod artificium dicendj in diuerso
 genere Hieronymus, cum alibj, tum in opere Epistolarum
 passim præstet, vt ibj scholia eruditorum annotant. Quod
 200 artificium in genere didactico Ambrosius in Officijs ; in

195. proponant] *corr from -nent* 198. Hieronymus &c.] *on f 208 r.*

171. Paulum] *TIT.*, i, 12 ; *1 COR.*, i, 22, ix, 24, xi, 15, xv, 33.

174. Didicerat &c.] *MigneL*, xxii, 605-6.

177. præceptum] *DEUT.*, xxi, 11-13.

200. Ambrosius &c.] *AugO*, iii, 111-114.

genere laudatorio simul et admonitorio in libris de Virgi-
 nibus et Viduis ; in genere consolatorio in Orationibus de
 obitu Theodosij, item de obitu fratris suj. Quod Cypria-
 nus cum passim alibj, tum in epistola ad Optatum ; idque,
 205 vt ad liquidum patet, de industria, cum in alijs tum
 epistolis, tum voluminibus longe submissior et suj dissim-
 ilis sit, vt ob id Augustinus, libro de Doctrina Chris-
 tiana, c. iv, vbj de generibus dicendj disserit, ex hac
 sola epistola, exemplum splendidæ ac iucundæ dictionis
 210 citauerit, non facturum haud dubie id, nisi in ea leges
 rhetorum et eloquentiam gentilium, qua velut suffarci-
 natus auro Ægyptiorum in Ecclesiam vir sanctissimus
 venerat, probe seruatas et expressas existimasset. Clarum
 quoque est de Orosio historico, quod sic scripserit histo-
 215 riam ijs vocibus et orationibus quibus alij gentiles histo-
 ricj in similj argumento Liuius, Curtius, Justinus scrip-
 sere. Denique Hieronymus, in epistola modo citata, ad
 Magnum Oratorem, de Sancto Hilario Episcopo Picta-
 uensj sic habet : ‘ Hilarius ’, inquit, ‘ meorum Confessor
 220 temporum et Episcopus, duodecim Quintilianj libros et
 stylo imitatus est, et numero : breuique libello quem
 scripsit contra Dioscorum medicum, quid in literis possit
 ostendit’. Attendas, quæso, quod dicit, ‘ Et stylo imitatus
 est ’ : quod nihil esse aliud intelligo quam eum, ipso
 225 dictionis filo et caractere Quintilianj, eloquentiam licet
 gentilis imitatum fuisse et expressisse, cum Dominatio
 Tua dicat priscos illos potuisse quidem eloquentiam
 gentilium exprimere, quia eam penitus cognitam habe-
 rent, sed noluisse. Concedo, eloquentia nostratum, reli-
 230 gione a gentilium eloquentia discrepat. Vbj illj Moysen,

208. c.] *prob r l.*

203. Cyprianus] AugO, III, 111-114.

204. epistola ad Optatum] that reference is not in *De Doctrina Christiana*, where St. Augustine explains the various kinds of erudition : in chapter 21 of book iv he quotes a passage of St. Cyprianus’ *Tractatus de Disciplina et Habitu Virginum* as model *de genere temperato* : AugO, III, 112.

214. Orosio] Sandys, I, 219, 371 ; AugO, II, 720-1, &c.

217. Hieronymus] MigneL, XXII, 668.

Daud, Salomonem, Prophetas, Euangelistas, Apostolos
 nominant : hj Jouem, Junonem, Mercurium et Herculem,
 Vestam nominant. Vbj illj Paulum, Petrum, Jacobum,
 Joannem citant : hj Socratem, Platonem, Aristotelem,
 235 Pythagoram citant : — etsj hos ipsos subinde illj etiam
 citant, præsertim Hieronymus, parcius alij. Gentiles ad
 hæc vsurpant vocabula suæ religionis : fatum, fortuna,
 natura, diuus et similia ; nostrates his abstinent, ne cum
 ethnicis de significatione harum vocum sentire videren-
 240 tur. Vnde Augustinus, de Civitate, li°. 5, c. j : ‘ Prorsus ’,
 inquit, ‘ diuina prouidentia regna constituuntur humana ;
 quæ sj propterea quis fato tribuit, quia ipsam Dej volun-
 tatem vel potestatem fatj nomine appellat, sententiam
 teneat, linguam corrigat. Cur enjm non hoc primum dicit,
 245 quod postea dicturus est ? Nam id homines quando
 audiunt, vsitata loquendj consuetudine, non intelligunt,
 nisj vim syderum quando quis nascitur, siue concipitur ’ :
 &c. Sed hæc et similia, quid ad eloquentiam faciunt ?
 Sicut quod in eadem ciuitate alij alijs religiosius, modes-
 250 tius, magis pie loquuntur pro diuersa institutione siue
 consuetudine, non ipsum ciuitatis ideoma, nec linguæ
 proprietatem variat, quæ semper suj similis manet, licet
 alij aliter ea vtantur. Quamquam etiam non video cur
 vsqueadeo absurdum viderj debeat, vocabula gentilium
 255 nostratia facere, significatione eorum impia abiecta, et
 surrogata alia pia, a priore non in totum aliena, præser-
 tim si nemo vsu eorum offendatur, nec vllam impietatis
 suspicionem alijs de se præbeat, vtj res hodie habere
 videtur. Verbj gratia, gentiles olim necessariam rerum
 260 sibj succedentium seriem, ex causis occultis, aut neces-
 sitatem rerum omnium actionumque, quas nulla vis
 rumpat, fatum appellabant : quid periculj sj significatione

241. linguam &c.] *on f 208 v*

240. Prorsus &c.] *AugO, vii, 141.*

242. quis] *AugO : quisquam.*

245. est ?] in *AugO* is added : cum ab illo quisquam quæsierit
 quid dixerit fatum ?

247. syderum] *AugO : positionis siderum, qualis est*

illa impia mutata, nos firmum et immutabile Dej decre-
 tum pro cuiusque rej modo, quam Theologj nostrj volun-
 265 tatem Dej beneplacitj consequentem dicunt, fatum appel-
 lemus, in qua significatione eruditj ijdem et integrj virj,
 quj hodie scribunt, ista voce vtuntur. Rursus illorum
 aliquj fortunam deam quampiam rerum omnium arbi-
 tram, aliquj incertum nullique præcognitum et temera-
 270 rium rerum casum, euentumque appellabant : quorum
 erant Epicurus, Democritus, Leucippus, Lucretius, et alij
 multj ; quid sj nos rerum euentum præcognitum quidem
 Deo, sed hominibus tamen non præcognitum, fortunam
 dicamus, numquid malj subest ? Ad hæc illj appellabant
 275 diuum, quempiam ex hominibus inter deos relatum :
 quid sj nos, retenta voce, eam huc detorquamus vt nobis
 significet quempiam ex hominibus mortalibus in nume-
 rum beatorum siue immortalium receptum : et sic capti-
 uam mulierem, raso capite præcisisque vnguibus, Jsrahe-
 280 litidem faciamus : quid, quæso, ex his et similibus hodie
 incommodj imminet ? ‘ Multa renascentur ’, Horatius
 inquit, ‘ quæ iam cecidere, cadentque, Quæ nunc sunt in
 honore, vocabula, si volet vsus, Quem penes arbitrium est
 et vis et norma loquendj ’. Secus erat de temporibus
 285 Augustinj et aliorum Patrum, quibus vsitata loquendj
 consuetudo eas voces in malum accipiebat ; neque facile
 fierj poterat propter gentiles Christianis permixtos, vt eis
 sane sine offendiculo quis vteretur. Nunc vero res aliter
 habere videtur. Sed sit in his modus. Non velim quoque
 290 dum sacra explanantur, hæc prophana adhiberj aut
 quam parcissime, et tum quidem nisj leuiter attingendo.

Quod si propter diuersum dicendj genus Ecclesiasticos et
 gentiles discrepare arbitraris, non id est, vnde in vniuer-

266. integrj] *corr from -grij* 268. rerum] *after it were written
 and er euentum, præcognitum quidem deo sed hominibus tamen
 non præcognitum (cp. ll. 272-3)* 275. relatum] *before this word
 was wr & er ex* 288. offendiculo &c.] *on f 209 r*

278. captiuam] *cp. l. 177, sq.*

281. Multa &c.] *Horatius, Epistola ad Pisones, 70-72.*

284. vis] *Morinck has vis ; Horatius ius.*

290. dum sacra &c.] *the custom, however, was general.*

sum alteros ab alteris separe. Nam sicut gentiles inter se
 295 genere dicendj differunt, prout diuersæ ingeniorum propri-
 etates sunt, et alios alia dicendj forma magis minusue
 capit : jta et Ecclesiasticj. Jn Hieronymo ardens quiddam
 et satyrioum videas ; jn Augustino lene et mansuetum ;
 jn Ambrosio argutum quiddam et iucundum ; jn Lactantio
 300 illaboratam facilitatem ; et ita in reliquis. Quinimo inter
 nonnullos plus videas discriminis quam inter eos et
 gentiles : nisj quis non perspicit quanto plus inter Tertul-
 lianum et Ciceronem intersit, quam inter Lactantium et
 Ciceronem ; inter Cyprianum et Hilarium, quam inter
 305 Quintilianum et Hilarium ; inter Orosium et Ruffinum
 quam inter Cæsarem et Orosium, et ita in alijs.

Nimium studium eloquentiæ prophanæ, eiusque nimia
 admiratio, vt etiam prophanos mores quis inbibat, et ab
 affectu rerum diuinarum, studioque celestium alienetur,
 310 non probatur. Quisquis hoc in se senserit, vt infirmus
 olus manducet ; sed interim firmiorem carnes innoxie
 manducantem neque spernat, neque iudicet ! Omnia enjm
 munda mundis ! Jn rebus omnibus μεσότης ἡ ἀρετὴ, κακία
 ὑπερβολή. ‘ Mel ’, inquit Salomon, ‘ inuenistj : comede
 315 quod sufficiat tibi, ne forte satiatus euomas illud ’.

De spiritu vero quo gentiles locutj sunt, non satis
 intelligo quid Dominatio Tua sentiat. Ego vero arbitror
 eloquentiam eorum profectam esse partim ex natura,
 partim ex studio et industria, sicutj alia quæ naturæ sunt
 320 et industriæ ; nec ibj quicquam esse reprehensione dig-
 num, modo abusus absit. Aut faterj oportebit eadem opera
 quicquid Aristoteles in ethicis et politicis sane et pru-
 denter prodidit, vt ob id apud Theologos nostros scholas-
 ticos in summa autoritate sit ; quicquid Seneca in Epis-
 325 tolis ad Lucilium, in libris de Ira, de Breuitate Vitæ, de
 Clementia, et reliquis, iudicio omnium, optime tradidit ;
 quicquid Plutarchus de Adulatore dinoscendo, et alijs

297 Hieronymo] *ms* hero°. 303. Ciceronem] *prob r* Lactantium

307. Nimium studium &c.] no doubt an assertion of Hezius’.

312. Omnia ... munda mundis] *Trr.*, i, 15.

314. Mel &c.] *Prov.*, xxv, 16.

libris ; quicquid Celsus de Re Medica, Varro de Re Rustica, et denique quicquid authores alij prophanj vere et
 330 sane scripsere, profectum fuisse ex spiritu quodam, quem non ignorare nos dicis, designans tacite non satis probatum esse : cum authores illj ingenia habuerint ad discernendum verum a falso non minus acria quam nostra, certe in naturalibus et alijs ad veram religionem nihil
 335 facientibus. Crediderim itidem Patres illos subinde spiritu humano locutos fuisse, non semper diuino, vt discrimen aliquod inter eos sit et euangelistas et apostolos. Certe Augustinus, in epistola ad Hieronymum, de Petro reprehenso a Paulo in hæc verba Hieronymo scribit : ‘ Ego
 340 fateor Charitatj tuæ, solis eis Scripturarum libris quj iam canonicj appellantur, didicj hunc timorem, honoremque deferre, vt nullum eorum authorem scribendo aliquid errasse firmissime credam. At sj aliquid in eis offendo Literis, quod videatur contrarium veritatj : nihil aliud,
 345 quam vel mendosum esse codicem, vel interpretem non assecutum esse quod dictum est, vel me minime intellexisse, non ambigam. Alios autem ita lego, vt quantalibet sanctitate, doctrinaque præpolleant, non ideo verum putem, quia ipsj ita senserunt ; sed quia mihj vel per
 350 illos authores canonicos, vel probabilj ratione, quod a vero non abhorreat, persuadere potuerunt’.

Quæ verba quid sibj velint, haud difficile est perspicere. Et tamen Dominatio Tua sentire videtur productis verbis Christj : ‘ Non vos estis quj loquiminj, sed Spiritus
 355 Patris vestrj quj loquitur in vobis’, quasj in omnibus afflatu Spiritus Sanctj locutj sint, cum illa verba solis Apostolis dicta sint, non quibuslibet alijs. Neque liquere arbitror quomodo sicut Deus sapientiam gentilium stultam fecit, ita et eloquentiam eorum insanem reddidit,
 360 nisj ad commodum sensum, nimirum vt sicutj Deus

338. Augustinus &c.] *on f* 209 v 343. Atj *M* ; *AugO* *Ac*

338. in epistola] Ep. lxxxii, 3 : *AugO*, II, 277.

354. Non vos &c.] *MATTH.*, x, 19-20 ; *LUC.*, xii, 11-2, xxi, 14-5 ; *MARC.*, xiii, 11.

reipsa probauit fieri posse negabant : nempe Dej Filium, assumpta natura humana, potuisse crucifigi, mortemque subire pro salute hominum ; et id genus alia, quæ intelligentiam naturalem excedunt, quemadmodum beatus
 365 Ambrosius verba illa Esaiæ in commentarijs Epistolæ Paulj j ad Corinthios explanat. Jta etiam ostendit Deus fidem euangelicam felicius propagatam, celeriusque vsque-
 quaque gentibus persuasam esse, per rudes et analpha-
 370 betos piscatores quam ab vllis oratoribus, quantumlibet eloquentia prestantibus, propagarij persuaderique potuerit. Nisj ad hunc aut similem sensum, commode hæc tua accipiantur, sicuti Patres prisci similes locos explanant, pace tua dixerim, nescio quomodo satis vera sint. At hæc nihil ad propositum. Non enim nunc agitur an eloquentia
 375 gentilium æque neruosa, vtilisque sit ad veram pietatem veramque religionem, vt Patrum Ecclesiasticorum : quod clarum est non esse, cum gentiles veram pietatem non cognouerint. Sed an protinus eloquentia gentilium impro-
 banda sit, et anne ad plurima vtilissima esse quæa[t.]
 380 Denique pulcherrimumne ornamentum disciplinarum seriarum sit, propterea quod a vera religione aliena et remota sit, quod haud scio quomodo Dominatio Tua satis firmis rationibus conuicerit.

Hæc visum fuit respondere, Vir Egregie, ad epistolam
 385 tuam proxime missam, non quidem studio contendendj, sicut testatus sum, quod mihj, hominj jnfimæ tum doctrinæ, tum fortunæ, apud virum tantum neque decorum foret, neque consultum ; sed animo potius tecum com-
 mentandi, et vt occasionem aliquam rescribendi, dum
 390 per seria licebit, suppeditu. Quapropter magnopere roga-
 uerim ne Dominatio Tua libertatem hanc nostram in malum interpretetur, quandoquidem animus syncerus

370. potuerit] *bef. it poterit is er* 373 (& 382). quomodo] *ms quō*
 374. eloquentia] *corr from -tiam* 379. quæat] *ms q̄at on inner*
edge of page, t nearly disappearing in the joint 380. discipli-
 niarum] *r -plinarum* 386. jnfimæ &c.] *on f 210 r : a word (prob*
fortunæ) preceding, is er 390. suppeditu] *r -ditet*

est, nulliusque mali hac in parte sibj conscius. Dominus Prior accurate te salutat.

395 Ex Hadriano nostro nihil omnino commodj hactenus
apud Reuerendissimum mihj partum est, cum mihi constet
preter labores impensos, si singula supputem, non minus
viginti florenis Rhenensibus. Pollicitus est quidem se fore
memorem beneficij. Sed qualia promissa principum esse
400 soleant, quis ignorat? Jtaque haud absurde dixerim,
quod coruus ille apud Macrobiū : Opera et impensa
periit! Tametsi non omnino desperauerim, si foret qui,
gratia et auctoritate valens, nostri memoriam subinde
refricaret, ad quod nescio quis potissimum mihj adhi-
405 bendus sit.

Vale, Vir Optime, et me commendatum facito, queso,
magnifico simul et eximio viro Domino Magistro Nostro

395. Ex ... (405) sit] *underlined* 404. potissimum] *Morinck corr over certius*

394. Prior] Thierry Breedzip, Breedzyp, Brezipts — cp. *Louvain*, 239, — a native of Louvain, is sincerely praised in the biography of Abbot Sarens by Peter Cruels for the faithful and hearty help he provided in the sad affliction. He was one of the first monks received into the Abbey by William of Brussels after the reform, 1520 : for his prudent and virtuous life the brethren intended electing him as Sarens' successor : unfortunately he died in 1556 : Mol., 698 ; *MSGerMor.*, 168 r, 184 v.

395. Hadriano] the *Vita Hadriani* VI. ; — 'nostro', since it had been written chiefly on information from Hezius : *supra*, pp. 484-6.

396. Reuerendissimum] Morinck had dedicated the *Vita Hadriani Sexti* to Cardinal Erard de la Marck, with the hope, it seems, that a liberal gift would indemnify him, at least, for his own expenses : still after a considerable while, when this letter was written, nothing had yet been received : he was not the only one who had to complain about Erard's close-fistedness : Halkin, 45-46.

396. mihi constet &c.] possibly a part in the cost of printing, or — more probably, since generally the publisher assumed the charges, — the out-of-pocket expenses which had been occasioned by that edition, as the journeys to Louvain to arrange the printing, or to places where he could ask the old 'convictores' of the late Pope for information : even to Liège about the dedication : such expenses would explain the mention 'si singula supputem'.

401. Macrobiū] *Saturnalia*, II ; the story of the *aves salutatores* is reproduced by Erasmus for the adage *Oleum & operam perdidit* : EOO, II, 171, E-172, c, 1171, E.

Tongrensi et Domino Licentiatō viro integerrimo Magistro
Henrico Doern.

410 Apud Sanctum Trudonem.

Ep. 3. — GERARD MORINCK TO MARTIN LIPS

December 8, 1537

This letter, copied by the same hand that wrote Ep. 2, takes up five leaves in Morinck's volume, of which one, <f 214^{bis}> is not marked; it starts at the top of f 212 r, and extends to about the lower part of f 215 r; the reverse of that page is blank. It was intended as a reply to an admonition by Martin Lips, to whom had been shown the letter to Hezius in which Erasmus was, in his opinion, criticized too severely.

MARTIN LIPS, or LYPs, *Lipsius*, born about 1492 in Brussels (*BruxHist.*, I, 391, III, 193), was sent by his father in 1507 to the convent-school of St. Martin's, Louvain, since his uncle

408. Tongrensi] evidently the provost of Tongres, Giles van der Blockerien, de la Blocquerie, one of the chief dignitaries in Liège diocese in the second quarter of the xvth century. He was born at St. Trond, and had studied at Cologne from Nov. 4, 1504 to 1513, when, as *licentiatūs decretorum*, he was entrusted with a lecture of canon law (June 13, 1513). He only resigned on Jan. 30, 1517, although he had been appointed official in Liège in 1515, canon of St. Lambertus' in 1516, and vicar-general, or chancellor, in 1517. He obtained the provostry of St. Mary's, Tongres, June 25, 1520, but he only could take possession of it about 1522. Giles promoted Doctor in Canon Law in Cologne, in January 1523; he was highly appreciated by Aleander, and was famous throughout the Netherlands for his prudence and skill: on that account he was sent as advocate to Queen Catherine of England in Nov. 1529: *supra*, p. 35. He died in 1549: *AléaLiège*, 50, &c.; Keussen, 569; *DocPLiège*, I, 49, 315, &c., II, 26, *sq.*, 168, *sq.*, &c.; *Aléandre*, 126; Halkin, 88, &c. As Chancellor, *sigillifer*, he had a share in all affairs in the diocese, and, consequently in those connected with the Abbey of his native town: *MSGerMor.*, 162 r.

409. Henrico Doern] most probably the Henricus Doern, canon of St. Lambert's, Liège, afterwards official, and archdeacon; John of Brusthem's *Vita Re^o Dⁱ Erardi a Marca* belonged to him, and through his nephew John Curtius, Lord of Oupey, it was handed to Wachtendonck, 1608: *ReusMarck*, 9. — In St. Trudo's one of the first monks accepted by William of Brussels after the reform was Henricus de Spina, who afterwards became provost, and died in 1562: *MSGerMor.*, 184 v.

John Lyps, monk in St. Adalbert's, at Egmond, had failed to get him accepted by his Abbot Henry of Wittenhorst. When the latter's successor Meinard Man came to Brussels in the beginning of Advent, probably 1510 (cp. *supra*, pp. 65-6), and John Lyps sent word to arrange a meeting between him and Martin, whom he still hoped to secure for Egmond Abbey, his father replied that the young man had recently entered the Augustine order at Louvain : LipsE, 789, 792-3. Martin studied most zealously in the house which was already famous for the humanistic training it provided to a group of boys, and for the transcription and illuminating of liturgical and literary documents ¹⁾. He had availed himself also of the opportunities offered by the University, and thus had enjoyed for a time the teaching of Nicolas van Broeckhoven ²⁾. He turned to theology, and had become a priest by 1518 ³⁾; he was acquainted with Dorp, Alard of Amsterdam, Barlandus, and other Humanists, and soon became a devoted admirer of Erasmus, who corresponded regularly with him from 1518 : the letters sent or received are the nucleus of the *Codex* edited by Horawitz (LipsE), and of the one preserved in Brussels Royal Library (MS. 4850-7). That esteem and affection was most hearty and reciprocal ⁴⁾ : Erasmus often went to visit the monk, or invited him to his table ⁵⁾, and nearly all the letters, exchanged one way or another, refer to presents : Erasmus mostly offering copies of his books wet from the press; Lips always looking out for some old manuscript, or for some other *xeniolum* to his dear friend ⁶⁾, who as late as 1536 sent to him a *munusculum* of 40 florins ⁷⁾. Lips was most eager in seconding Erasmus in his views : he was acquainted with Lee, to whom there is a frequent reference in their correspondence ⁸⁾ : in October 1518, Erasmus even

¹⁾ *Louvain*, 482, sq; Mol., 284-93; *ChronSMart.*; FUL, 2845-8; &c.

²⁾ LipsE, 787, 727, 759.

³⁾ Allen, III, 807, 8.

⁴⁾ Allen, III, 922, 20-28, IV, 1040, 10, VII, 1837, 52-55, &c.

⁵⁾ Allen, III, 921, 955, IV, 1035, 1036, 1048, 2, 1049, 1, 1070, 13.

⁶⁾ Allen, III, 807, 2-5, 901, 24-5, 921, 2, 922, 72, 934, 3, 955, 2, 960, 7, IV, 1040, 11, 1052, 1056, 3, 1086, 2; LipsE, 764-5.

⁷⁾ HCB, G. II. 20 : 294-5; GoclE, 34 v.

⁸⁾ Allen, III, 912, 922, 29, sq, 960, IV, 1019, 1056, 1069, 1070, 1086, 1140.

thought that he heard an admonitory tone : at which remark Lips did not lose any time to assert his entire devotedness ¹⁾. He knew Nesen and his animosity against Dorp in the summer of 1519 ²⁾; and it seems that, being fully informed about what was going on in the University and most of the convents, he had become Erasmus' confident in the difficulties he encountered from some of the theologians ³⁾; in so much that on Sept. 5, 1528, a letter was addressed to him, which was a general enumeration of the various contradictors amongst the different orders, and which evidently was devised for the public ⁴⁾. In several of those letters mention is made of Lips' studies : he takes an interest in Erasmus' publications, collects proverbs for a new edition, or looks about for texts and books by St. Augustine, which he collates with his or his great friend's copies, in so much that the latter relied on him, together with Dorp and Vives, to start the great edition of St. Augustine's works ⁵⁾. On one hand Lips kept in close touch with the leading humanists : the Tournai teacher Melchior Viandulus ⁶⁾, the Hebrew professor John Campensis ⁷⁾, Gerard Geldenhouwer ⁸⁾ and Gerard Lister ⁹⁾; on the other, leading men applied to him as to Erasmus' confident : amongst them the dominican Walter Ruys ¹⁰⁾; also James Thomas, subprior, and James Cortebach, monk, of Our Lady's Throne ¹¹⁾; he moreover greatly influenced several young students, like Charles Sucket, of Bruges ¹²⁾, and Gerard Rym, of Ghent ¹³⁾, communicating his eagerness for work and study.

In the midst of that growing activity, Lips was appointed

¹⁾ Allen, III, 898, 899, 900, 901.

²⁾ Allen, IV, 1035, 1036; *supra*, pp. 204-5.

³⁾ Allen, IV, 1040, 1048, 1049 (Oct.-Dec. 1519), 1174 (Dec. 1520).

⁴⁾ Allen, VII, 2045.

⁵⁾ Allen, IV, 1086, 7, 1189, 9, V, 1473, 5-9, VI, 1547, 1-18.

⁶⁾ LipsE, 751-2; *supra*, p. 497.

⁷⁾ LipsE, 727, 783, 787.

⁸⁾ LipsE, 774-5.

⁹⁾ Allen, IV, 1140, 4-6; *supra*, p. 143, &c.

¹⁰⁾ Allen, V, 1473, 1-4, VI, 1547, 28; LipsE, 766; cp. *Cran.*, 148, f, 172, 9. Lips wrote to dissuade Prior Stephen van Heetvelde from having his libel on Erasmus read in the refectory of *Rubeavallis*, Nov. 6, 1525: LipsE, 750; Allen, VII, 1804, 204.

¹¹⁾ LipsE, 763-765, 767-772.

¹²⁾ LipsE, 728, 760-3; cp. *Cran.*, xxix, 74, a, 204, a.

¹³⁾ LipsE, 693-716; *supra*, p. 247.

as 'sodalis' of Michael de Droomere, prior of the canonesses-regular, 'Madelonettes', of 'St. Mary Magdalen of Bethania', 'Croix en Lens', situated at Lens-St. Remy, about 12 kms to the South of Waremmme, near the high road from Brussels and Louvain to Liège ¹⁾. As often happened, he was sent to assist an elder *confrater* in his work, perhaps provisionally, soon after May 2, 1525 ²⁾; in 1526 the situation became more stable for he removed all his books and documents ³⁾, and set to work in what Goclenius called a *solitudo*, to which it was often very difficult to dispatch books and heavy parcels ⁴⁾. He occasionally visited Louvain : as, in 1526, at the feast of the patron-saint of the convent, St. Martin ; on June 17, 1527 he writes to Erasmus from Goclenius' room ⁵⁾. In December 1528 he had already gone through a great deal of work towards an index to the four Gospels ⁶⁾, and towards Erasmus' editions of St. Augustine, 1528-29, and of St. Ambrose, 1527-1538. The quality of that work is sampled by the fact that, having discovered some treatises, he attributed them to St. Ambrose : although Erasmus did not accept it, his opinion has been proved correct by subsequent and modern scholarship ⁷⁾.

He remained at Lens as assistant to the 'prior', until at his death, Febr. 14, 1535, he was elected as his successor by unanimous votes ⁸⁾. He from then on managed the community as Prior, in which quality Morinck addresses him in this letter ⁹⁾,

¹⁾ No vestige remains of the convent 'Croix à (or en) Lens'.

²⁾ One of the latest letters dated from Louvain was written on 'altera Philippi et Jacobi', 1525 : LipsE, 763.

³⁾ In his letter of June 17, 1527, he declares that he lives 'cum virginibus', viz., in the convent ; he hopes his recently despatched notes are not lost since he had had so much trouble with them 'propter mutatam sedem' ; he mentions that the money paid for his work on St. Augustine comes in handy : he wants it for the 'mutata habitatio', the more so as his brother, who probably used to supply him with 'pocket money', has stopped all gratuities, as he is engaged in a law-suit against the Convent about the heritage of their father, who had died without leaving a will : Allen, VII, 1837, 5, 45-9, 54-5. The convent received for Martin's share 280 Rh. fl. and a life-rent of 54 Rh. fl. : *ChronSMart.*, 315.

⁴⁾ Allen, VII, 2026, 8 (August 16, 1528), 2076, 39-40.

⁵⁾ Allen, VII, 1837 79.

⁶⁾ Allen, VII, 1837, 60-73, 2076.

⁷⁾ Allen, VII, 2076, *pr.*

⁸⁾ *ChronSMart.*, 176, 177 ; local tradition asserts that Lips also was 'curatus' of the parish of Abolens, a hamlet of Lens.

⁹⁾ Allen, III, 750, *pr* ; NèveRen., 206.

and with which he remained invested until his decease. He availed himself of the calm atmosphere to study the Fathers of the Church, and his work was so highly appreciated that the Basle printers, after Erasmus' death, applied to him for some of their most important undertakings. For Froben he revised the second issue of St. Augustine, 1543, and of St. Hilary, March 1550 ¹⁾; he greatly contributed to that of Symmachus, September 1549 ²⁾. He also had Chromatius' *Homiliae*, published in Louvain, and wrote a work on Macrobius. Still his greatest accomplishment were his notes and castigations on St. Augustine, which were the result of twenty years' study. It was especially on volume x, with the most neglected texts, that he concentrated his attention: he was working at it in 1542 when the dread of van Rossem's Gelderland soldiers drove him, probably with the whole of his priory, to the security of the walls of Huy, where he found a shelter in the abbey of Neufmoustier. The annotations prepared for that volume could not be carried to Basle, and having been partly lost since, they were made over again and finally published in the Basle edition of 1569, and in that which Plantin printed for the Theologians of Louvain, 1576-77 ³⁾. For that work Lips had found two collaborators in his *confratres* John de Coster and John Vlimmer, both of whom became successively priors of St. Martin's ⁴⁾. The latter edited in March 1564 some *Sermones aliaque Opuscula* of St. Augustine, thus continuing the great work of Lips, whom he warmly praises in his dedication to Martin van Rythoven, Bishop of Ypres ⁵⁾.

Thus Lips by his strenuous, yet modest, labour gave a powerful impulse to his brethren, not only for Patristic stu-

¹⁾ *BibBelg.*, 652; *BibEr.*, II, 11, 31; Allen, III, 750, *pr*; *NèveRen.*, 206-7.

²⁾ *Iusti Lipsi Epistolarum decades xix*: Harderwijk, 1621: 100.

³⁾ AugO, XII, 377-382; *NèveRen.*, 207.

⁴⁾ John de Coster, called the Dove on account of his character, entered the order in 1533, and was elected 13th prior in 1554; he died on March 9, 1559, and was succeeded by John Vlimmer, who had entered the order in 1543; he lived until February 3, 1612: *ChronSMart.*, 76-8, 180-1, 182-3, 255-6, 260-4; Mol., 289; *BibBelg.*, 485, 577; *infra*, pp. 578-9.

⁵⁾ Louvain, Jer. Wellæus: the dedicatory letter is reproduced by Migne: AugO, XII, 377-382. Cp. Sweerts, 482; *SweMonSep.*, 224.

dies, but for any other sort of work or research, by which his *confratres* Nicolas van Winghe ¹⁾ and John Garet ²⁾, amongst others, made themselves illustrious. Even the communities of Our Lady's Throne, Grobbendonck, and of Groenendaal felt his influence : several of their members corresponded with Lips, eagerly applying to him for direction in their studies, as can be judged from the letters written and received before he left for Lens ³⁾, where his literary and erudite activity was far more intense and productive than it had ever been in Louvain.

And yet he did not consider his priorship as a mere occasion to bury himself in books and manuscripts. He showed, that an erudite is not necessarily a man devoid of all practical sense. Few of his predecessors or successors did as much for the convent as this world-renowned editor. He managed so carefully the estate entrusted to him that he enriched it with newly-erected buildings, and with landed property which he purchased, not forgetting the divine service for which he acquired new vestments and furniture. Instead of burdening the canonesses with the costs of those improvements, he gave them a splendid example of unselfish devotion, for he gathered the youth of the place and of the neighbourhood, and by teaching them against a recompense, took a great part of the load on his own shoulders. For the children which he thus called unto him, and the youths who came to him for instruction, he wrote a ' Gallo-latinum ' book, the chronicle says ⁴⁾ — most probably a Latin handbook for his Walloon boys, possibly an adaptation, if not a reedition, of John of Brecht's *Grammatica*, which is recorded to have been printed under his care by Plantin in Antwerp.

It was at Lens, where he resided, except for a few short visits to Louvain or Antwerp, that the great, modest erudite

¹⁾ Cp. the biographical sketch serving as introduction to Epp. 4 and 5.

²⁾ Born in Louvain, he entered the order in 1543, and having been at the head of Mishagen and Ghent convents, died on Jan. 21, 1570; he wrote many dogmatic and controversial treatises : *ChronSMart.*, 181, 254; *Mol.*, 289; *BibBelg.*, 504; *Sweerts*, 426; *SweMonSep.*, 223; *Miræus*, II, 85.

³⁾ *LipsE*, 763-773.

⁴⁾ *ChronSMart.*, 177.

died a peaceful death, borne down by age and fatigue from his restless labour, on March 23, 1555; he was buried in the Chapel of 'Croix en Lens', where John de Coster, since 1554 prior of St. Martin's, had a monument erected in deep gratitude for what Lips had done to his brethren and to the canonesses: 'omnibus incredibile sui desiderium reliquit' ¹⁾. His great-nephew Justus ²⁾, then eight years old, was to make the name of Lips even more celebrated ³⁾.

Martinus Lips' epitaph, composed by his disciple John de Coster, mentions his deep religious spirit: 'Sanctissimo sacerdoti' it reads, and 'viro singulari modestia et insigni pietate' ⁴⁾. It is most interesting to note that those qualities were given to a man who had been a thoroughly devoted friend and protagonist of Erasmus ever since he knew him. Not that he did not find any contradictors amongst his 'confratres': some, like Nicolas van Winghe, and the subprior Rochus, perhaps also the old John Fagius, or Hagius, were at times even most vehement ⁵⁾. Evidently intelligent and clever men, like his prior John Aerts ⁶⁾, protected him from every difficulty which in those days of exciting controversy might have been raised against him. For Erasmus confided to him his innermost thoughts about his standing and relation to Luther ⁷⁾,

¹⁾ LipsE, 790-91; *ChronSMart.*, 253; *SweMonSep.*, 223.

²⁾ *Iusti Lipsi Sapientiae et Litterarum Antistitis Fama Postuma*: Antwerp, Plantin, 1613: 112; *Lipsi Epist.*: Harderwijk, 1621: 101-7.

³⁾ *ChronSMart.*, 177-8, 253; Mol., 289; GoelE, 10 v; *BibBelg.*, 652-3; LipsE, 665-680; Allen, III, 750, *pr*; Hurter, II, 1474-5; FG, 382; Vern., 267, 314; Sweerts, 550-1; Miræus, II, 53; *LatCont.*, 381-3; NèveRen., 205-12.

⁴⁾ LipsE, 790.

⁵⁾ Cp. introduction to Ep. 4.

⁶⁾ John Aerts, Arnoldi, of Nossegheem, entered St. Martin's in 1487; he was elected 8th prior, Jan. 2, 1493; still on account of weak health he resigned in 1497. Having recovered he was elected 11th prior, Jan. 18, 1509, and devoting himself to the welfare of others, he restored both discipline and the convent itself: he built a new infirmary and made other improvements, which gave him the name of *Prior Platteborse*. In difficult and troubled times he gave the example of work and patience; he died in peace on Sept. 17, 1537: *ChronSMart.*, 64, 68-74, 174-5, 250-1, 309; *BrabChorSa.*, II, 124; LipsE, 731, 753, 764, 773, 799.

⁷⁾ About November 1519, before the Louvain theologians condemned some of Luther's writings, Erasmus told Lips about his 'epistola ad Luterum', and added: 'ipse in hoc edid*<i>*, vt testetur nihil mihi esse rei cum Lutero. Et si faueam, quid esset prodigii?' : Allen, IV, 1040, 2-9. About February 1520, Erasmus wrote to him: 'De Lutero mouent stultam ac perniciosam tragoediam' &c. : Allen, IV, 1070, 3-6.

and, without doubt, communicated to him his disappointment, since, instead of moderation and calm reasoning, wild severity and peremptory rashness was applied to remedy an evil that was growing rampant. That spirit seems to have been also that of Lips ; at any rate it nearly brought him into trouble. Amongst his letters there is one to Sebastian Nautzen, of Ghent : probably the Sebastian Auguste Neuzen, from Saftingen, who being promoted in the Lily in 1520, taught there some time before going to Marburg, where he professed Hebrew ¹). On April 15, 1525 Lips wrote to him about his Lutheran books and his doctrines, not censuring him on that account, but enjoining him secrecy, both for the books and his opinions ; he tried to gain his confidence by declaring himself also a partisan of freedom in thoughts, and encouraging him not to be afraid at his belonging to an order : ‘ non ego cuculli ’, he wrote, ‘ sed cucullus meus est ’ ²). That letter seems to have come abroad, and to clear himself he wrote a *Purgatio* to his prior John Aerts : he declared that in order to gain that young man to better feelings, he had been very lenient to him, trying to attract, rather than to repel, him ³). As Lips does not seem to have had any trouble about his religious opinions, it follows that the explanations offered to his prior about the strange passages in that letter had given satisfaction.

In the same letter Lips refers to Erasmus : he reproaches Neuzen with criticizing the great Humanist both for differing from Luther and for not telling the truth more courageously to secular and ecclesiastical princes ; he declares that even Luther is not always right in the opinion of the most Lutheranizing of his partisans, for example (Ecolampadius. He also frees Erasmus from the charge of pusillanimity towards the great, and asserts that in his opinion ‘ Christi spiritus ad hoc Erasmum miserit ut mundum leniter, mansuete, ac ciuilitur a viciis auocaret : ac nunc quoque auocat : et cernimus illum non omnem perdidisse operam ’ ⁴).

¹) He died there May 1, 1536 : ReusDoc., iv, 247 ; Foppens, ii, 1091.

²) LipsE, 736-8.

³) LipsE, 738-748 : that *Purgatio* may have been written at Lens.

⁴) LipsE, 737.

That vindication of his great friend and model, for which he had not to offer any justification to his prior ¹⁾, is quite in accordance with Lips' character, who, wherever he could, showed his full and decided sympathy with Erasmus. He had done so at the criticisms of his 'confrater' Nicolas van Winghe — who probably showed him in 1537 the letter to Hezius conveying the opinion of their common friend Morinck ²⁾. It is most interesting to notice the latter's particular standing : without doubt he was as great an admirer of Erasmus as Lips : both of them highly appreciated his literary abilities and his extraordinary erudition ; and even they seem to be equally convinced of the truth and righteousness of his views about religion and Church discipline, and of his schemes for renewing and refining the religious spirit in general. They differed in their judgment about his criticisms on persons and perverse uses, but probably only theoretically : for Lips declaring that Erasmus was to do his reforming work 'leniter, mansuete, ac ciuilliter', can hardly have sanctioned some of his wild and cruel charges. Although approving of them in themselves, in so far as they were corrections of wrong conceptions or practices, Morinck decidedly condemned the way in which they were expressed ; not so much out of pity for the victims of the biting sarcasm, as out of concern for the expediency of the criticism : indeed he considered it unsuitable, and more productive of anger and obstinacy than of improvement. He also charges Erasmus with imprudence and tactlessness, spoiling his most valuable work on the New Testament by unnecessary sneers at the translation that had been, and still was, used by the Church.

No doubt but Lips found a ready answer to several of Morinck's remarks : he may have shown that the moderate and lenient criticisms of Gerson and others had proved insufficient, and that the reform was too urgently needed, and the parties concerned too often warned, to stand any longer on

¹⁾ John Aerts is often mentioned in the letters from, and to, Erasmus, who occasionally thanks him for a *munusculum*, or a *pignus mutuae beneuolentiae*, as in March 1521 and on February 11, 1525 : Allen, iv, 1190, 4-5, vi, 1547, 27-8.

²⁾ Viz., Ep. 2 ; cp. introduction to Ep. 4.

ceremony. He may have remarked that there could hardly be any question of the people being scandalized, as Erasmus by his style and, even more by the use of Latin, only addressed the intellectual aristocracy of humanity, or those who were trained to it. The vehement tone of some of his pamphlets jotted down on the spur of the moment, occasionally with a speed that stands out as a record, both for writing and printing ¹⁾, may have been explained, if not justified, by the cruel way in which he was treated : it thus seems that, even soon after his lifetime, all blame was laid on him, as his sarcasms remained, black on white, whereas the words and the taunts that had provoked them, having vanished, were as if they had never been pronounced. It is easy talking about ticklishness, vanity and over-sensitiveness, when one never has experienced the humiliating and impotent consciousness of being held up, unjustly, from the pulpit to the horror of the multitudes, by those who personify truth and religion, as a hateful, mischievous, corrupt being.

Whatever this may be, Morinck represents without doubt a considerable part of the intellectual portion of the nation ; his opinions may have been influenced by his former teachers, especially by Briart, who seems to have had a similar high esteem of Erasmus, although he did not approve of all his wild sallies. Yet in this letter, like in that to Hezius, he evinces a great independence and freedom of judgment, especially in the appreciation of some of Erasmus' chief enemies, like Baechem and Latomus, who are thus being forced on the consideration of his staunch admirer. It sounds almost as an intimation of the final judgment on the great Man : a due appreciation of his erudite editions of the New Testament and of the Fathers gives him a brilliant place in the history of scholarship ; a calm and unprejudiced estimation of his sincere efforts to make Church and Society better than he had found them, — even though he sometimes considered himself

¹⁾ Thus on receiving on February 9, 1529, Alberto Pio's *Responsio Paraenetica*, Erasmus composed a reply taking up 80 quarto pages, which was completed on February 13, and, with other matter, was printed by Froben in time to be ready for Frankfurt Spring Fair : Allen, vi, 1634, *pr.*

jealously as the only person able to do so, — places him at the head of a line of men who shaped the modern times, and who owe much of their value to his example, though neither they, nor their votaries would ever admit of that indebtedness. Most of all his teaching and influence is still at work through his powerful style and his vivid representation of thoughts and conceptions, which make him, even at present, as great and significant now that four centuries have passed over his grave, as in the years when he was the intellectual monarch of the world.

SUMMARY. M's letter to Hezius was unduly communicated to L (1-31), who, in consequence reproached him for censuring Erasmus' freedom of speech (32-46). Protesting against all semblance of animosity (47-72), M does not judge that freedom worthy of praise merely because it has some good results (73-104); others have also opposed corrupt practices in the Church, but with moderation (105-123), whilst Erasmus does so beyond measure and necessity (124-189), causing anger instead of correction (190-248). His most valuable work on the New Testament is spoiled by his scorning the Vulgate (249-283), and by his raising questions which he should have left untouched (284-301). He most worthily edited the works of the old theologians, but he despises the new (302-318). To him is due the purer language now used, but not the new spirit of studying divinity, at least not in Louvain (319-336). Although right in many criticisms, as in those of the Roman Court (337-347), he cannot place himself in the circumstances of those whom he wants to heal and to improve (348-385). Eloquence, though a great quality, it is only a dress, not the being itself (386-412); conclusion (413-445).

GERARDUS MORINGUS D. MARTINO LYPPIO
PRIORI CRUSALENSI .S. P.

Vnde et quo authore exemplum epistolæ cuiusdam meæ
ad Dominum Hezium nactus fueris, Amantissime Lyp-
sj, facile conijtio : quamquam is, quisquis est (nam iam

Textual notes. GERARDUS &c.] on f 212 r
Crusaleñ.

Crusalensi] ms

Priori Crusalensi] Prior of 'Croix en Lens' : cp. *supra*, p. 534.

1. epistolæ] without any doubt Morinck's reply to Hezius reprinted here as *Ep. 2*, as follows from the passage quoted : ll. 36-39.

3. is] probably Morinck communicated a copy of his letter to Nicolas van Winghe, who was Hezius' friend, and shared his opinions about Erasmus; it stated his views, which were not completely in the Great Man's favour; no doubt the letter was handed to Lips on that account, as a corrective to his partiality.

dissimulo) ea in re non satis officium fidemque bonj virj
 5 præstitisse videtur. Siquidem multa subinde cum amicis
 commentamur, et velutj sine arbitris liberius effundimus,
 quæ non protinus enunciarj, et ad alios dimanare veli-
 mus, etiamsj eius generis essent quæ enunciarj magnj
 non referret : siue quod ad alios nihil prorsus attinent,
 10 siue quod enunciata ad stomachum eorum minime factura
 creduntur, eoque minus habitura tum ponderis, tum
 fructus. Attamen istud quicquid est perfidiæ hoc fero
 leuius, quod a simplicitate et sedulitate tibj obsequendj
 (cuj tantillum denegandum non putabat), potius quam a
 15 malignitate studioque aliquid odij mihi conflandj, descen-
 disse arbitror. Atque id etiam multo leuius, quod hæc
 tibj, hoc est viro probo et candido, communicauerit,
 quique non facile quicquam facturus sit vnde aliquid
 amico incommodj aut offensæ nascj posset. Nam vt
 20 ingenue dicam, equidem Dominum Hezium, virum pium
 sane et eruditum, ac de me optime meritum, haud lubens
 offenderim; quod tamen futurum auguror, si hæc ad se
 scripta passim ita per manus omnium diuagarj audierit.
 Interpretabitur quippe hoc curatum esse animo se tradu-
 25 cendj vt literarum et Erasmj hostem, quod vt fortassis
 minimj faceret, tamen egre esset, procul dubio, id struc-
 tum esse ab eo a quo minime deceret, hoc est a me, in
 quem tot eius luculenta extent merita. Quaprepter vbj
 illa nostra satis legisse videberis, fac vt aut concerpas
 30 aut Vulcano tradas. Nihil hoc tempore neque gratius
 facere, neque iucundius potes.

Eo quasj pro impetrato habito, — neque enim dubito,
 qua es æquitate, quin impetraturus sim, — respondebo
 ad epistolam tuam, qua a censura quadam nostra de
 35 Domino Erasmo dissentire te ais, præsertim in eo, vbj
 ‘libertatem linguæ eius, fastidium pene omnium quæ in
 orbe geruntur, confidentiam fere omnia quæ in Ecclesia

21. optime meritum] evidently by providing the necessary material for the *Vita Adriani Sexti* (*supra*, pp. 484-86); probably also for helping him to some benefice, possibly even that referred to on ll. 340, *sq.* Cp. *MorinckEp.* 2, 402-5.

36. libertatem ... (39) genus] quoted from *MorinckEp.* 2, 48-52.

hactenus vsurpata fuere, arrodendj, vexandj, eleuandj, conuellendj, et alia id genus', mihj minime probarj
 40 affirmo, colligisque enumeratione iuditio tuo — nam sic opinor, — sat firma, hanc ipsam malam, viciosam, illaudatamque, — nam his vocibus jronice vteris, — Erasmj libertatem tantum bonj reipublicæ Christianæ intulisse, vt ob id non modo non vituperandam, verum etiam
 45 impensissime laudandam censeas : hoc fere eorum quæ habes caput et summa est.

Quæ priusquam diluam, credere te peruelim, quj candidius Erasmo faueat, et honorificentius de eo sentiat, atque ego, vix esse quemquam ; in quo sj fidem non
 50 habeas, facere possum testimonio plurimorum, quj me Louanij in professione publica annotationes eius in Nouum Testamentum simul et paraphrases plus millies nominatim citasse audiueri, et quidem nonnumquam cum multo honore : adeo vt dum quidam auditorum
 55 meorum in publica responsione quam Quotlibeticam vocant, parum sane et Catholice quædam effudisset, citatis quibusdam ex Erasmj scriptis, eoque ad palinodiam a Theologis cogeretur, hoc lemmate se tueretur : Professor, inquires, publicus Moringus impune citare Erasmus
 60 permittitur : cur mihj esse fraudj debet quj Erasmus citauerim ? vt in posterum gratia vitandæ inuidiæ inter profitendum nomen Erasmj numquam ediderim. Possunt idem demonstrare aliquot meæ ad Erasmus scriptæ literæ, si modo haberj possent, plenæ sane erga virum
 65 studij et voluntatis, vt ob id suis articulis aliquoties rescribere sit dignatus. Possunt denique locupletissime testari ij, quibus cum subinde animj causa Louanij spaciabar, si quando mentio Erasmj incideret. Quapropter item velim credas, si quid ad Dominum Hezium scripserim, aut etiamnunc ad te scribam, in quo vir maximus mihj minus probetur, id non proficiscj ab inuidia ac maleuolentia.

57. a Theologis &c.] on f 212 v

55. Quotlibeticam] cp. *supra*, pp. 388, 472.

64. literæ &c.] only one seems to be extant : Allen, vii, 1994.

Quj enjm fiat vt ingenio tam nobilj, doctrinæ tam
 claræ, facundiæ tam raræ, male velim ? sed quod sepo-
 75 sitis affectibus syncereque sic sentiam, fortassis falso,
 sed tamen non maligne, rursus neque solus, vt nostj.
 Cæterum quando hic mihj fidem haberj satis existimo,
 ad rem accedo, et in vniuersum dico, non protinus recte
 fierj quod aliqua ex parte prodest. Prosunt enim sæuj et
 80 asperj præsidēs reipublicæ, dum metu oppressionis et
 tyrannidis subditos arctius in officio continent. At quis
 ob id sæuitiam eorum probauerit ? Prosunt in ludis durj
 et plagosj Orbilij, dum metu flagrj discipulos eo acrius
 ad studia concitant. At euj immanitas illa in tenellam
 85 ætatem admodum commendetur ? Certe Quintiliano viro
 prudentij non commendatur. Et quamquam exemplum
 conferendum non est, profuerunt Arius, Pelagius, Mace-
 donius, et alij, quotquot fuere ab incunabulis Ecclesiæ
 hæreticj, quod, ab eis data occasione, Catholicj quæ antea
 90 in literis diuinis obscura opertaque fuere, in claram lucem
 posteris eruere. Atquj quis, obsecro, ob hoc vesaniam
 eorum et arrogantiam, nisj æque vesanus et arrogans,
 velit collaudare ? Atque adeo eius generis infinita sunt
 quæ per occasionem quidem aliquo conferunt, sed nullo
 95 pacto recte fiunt. Neque te fugere opinor, Ambrosium
 dicere in Officijs, tametsj opinione Ethnicorum aliquid
 vtile esse possit in generibus bonorum, quod idem non
 sit honestum, et contra honestum quod non sit utile :
 tamen Christianum nihil vtile censere debere, quod ipsum
 100 honestum non sit. Itaque, vt non diffiteor Erasmus vsu
 libertatis plurimum in plerisque profuisse, ita non fateor
 eum hoc ipsum vbique salua honestate fecisse, quippe non
 ea modestia et ciuilitate qua oportuerat : atque ob id
 minus recte.

105 Vt fingamus virum egregium in multis admodum vere

77. fidem] before it is er satis

83. plagosj Orbilij] Horatius, *Epist.* II, 1, 71 : memini quæ pla-
 gosum mihi paruo/Orbilium dictare...

85. Quintiliano] *Institutio Oratoria*, I, iii, 14, sq.

95. Ambrosium] *De Officijs*, III, 2 : MigneL, xvi, 147, sq.

dixisse, tamen veritas amara est, et rugosæ frontis :
 ideoque si eam recipj velimus, vt meus quidem fert ani-
 mus, consultum fuisset eam aliqua illecebra et blanditie
 commendare. Nam eo facilius in animos eorum quibus
 110 fuisset oblata irrepsisset, quemadmodum iuxta Lucretij
 sententiam, prudentes medicj daturj pueris tetra absyn-
 thia, prius pocula melle circumlinunt. Coarguerunt et
 alij vitia et superstitiones, quæ tum vulgo obambulabant :
 quorum cum alij, tum Johannes Gersonensis est, Cancel-
 115 larius Parrhiensis : is quem nostj. At longe maiore
 reuerentia, modestia, et temperantia quam Erasmus nos-
 ter, salua pace dixerim ! Alij nihil indulsisse affectibus,
 sed dumtaxat id quod re vera taxandum erat, taxasse
 videntur : et rursus rerum vitijs succursum, non res ipsas
 120 per se innoxias extinctas voluisse videntur : in hoc imi-
 tatj laudatos chyrurgicos, quj non præsecant, neque caute-
 rio adurunt membra quibus leniorj alio auxilio succurrj
 potest.

Erasmus vero noster — incolumj gratia dixerim — hac
 125 ne in parte modum excedat, ipse tu Palæmon sis. Num-
 quid obscurum est, vt vbique ceremonias pias improbet,
 eleuet, extenuet : non omnino quidem male, quia in ijs fas-
 tidium pietatis nullo modo situm est, sed id maiore mode-
 ratione, sententia mea et multorum etiam aliorum, facere
 130 debuisset. Nam sj ea vehementia ceremonias improbemus
 qua ipse improbauit, quæ tandem scintilla, quæ mica
 pietatis in animis plebeiorum remanserit ? Alitur quippe
 huiusmodj ritibus simplicium animus, non secus atque
 infantes liquidioris cibo, quia solidioris nondum capaces
 135 sunt. Et anne semper tales in plebe futurj sint, huiusmodj
 cibo indigentes, ipse tu iudices. Quorsum itaque pertinuit
 tantoperere vbique exagitare, quo sublato omnia protinus
 apud crassam multitudinem frigeant ? Neque rursus te

108. eam aliqua &c.] on f 213 r 119. rursus] corr from rusus

111. prudentes medicj &c.] Lucretius, *Rer. Nat.*, 1, 935-40.

114. Gersonensis] cp. James L. Connolly, *John Gerson, Reformer and Mystic* : Louvain, 1928 : 90-112.

125. Palæmon] Virgil, *Bucolica* III, 50.

clam est, vt arbitror, qua verborum licentia, quibus
 140 salibus et cauillis, passim ordinem monasticum insectetur.
 Dices fortassis : verum, sed in ijs in quibus viciosus est,
 non in alijs ! Vt fingamus : at id longe alia ratione factum
 oportuit, sj modo fructum voluisset. Verbis adhibenda
 sobrietas fuisset et sanitas, vt interim suus ordinj honor
 145 constilisset, et omnia vndique ea prudentia munienda, ne
 quis inde ansam scandalj et offensionis arripere potuisset.
 Quid, quæso, bonj habet quod in Colloquio de Apotheosj
 Capnionis, Dominicanos, quibuscum illj doctissimo viro
 super nonnullis pugna erat, figurate picas, vultures,
 150 harpyas, et fedissimas volucres appellat, ad quarum fœto-
 rem collatum oletum, sansucinum aut foliatum viderj
 possit ? Rursus, in Colloquio Seraphico, illæ τρισαγία
 ἀποκαλύψεις quid frugis afferunt, quod Franciscus legem
 suam angelj manibus bis descriptam tradidit Seraphicis
 155 fratribus ? Ad hæc quod Dominus sibj curæ fore promi-
 serit ne deficeret semicalceatorum et cinctorum fune
 populus vsque ad extremum iudicij diem. Jam quod
 Dominus Francisco iurauerit neminem male moriturum
 quicumque in habitu Seraphico sepultus esset. Adde
 160 quod ordinj illj prærogatiua data sit, licere eis homines
 sententia ipsorum damnatos, vel veneno necare vel viuos
 defodere citra irregularitatis periculum, narrata inibj
 fabula non ociose sane transmittenda. Et id genus alia
 inibj permulta, iudicio certe meo non approbanda. Quod
 165 sj tu, aut quiuis alius, in diuersa fuerit sententia, et ea
 quidem approbauerit, mea quidem bona gratia fiat.
 Amabit sine riuallj, quantum ad me pertinuerit, quisquis

145. ne] *before it vt is er* 151. sansucinum] *r sampsu-* 153
 (also 158, 226). Franciscus] *ms : fran-* 155. curæ &c.] *on f 213 v*

147. Apotheosj &c.] EOO, 1, 690, F, sq.

152. Colloquio Seraphico &c.] viz., *Exsequiæ Seraphicæ* : EOO,
 1, 866, E, sq.

152. τρισαγία ἀποκαλύψεις] EOO, 1, 869, c.

155. Dominus sibj &c.] EOO, 1, 869, D, sq.

157. Jam quod &c.] EOO, 1, 870, c.

159. sepultus esset] in the *Colloquium* : *moretur.*

160. prærogatiua &c.] EOO, 1, 872, A.

- fuerit; neque enim omnes eiusdem esse sententiæ possumus. Accedit his quod li° j Antibarbarorum his quidem
 170 verbis habet: ‘Sed inter has beluas verius quam homines, nullum odiosius aut pestilentius, aut Musis omnibus infensius, quam istj quidam religionis larua personatj, de quibus modo dicere ceperam, quj venerando cultu, simulatæque sanctimonix specie, non mediocrem auctori-
 175 tatem sibj pararunt apud idiotas, præsertim apud mulierculas, quarum et stultitia abutuntur, et libidinj fortiter succurrunt, taurj egregie obesj, neque vulgariter mutoni-
 180 atj’: &c. Queso te, per Deum immortalem, si rem iuste æstimes, hæcne verba hominis grauis et moderati sunt, addo etiam verecundj, et non potius lenonis et cynedj, sit verbo venia? Si quis eum ad modum cuipiam seorsum in aurem loqueretur, opinor gratiam non haberet; et multo minus, vt arbitror, sj concionator ad promiscuam multitudinem sic verba faceret. Proinde, quanto minus
 185 habere debet quj hæc literis mandat, lectitanda non apud vnum et alterum modo homunculum, sed apud omnes sparsim prope orbis nationes, et duratura, non ad vnum modo seculum, sed multa, vt semper erunt quibus immodice scripta virj ob nitorem arridebunt.
- 190 Si barbariem explosam e monachis voluit, nihil ad rem faciebat appellare tauros obesos et bene mutoniatos. Tantum abest vt, his salibus ludens, vnquam effecturus sit quod eum intendisse profers, vt, etiamsi decem milibus annorum sic ageret, tamen rem infinite deteriore potius
 195 redditurum existimem. Neque enim modo quid dicamus, sj monere, hortarij, reprehendere cum effectu velimus, verum etiam quo modo intuendum est. Consideranda sunt eorum quibuscum agimus ingenia, studia, et affectus, et ad eum scopum omnia collineanda. Si Paulus in
 200 Areopago apud Epicuros et Stoicos disputans, statim conuitijs egisset, appellando dementes, deliros, arro-

179. grauis] *added over line*

169. Antibarbarorum] *Lib. 1: EOO, x, 1699, F, sq.*

200. Areopago] *Act. Apost., xvii, 19, sq.*

gantes, quj ad id tempus in fastigio verae sapientiae
constitisse sibj visj essent, cum ne extremam quidem, vt
aiunt, lineam eius adhuc attigissent : et eius generis alia
205 odiosa ingessisset, procul dubio, operam omnem effu-
disset. Et ipse Erasmus, libro 2^o Ecclesiastæ, vbj de
genere obiurgatorio disserit, idipsum aperte obseruandum
docet, vt velut obsignatis suis ipsius eum tabellis, vt
aiunt, strictum teneas. Siquidem inter reliqua sic inquit :
210 ‘ Principum, aut Magistratum, aut Episcoporum scelera
apud populum acrius insectarj, seditiosum est. Sæpe
minorj malo tollerantur horum vicia. Vtilius est his ima-
ginem bonj Principis ob oculos ponere et admonere, vt
se quisque ad hoc speculum intueatur. Quod sj videbitur
215 vtilis reprehensio, sit generalis : quod oportet esse perpe-
tuum, quoad fierj potest, vt nec certa persona, nec certus
ordo videatur impetitus’. Et paulo ante : ‘ Si res’, inquit,
‘ postulet indignationem, talis sit, qualis est patris in
filium, non qualis hostis in hostem. Sentiat quj obiurga-
220 tur, iram non ex odio, sed ex amore nascj, nec quæri
vindictam, sed correctionem’. Et alia plurima eodem
spectantia. Quod si, vt in reprehendendo nec certa per-
sona, nec certus ordo videatur impetitus, perpetuum esse
oportere censet, quidnj ergo ipse legem seruat quam alijs
225 praescribit ? Cur ita intemperanter, editis nominibus
ordinum, iam in Franciscanos, iam in Dominicanos, iam
in Theologos, ac nescio in quos non, sordes suas emungit?
sit honor dicto. Nisj fortassis dicemus, — quemadmodum
Petrarcha Ciceronem vt philosophum scripsisse, vt homi-
230 nem vixisse ait, propterea quod cum multa sparsim in
operibus suis de fortj tolerantia aduersorum conscrip-
sisset, ipse in aduersis totus mollis et elumbis esset, vt
apud Senecam Liuius prodidit : — jta etiam eum hæc

204. generis &c.] *on f* 214 *r* 212. minorj] *M*; *EOO* minore 212.
tollerantur] *r* toler- 218. postulet] *M*; *EOO* poscet

206. Ecclesiastæ] *EOO*, v, 889, *E*, *sq.*

210. Principum &c.] *EOO*, v, 892, *D*, *E*. 217. Si &c.] *ibid.*, *B*, *c.*

229. Ciceronem &c.] *PetrE*, iii, 264; *Sandys*, ii, 4-8; *cp.* *Cicero's Epistolae* (3, 5, 6, &c.) to *Sulpicius*, (3, 4, 7, 14, &c.) to *Terentia*, &c.

233. apud Senecam] *Epistul. Mor. Lib. XVI*, v, 7, *sq.*

quidem vt rhetorem conscripsisse, sed vt hominẽ non
 235 semper moribus præstitisse. Quis enim ita perpetuo cir-
 cumspectus sit vt non aliquando sibj excidat ? Homo
 quippe erat, licet vir magnus, et humanj nihil alienum
 ab eo erat. Et ægre temperamus nobis ab efferuescentia
 (fateor) ab alijs lacessitj, sicutj Erasmo nostro euenit,
 240 cuj perpetua iam inde ab annis plurimis cum monachis
 conflictatio fuit. Quamquam sunt, quj eum excitasse
 crabrones, quam vicissim ipsum ab eis excitatum esse,
 potius existimant.

Cæterum de ceremonijs et monasticis ritibus, sat plene
 245 Genesius cum Erasmo disceptat, homo doctus vt videtur
 et cordatus, tametsj ej in omnibus non accedo. Videtur
 namque mihj quædam lenius frigidiusque notasse, cum
 tolerarj, quinimo defendj potuerit.

De Nouo vero Testamento restituto, nolim tecum con-
 250 tendere. Egregiam ibj operam, vtilemque Ecclesiæ Catho-
 licæ præstitit, mea certe sententia. Multa antea obscura
 illustrauit. Multa erudite explanauit. Multa denique
 viciosa repurgauit. Et tamen, ne hic quidem temperare
 sibj potest, quin passim Interpretem mordicus arripiat :
 255 cum is vbj res ferret, iuditio sapientum notandus fuisset
 honorificentius, præsertim quod tot ætatibus in summa
 apud Ecclesiam Latinam autoritate existimationeque
 fuerit, et adhuc in manibus omnium versetur, atque adeo
 publico vsu velut communj omnium suffragio vt in-
 260 dubitatæ fidej hactenus sit receptus : quod honoris sj
 non eius causa, qujquis fuerit haud satis liquet, tribuere
 voluisset, tamen velle debuisset causa Ecclesiæ Catho-
 licæ, quæ eum hactenus honore publicæ lectionis in
 ædibus sacris est dignata. Etenim quicquid grauius in
 265 illum dicitur, ex consequentj etiam in Ecclesiam dicitur,
 apud quam videlicet publice tam celebris fuerit. Dissentit

236. sit] *added over line* 240. cuj] *before it iam is er* 254.
 Interpretem &c.] *on f 214 v*

236. Homo &c.] Terence, *Haut. Timor.*, 1, 1, 25.

245. Genesius] cp. *Ep.* 2, 2, n.

254. Interpretem] viz., the Vulgate : cp. *supra*, pp. 146, 149, 156, &c

et Augustinus in versione Scripturarum ab Hieronymo,
 vt in eorum mutuis videre est epistolis; neque in eo
 negocio permultum eum collocare vult operæ, propter 70
 270 Interpretes, quibus præminentem in hoc munere autho-
 ritatem sine controuersia tribuendam censet. Sed Deus
 bone! qua hoc religione, qua demissione facit, vt ipsa ver-
 borum blandicie Hieronymus sibj caput demulcerj dicat!
 Et tamen nulla adhuc Hieronymj interpretatio propter
 275 nouitatem multum apud Ecclesiam roboris habebat. Quod
 sj id dignationis vir sanctus et idem prudens, interpreta-
 tionibus nondum fidem habentibus tribuendum duxit,
 multo vtique plus tribuendum erat ej, quæ tot ætatum
 successionibus ab omnibus pro verissima habita fuit, sj
 280 ob nihil aliud, tantum quia ab omnibus talis habita fuit.
 Veneratio namque debetur vniuersitatj, neque specie
 magnæ arrogantiae vacare potest, infensius obterere quod
 prærogatiua omnium precium habuit.

Non hic dicam de dogmatibus, vel certe motis dubijs
 285 in annotationibus, velut: vllone casu matrimonium copula
 consummatum diducj quæat; Virgone mater sub Cruce
 de diuinitate Filij Christj dubitauerit; rursus, anne aurula
 aliqua inanis gloriæ tacta fuerit, Filium inter legisperitos
 docentem offendens; — etiamsj ad hæc authores aliquot
 290 citet, sed in quibus minus probantur, vt omnes pene
 veteres aliquid habent in quibus a reliquis pene omnibus
 minus recipiuntur. Ad hæc de celibatu sacerdotum. Jam
 de titulis Epistolarum Apostolicarum; et alia plurima
 quæ hactenus, cum fructu morum et pietatis, quieta
 295 fuere, cum nunc mota, nihil aliud quam moribus pieta-
 tique haud mediocriter officiant. Nisj me fallunt omnia,
 sj vir egregius aliquanto circumspectius hic scripsisset,
 labor ille eius multo plausibilis cecidisset, cum nunc
 fastidiosum et non raro nodum in scirpo quærere dicant;
 300 jmo studio ad oblatos quosque scrupos suffodere, tantum
 si quid forte tetrionis fumj alicunde exhalet.

284. dicam] *after it vel is er*

267. Augustinus &c.] AugO, II, 156-7, 243, sq, 251, sq, &c.

299. nodum &c.] Erasmus' *Adagia*: EOO, II, 546, F.

De Theologis veteribus ab eo in lucem erutis, gratias
 satis nec agere, nec habere possumus, et præsertim quod
 doctissimis illis scholijs epistolas Diuj Hieronymj illu-
 305 strauit, opus præstans sane et præclarum, ac, vt ipse
 merito sperat, monimentum eius ære perennius. Res
 ipsa fatetur, quot illuc curas, quot vigilias et labores im-
 penderit : plures vtiq̃ue, quam Hercules ipse dum Ἀγέλου
 κόπρον e stabulis repurgat. At vero quod ita fastidiosè
 310 Theologos neotericos deprimat, quasj in eis nihil lectu
 dignum insit, profecto non placet. Fateor, sunt in Thoma,
 Scoto, Durando, et alijs plurima physica et dialectica
 potius quam Theologica; sed illa vt eiusmodj secernantur,
 reliqua vt Theologica certe legantur, et legantur quidem
 315 iterum atque iterum, cum alias ob causas, tum vero quod
 pleraque eadem quam veteres multo disserunt argutius,
 exquisitius, addo etiam apertius, cum ea ipsa a veteribus
 vmbris figurarum et troporum rhetoricorum obducantur.
 De eloquentia, splendoreque dictionis nihil pugno. Jam
 320 vero quod ratio disputandj in gymnasijs solito multo
 correctior est, non id potissimum Erasmo debetur : certe
 Louanij (nam de Lutetia alij viderint) primus gymnasium

302. De Theologis &c.] on f 214^{bis} r 306. monimentum] ms :
 monimētū 306. eius] added over line 306. perennius] corr from
 -ennis 311. Fateor] ms ffa-

304. Hieronymj] 'Opus Epistolarum diui Hieronymi Stridonensis
 cum scholijs Erasmi': Basle, J. Froben, August 1524 : *BibEr.*, II, 30.

312. Durando] prob. William Durand, or Duranti, dominican,
 bishop of Mende († 1296), the author of the *Speculum Iudiciale* :
 Hurter, II, 442-5, 534.

322. Louanij] Nicholas Daryngton, senior fellow of St. John's,
 Cambridge, who had been driven from Paris by the approach of
 the war, and studied in Louvain, attending Vives' public lessons
 on cosmography, in his letter of Febr. 14, 1522, to the Master, Henry
 Golde, wrote a eulogy of the Louvain theological exercises by
 blaming their calm placidity : 'Sunt hic mihi parum iocunda
 theologie exercitamenta. Frigide legunt, frigidius disputant,
 omnia, ut ferunt, cum modestia : quam laudarem, si esset absque
 tarditate et suis nugamentis. Parisiis clamatur vere Sorbonice et
 voce, quod dicitur, Stentorea : fremunt aliquando ad spumam
 usque et dentium stridorem : medio igitur tutissimus ibis' : *Eng-
 HistRev.*, XXII, 740 ; de Jongh, 23^o ; Brewer, III, 2052 ; *supra*, p. 4.

322. primus &c.] Morinck expresses the same deep appreciation
 of Adrian of Utrecht in his *Vita* : Burman, 13, sq.

Theologicum a physicis et alijs nugis ad seria, hoc est ad Scripturas Sacras et Leges Pontificias ac Theologos Vete-
 325 res, Pontifex Hadrianus traduxit. Sic accepi ab antecessoribus, et alioquj relictā ab eo scripta monstrant. Mox, quod ipse vidj, præceptor meus beatæ memoriæ Joannes Briardus Atheniensis. Deinde, eo defuncto, Egmondanus, Gotscalcus, Turnhaltus, Latomus; Ruardus denique, iam

325. Hadrianus] Adrian of Utrecht is recorded to have renovated the study of divinity by abandoning the reasonings of the philosophers of antiquity, and attributing the only right of argument to what is derived from Scripture or from the Fathers. He thus practically applied the principle of humanism, with which he was also in agreement in his judgment about the Vulgate, as he often quoted a different text — thus feeling the necessity of the authentic edition of Clement VIII. Books being then comparatively scarce, he could study but few of the works of the Fathers in the original texts, the others being only available to him in the quotations of the Councils or the *Corpus Juris Canonici*: ReusAdrVI.,liii, sq. It brings out the immense service rendered to theological studies by Erasmus' conscientious editions of the Fathers and the New Testament, which Adrian encouraged: EOO, ix, 753, f. Though not sharing E.'s enthusiasm for an elaborate literary style, he greatly appreciated him, in so much that he urgently invited him to come and work for the general good in Rome: *Cran.*, 28; Allen, v, 1329, 1338, 1352; Pastor, II, 99-101. In return, Erasmus, who never expressed an effusive admiration of conservative theologians, praised Adrian for his sound judgment about scholastics and divinity: EOO, III, 1411, E, F; Allen, I, 171, 12, III, 969, 17-20.

328. Briardus] Morinck praises his well-beloved master in the life he wrote: *MSGerMor.*, 392, v, sq; cp. Erasmus' opinion of his character, imparted to Lips on Sept. 5, 1528: Allen, VII, 2045, 94-110, although he greatly admired his erudition; cp. Allen, IV, 1225, 64, sq, VI, 1571, 7, sq, 1581, 247, sq.

328. Egmondanus] Nicolas Baechem, who was held up to scorn by Erasmus, in consequence of his vehement opposition to him and to humanists in general, became the butt of Nesen's cruel pamphlets: cp. *supra*, pp. 207-11, 213. After Erasmus had left for Basle, the opposition seemed to have calmed down for a time, until it flared up again in 1525 at the appearance of the book by Vincent Dierckx, to which he referred with great animosity in his letters to Lips, long after both his opponents had died: Allen, (III, 948, 136-144, VI, 1581, 239-44, VII, 1804, 203, 1913, 6,) 2045, 85-93, 111-149 (2054, 18).
 329. Gotscalcus] Rosemond: *Cran.*, 213, d, e, f; *supra*, p. 506.

329. Turnhaltus] John Driedo: *supra*, pp. 344-5.

329. Latomus] James Latomus: *supra*, pp. 195, 196, &c. In his letter of March 30, 1527 to Thomas More, Erasmus throws on him the blame of the greater part of the difficulties in Louvain — at least those caused by Lee, Dorp and even by Briart: Allen, VII, 1804, 210-221.

329. Ruardus] Ruard Tapper, who was for certain the most distinguished theologian in Louvain after 1530: cp. *BN*.

330 facile princeps Academiae. Sed quod purius latiniusque
 ibj disceptetur hodie, id, procul dubio, Erasmo ascriben-
 dum est, siue quod ille scriptis suis velut classico omnes
 ad studium bonarum literarum excitauerit, siue quod
 335 eius passim opera tersissimj quique authores tum Grecj
 tum Latinj sacrj et prophanj, diu sepultj, velut postlimi-
 nio in medium sunt reductj.

De condonationibus et reliquis Romanæ aulæ nundina-
 tionibus, tecum sentio. Profecto opus erat correctione.
 Ac vtinam harpyis illis insatiabilibus et pertusis dolijs
 340 semper sitientibus, aliquando aliquid satis esset! Sensj
 sitim horum pumicum septimanis abhinc plus minus sep-
 tem in exiguo quodam sacerdocio, quod in me Dominus
 meus contulerat, et item Cardinalis. Non poteram hoeje
 sigillum obtinere nisj cuique cubiculario binis datis
 345 Caçoleis : sunt autem numero sex. Vbj, quæso, ratio?
 Vbj æquitas? Sed vellem, nollem, minoris defungj non
 dabatur.

Possem vberius ad prædicta, et alia plurima quæ
 sparsim in Erasmj nostrj libris obuia minus placent,
 350 respondere, nisj prolixitas epistolæ finem postularet.
 Illud in vniuersum dixisse sufficiat, id quod supra dixj,
 et nunc rursus dico : non satis esse ad culpam euitandam
 scriptis suis aliqua ex parte profuisse, sed etiam interesse
 qua via prosis; neque sufficere vicijs rerum mederj velle,
 355 sed etiam referre quo id artificio, qua solertia facias, ne,
 quod quidam habet, remedia grauiora sint vulneribus,
 et minus bonj ex admota medicatione quam prætermissa
 malj oriantur; id quod ex ista ratione medicandj Erasmj
 factum esse, pace manium eius dixerim, plerique haud
 360 improbabiliter autumant. Sunt in rerum natura, quæ sj

343. hoeje] *probably read hoccine — written hoccje, which was
 misread by the copyist* 353. ex parte &c.] *on f 214^{bis} v* 355.
 facias] *before it id is er* 356. quidam] *before it De is er*

342. Dominus meus] Abbot Sarens.

343. Cardinalis] Erard de la Marck, possibly through Hezius' intervention, as a result of the indirect request made in *MorinckEp* 2, 398-405, — which would justify Morinck's gratitude to Adrian's old secretary : ll. 20, sq.

vi agas, citius frangas quam inflectas : adamas quoque
 nulla violentia, solo tepore hircinij sanguinis emollitur ;
 nuclej item dactylorum ignj admotj, potius quam aliter
 colliquescent. Et eum ad modum res habet de inueteratis
 365 longoque vsu induratis vicijs : lenitate et ciuilitate corri-
 piendj maturius quam asperitate tolluntur, præsertim
 apud rudem plebem, quæ affectus magis quam rationem
 sequitur. Hinc Paulus seniore non increpandum, sed
 obsecrandum vt patrem, iuuenes vt fratres, anus vt
 370 matres, iuueneculas vt sorores dicit : ne videlicet acer-
 bitas castigationis fructum viciet correptionis. Secus est
 de ijs quj prudentes et destinata malitia peccant, vt
 hæretici, quos alibj dure seuereque arguendos dicit. Adde
 quod Corinthijs scribens, se omnibus omnia factum esse
 375 ait, Judeis tamquam Iudeum, infirmis tamquam infirmum,
 ijs quj sine lege erant, tamquam sine lege esset,
 vt nimirum omnes saluos faceret. Quod vt Augustinus,
 Hieronymo scribens, explicat, accipitur : quasj ad omnium
 imbecillitatem se submiserit, sic tractans, sic fouens
 380 singulos, quemadmodum se fouerj, tractarique voluisset,
 si ipse eodem in statu fuisset constitutus ; vt eo obsequio,
 eaque humanitate apud omnes gratiosus, omnes ad salutem
 perduceret. Idem faciendum ej fuerat, sit verbo
 venia, quj orbis Hyppocratem, et omnium agere censorem
 385 voluit.

Quid promouerim apud D. Hezium eloquentiam lau-
 dans, non admodum laboro. Sit suum cuique pulchrum.
 Nec obsto quo minus Balbinum delectet polypus Agnæ.
 Mihi vero eloquentia in ijs quj eam assecutj essent, sem-
 390 per adamanda, et in primis osculanda visa fuit, vt vestis
 aliqua splendidissima, qua amicta bonorum authorum
 scripta plus habeant maiestatis, plus gratiæ et commen-
 dationis, plus denique neruorum ad faciendam fidem ;

361. adamas &c.] Erasmus' *Parabolæ* : EOO, I, 598, A.

368. seniore &c.] I TIM., v, 1-2.

374. Corinthijs &c.] I COR., ix, 20-22.

377. Augustinus &c.] *Epistolarum classis*, II, 40, 4 : AugO, II, 155-6.

386. Quid promouerim &c.] viz., by writing *MorinckEp.* 2.

388. Balbinum &c.] Horatius, *Satiræ*, I, iii, 40 (2nd name : Hagnæ).

cum alioquj eadem etiamsj verissime scriberentur, tamen
 395 sæpenumero ob solam dictionis sordiciem rejicerentur.
 Porro nimium operæ in paranda ea collocare, neglectis stu-
 dijs grauioribus, maxime ad instituendam vitam facien-
 tibus, et eam Dominam habere, cum pedissequa tantum
 aliarum disciplinarum esse debeat, nemo sanus, credo,
 400 probauerit, vtique in eo quj ingenio præditus præstan-
 tiora multo præstare posset. Quamquam, sj Ciceronem et
 Quintilianum audimus, eloquentia certe exacta disciplinas
 etiam omnes serias sibj annexas habet : et tamen hj quj
 eloquentiam gentilium damnant, habent in speciem quod
 405 obtendant. Hieronimus parabolam de filio prodigo Da-
 maso explanans, carmina poetarum, secularem sapien-
 tiam, rhetoricorum verborum pompam, siliquas porco-
 rum, hoc est, demonum cibum appellat. Et inibj : ‘Nunc’,
 inquit, ‘sacerdotes Dej, omissis Euangelijs et Prophetis,
 410 videmus comœdias legere, amatoria bucolicorum versuum
 verba canere, tenere Vergilium ; et id quod in pueris
 necessitas est, crimen in se facere voluptatis’.

Sed quandoquidem illa ex alijs inibj positis facile
 diluuntur, et iam epistola legem suam prope excessit (vt
 415 quam Demetrius Phalereus breuem esse voluerit, ne non
 tam epistola quam liber esse, cuj ‘salus’ præscripta sit,
 videatur), abrumpo. Vides certe ex habitis quomodo Car-
 neadem imitatus, in partem vtramque, nunc pro Erasmo
 ad Hezium, nunc contra ad te scribens, disseram, et quo
 420 pacto diuino ingenio, quæ iure optimo debentur tri-
 buenda, quæ non debentur, libere adimenda censeam. In
 quo sj astipulatorem te non habeam, ne indigne feras
 velim, si ea in parte abs te dissentiam. Interim tamen
 etiam persuasum habeas, quæso, — sicut principio dixj,
 425 — quæ nunc liberius scribo, nullo nec odio, nec sinistro

401. sj Ciceronem &c.] *on f 215 r*

405. Hieronimus] *Epist. xxi ad Damasum* : MigneL, xxi, 385-6.

415. Demetrius Phalereus] cp. Vives' *De Conscribendis Epistolis* : VO, I, 81.

417. Carneadem] Morinck made a reference to the facility with which Carneades could argue for and against a given subject, in *Dorp Vita*, 301 : *supra*, p. 314.

affectu scribere, sed quod salua sententia meliore sic ex
 animo sentiam et simul alijs sentiendum existimem.
 Alioquj non minus amo clarissimum virum quam quj
 amant effusissime. Argumentum, quod etiam discedentem
 430 viatico triginta Sacrorum sim prosecutus; exosculor
 scripta vere aurea et gemmea, procul dubio merito suo
 abitura in secula : vt, sj authoritas esset, vel aduersus
 viros magnos patrociniū eorum suscipere ausim; sed,
 quod pace aliter sentientium dixerim, velim cum iuditio
 435 legj, et quemadmodum scoriam ab argento, paleam a
 frumento, fecem a vino secernimus, ita mala a bonis
 despumarj cupiam. Nam, quid tergiuersamur? sunt pro-
 fecto multa carbone digna.

Vale feliciter, et quod maturius non responderim, quæ
 440 tua est facilitas, ignosce, quandoquidem maturius non
 licuit : peruelim quoque pro inchoata nostra coniunctione,
 ne cuj hæc nostra communices, ne tragædiam excites,
 vbj nihil opus est. Satis sit inter nos, qui volumus sine
 testibus libere nugarj. Jdem officij vicissim tibi præsti-
 445 tero. Jterum vale.

Ipsa die conceptæ Virginj sacro, e monasterio Benedic-
 tinorum ad diuj Trudonis, Anno 1537.

Ep. 4. GERARD MORINCK TO NICOLAS VAN WINGHE

April 12, 1545

In the collection of documents containing, for the greater
 part, Morinck's papers, there are three letters to, and one
 from, a friend of his Louvain days Nicolas Wingius, Augus-
 tine friar at St. Martin's, with whom he argued about theo-
 logy as early as 1527, and whom probably he occasionally
 met after he had settled at St. Trudo's, as the prior of the
 Abbey, Thierry Breedzip, was his relative.

429. Argumentum &c.] apparently Morinck, as a sincere friend,
 had celebrated for Erasmus, in parting gift (*viaticum*) for his soul's
 rest, *triginta Sacra*, probably an uninterrupted series of thirty
 Masses, celebrated at the same altar (by the same priest), according
 to the privilege of St. Gregory.

Nicolas VAN WINGHE, *Wingius*, or *Guingius*, born in Louvain, was the son of Nicolas, *macellarius*, and Mary Wagemans, and probably a relation of Everard van Winghe, who repeatedly was senator between 1504 and 1526 ¹⁾, and had married Mary, daughter of the famous professor of Medicine James Bogaert ²⁾. Matriculating in the University on Oct. 27, 1511, he promoted Master of Arts, and entered the Convent of St. Martin's in 1518 ³⁾. He was a most zealous worker : following out the prescriptions of the Convent, he increased the common property by transcribing many books : amongst them a complete Missal, and a Psalter ; he had written half of another Missal, and had also started another Psalter, which he did not terminate on account of other avocations. Meanwhile he had taken up most strenuously theology, studying the Bible and the sacred authors ; in so much that he became very able in solving difficult questions, and in carrying on an argument. He delivered some good, substantial sermons, and wrote a treatise in Flemish about the dignity and the depth of Holy Scripture, and the way to read it, which is said to have been printed in Antwerp, in 1593 ⁴⁾. His fame rests on the Flemish translation of Scripture : *Biblia Sacra, Dat is Alle de Heilige Schriften van het Oude en Nieuwe Testament*, which, according to Charles V.'s decree of 1546, was examined and approved of by the professors of Theology Peter de Corte and Ruard Tapper, and printed by Bartholomew Gravius in 1548 ⁵⁾. The *Biblia Wingiana*, the only one sanctioned by

¹⁾ *LibIntIII.*, 177 r ; *DivRerLov.*, 90 ; *SPQL*, 36, 44, 59 ; *Louvain*, 220.

²⁾ James Bogaert, son of Adam, taught Medicine in Louvain from about 1485 to his death, July 17, 1520 ; after the decease of his wife Adriana Lathouwers van Doesdonck († 1501), who bore him seven children, he had become a priest : *VAnd.*, 221-2, 229-31 ; *Paquot*, xii, 70 ; *Analectes*, xxxix, 275-292.

³⁾ The Convent received on his account a sum of 100 Rhen. flor. once, and an hereditary rent of 10 Rhen. flor., besides many good books. — Nicolas van Winghe, of Louvain, 'laneo', who died 1535, and his wife Maria Wagemans (his parents), gave to St. Martin's a window in the 'ambitus Laicorum' : *ChronSMart.*, 179, 316, 317.

⁴⁾ *BibBelg.*, 701 ; *Sweerts*, 584 ; *Hurter*, II, 1519-20.

⁵⁾ *Cran.*, 83, e ; *Ruard Tapper*, in *BN* ; *Paquot*, vii, 403, mentions as helper of Peter de Corte in the revising of that rendering, Godefroid Stryroe, or Striroyde, of Diest, Dominican, Doctor of theology, who at his promoting master of Arts in 1518, was classed the tenth : *PromLv.*, 7.

authority, was afterwards collated with the authentic edition of Clement VIII.'s Vulgate by the Louvain theologians, and being approved of in July 1598, was printed by John Moretus in Antwerp ¹⁾).

Besides that great work, which, without doubt, exercised a lasting influence on religion and language, Nicolas translated for the benefit of his countrymen the *Imitatio Christi* ²⁾), which rendering he dedicated to Thierry of Heeze, protonotary of the Holy See, canon and <since 1541> vice-dean of St. Lambert's, Liège ³⁾), with whom he was acquainted, and who had expressed a wish to have a better and more faithful translation of that book; — in the dedicatory letter it is unequivocally denied to John Gerson, and attributed to Thomas a Kempis, monk of the Convent of Mount-St. Agnes, near Zwolle ⁴⁾).

That dedication was dated August 7, 1548 ⁵⁾), from St. Martin's, Louvain, where van Winghe had been then subprior for about ten years, during which he had worked zealously to strengthen canonic discipline. Not long after, he was appointed confessor, and probably spiritual director, to the Augustine canonesses-regular of Syon convent at Mishagen, near Eeckeren, 10 kms North of Antwerp. In that convent he translated into Flemish Flavius Josephus' history of the Jewish war and of the destruction of Jerusalem ⁶⁾), about

¹⁾ Paquot, ix, 251, sq, mentions the *Prodromus Sacer*, 1731, of Herman Janssens (1685-1762), an Antwerp Jesuit, who in the wake of Henry de Bukentop (1654-1716 : Paquot, vi, 419, sq) criticizes van Winghe's translation, generally most unrightly.

²⁾ *Van die Werelt te versmiden ende Christum te volghen, een deuoet Tractaet, ... wylen gemaect bi eenen deuoten regulier, ghenaeamt heer Thomas Hamerken van Campen, welc boecxken men pleech te noemen : Qui sequitur Me* (Antwerp, the widow of Henry Peetersen, 1552).

³⁾ Cp. introduction to Ep. 2. The fact that both Morinck and Winghe were acquainted with Hezius, suggests the supposition that it was to van Winghe that Morinck passed his letter to Hezius, and that it thus was shown to Lips at a visit to St. Martin's.

⁴⁾ That attestation in favour of Thomas a Kempis' authorship has the more value since there were most brisk connections between the Convent of St. Martin and that of Mount-St. Agnes : LipsE, 752-3 ; Allen, iv, 1140, 2-4.

⁵⁾ *ULAnn.*, 1862, 269-273.

⁶⁾ *Flauij Josephi... seuen boecken van die Joetsche oorloghe, ende Destructie van Jerusalem* : Antwerp, Simon Cock, May 18, 1552.

which several most unhistorical details had been related, not by a fable-book, but by one ascribed to Josephus himself. Nicolas van Winghe translated the narration from a Latin rendering, enquiring about the sense in the Greek whenever the meaning was not clear. He dedicated that work to the Margrave of Antwerp and to the Town Council, dating it from 'Syon', May 18, 1552, in grateful remembrance of their kindness to that Convent when, some time before, it was completely destroyed by fire. He continued and translated Josephus' history of the Jews, also dedicated to the Antwerp Margrave and Council ¹⁾, but he did not see it published : for he died in Syon Convent on December 28, 1552, and was buried there. The printer of that second volume dated his dedicatory letter, probably written with the last pages of the rendering, from St. Martin's, Louvain, September 12, 1553 — evidently the day when his book came from the press, as had been done for the first ²⁾. In his last days, Winghe was correcting Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* for an Antwerp printer.

Nicolas van Winghe is mentioned in two of Martinus Lips' letters for the vehement criticisms about Erasmus and his writings. The first occurs in his letter to Melchior of Vianden ³⁾, in which he complains of his *confratres* ⁴⁾, who deliberately annoy him by calumniating the authors or the works he likes. Amongst them is most perverse, one of Viandulus' acquaintances, 'N.W.L.', evidently Nicolaus Wingius Lovaniensis ⁵⁾. 'Is sic deicit, sic horret, sic execratur Erasmi scripta, ut verbis exprimi nequeat. Intolerabilis ei est viri illius libertas, quae sua sententia nihil aliud est quam petulantiae praetextus.

¹⁾ *Flauij Josephi... twintich hoecken van den ouden gheschiedenissen der Joden* : Antwerp, Simon Cock, 1553.

²⁾ F[π]2 v. The translation of that 2nd part of Josephus' work, strangely enough, does not mention van Winghe's name any more : the dedicatory letter, however, declares that it was rendered by the same erudite who put the history of the Jewish War into Flemish.

³⁾ Cp. *supra*, p. 497.

⁴⁾ LipsE, 751 : quibuscum mihi quotidiana vitae ... consuetudo.

⁵⁾ LipsE, 752 : 'Patior hic aemulum pertinacissimum N. W. L., quem nosti'. Most likely van Winghe was taught in the Castle by Viandulus, who matriculated as poor student of that pedagogy on Febr. 29, 1508 : 'Melchior mathej de viēna, treuirensis dioc.' : *LibIntIII.*, 142 v.

Sicubi festivus est, suo iudicio lascivus est' ¹⁾). That criticizing of the monks about 1524, when the complaint was made, was rendered more disagreeable since the subprior 'Rochus' encouraged it as much as possible ²⁾); probably on that account Lips asked his friend not to send his letters to the Convent, but to Goclenius. Two years later, in June 1527, when Lips had been for more than a year at work at Lens ³⁾, he wrote, on an occasional visit to Louvain, from Goclenius' room to his Basle friend that Rochus, who evidently knew him through Lips ⁴⁾, was still of the same opinion about him and his works; that he considered them as dangerous, as perverting, and as leading to Lutheranism; he had no faith in the lauda-

¹⁾ LipsE, 752 : the letter is not dated, but is, without doubt, earlier than the Spring of 1525, when Lips was first sent to Lens — and probably was glad thus to be liberated from such annoyances.

²⁾ Rochus Heyme, of Louvain (mentioned by Lips to Erasmus : Allen, vii, 1837, 16), matriculated on April 6, 1508 (*LibIntIII.*, 144 r), and entered St. Martin's in 1513; he first became procurator, then subprior. He is recorded as a kind and straightforward man, who was excellent in copying. The library of the Convent contained several books, most beautifully and clearly written in his hand : amongst them the works of Thomas a Kempis, several of the writings of John of Schoonhoven; the chief parts of the Bible; Humbertus' treatise *De Eruditione Religiosorum*, and others; Hubertinus de Casali's *De Vita Christi*, in two volumes; and many more. He again became procurator, and, falling ill, departed on Oct. 20, 1531, — the first to die in that office, and also in the new infirmary, of which Prior John Aerts had laid the first stone on March 7, 1530 and which was brought under roof on August 20 of the same year : *ChronSMart.*, 178, 72, 253. Rochus Heyme belonged to a patrician family : the Convent inherited in his name an amount of 320 Rh. flor., besides a set of precious white vestments of damask, and a life-rent of 39 sc. His father Peter Heyme had given in 1527 a window in the chapel, facing the vestry : *ChronSMart.*, 318, 321. Amongst his ancestors were especially famous the knight John Heyme († April 25, 1387), who played an important part in the history of Louvain and the duchy, and his son Peter († February 1, 1422), who founded the Hospice of the Twelve Apostles : *DivRerLov.*, 47, 103, 118, 122; *DivAnLov.*, 44 b; *Mol.*, 268, 620, 721; *SPQL*, 19, 38, 48, 103; *ArchAsPuLouv.*, lxxxviii, 5415-5567.

³⁾ Allen, vii, 1837, 5 n : Lips had started his work as assistant of the prior of Lens provisionally in 1525, and had been definitely appointed at latest in 1526, when he removed : cp. *supra*, p. 534.

⁴⁾ About December 1519 Erasmus sent from Antwerp to Lips the complete works of St. Chrysostom, though he did not inscribe them to him, but to the whole Convent, as he knew that the Subprior earnestly wished to have them : Allen, iv, 1052, *pr.*

tory letters of the Popes, or the Emperor, or of Gattinara, and even suspected them to be forgeries; he wished to edit against Erasmus (for whom he prayed in his Mass, with the hope that truth would soon be revealed) a work composed by Nicolas van Winghe, whose hand rested at the time, though not his mind ¹). That book greatly pleased Heyme, because, quite differently from the other opponents and their criticisms, Wingius refuted Erasmus' writings, not by his own arguments and words, but by the authority and the sayings of the Saints ²). Erasmus had already heard of that censure ³), and probably had sent word to Rochus, who therefore complained about the lack of sincerity of the erudite; for, adding excuse to excuses, he never mended, notwithstanding the admonitions ⁴); Heyme also declared to Lips — without doubt, the culprit — that the one who had betrayed to Erasmus the existence of van Winghe's book, ought to be punished as a thief according to the rules of the Order ⁵). That opposition to Erasmus amongst Lips' *confratres* is further attested by the suspicion according to which a virulent anonymous letter against him, sent to the Dominicans about December 1519, had come from St. Martin's, and had been written by Joannes Fagius. That elderly Augustine ⁶) had indeed criticized Erasmus, but it soon appeared that he had merely repeated general slander, and he assured by all possibly means that he had had no hand in the libel ⁷). Erasmus, writing a word

¹) Allen, VII, 1837, 15-6: 'Winghius (quem Winantium vocas), vt audio et video, manu aliquo modo quiescit <viz., he had not written any more criticisms>, non animo'. It is not possible that Erasmus should have meant van Winghe in his letter of Aug. 25, 1517 to Herman of Neuenahr by 'Vinantio' (Allen, III, 636, 36 n), as Winghe was probably only a student, who entered St. Martin's in 1518.

²) Allen, VII, 1837, 16-36.

³) Allen, VII, 1837, 74-75.

⁴) Allen, VII, 1837, 36-37.

⁵) Allen, VII, 1837, 74-5.

⁶) John Fage, Fagie, or Faets, *Fagius*, born at Cortenberg, made his profession in 1491; for some time he was rector of the nunnery at Eeckeren; he died on September 5, 1526: *ChronSMart.*, 175.

⁷) In a note to Lips, Erasmus wrote, about December 1519, that 'Joannes Hagius abjurat se esse autorem famosi libelli': no doubt he had received a protestation from the inculpatated man, whose name he read

on the subject to Lips, whom evidently his brethren kept out of the secret, added by way of consolation to the friend surrounded with contradictors : 'istos homunculorum tumultus magno animo despice, nixus coelesti Christi presidio' ¹).

Morinck was since long familiarly acquainted with Nicolas van Winghe, and their connection seems to have been based on a common desire of arguing about religious or devotional subjects. On July 9, 1527, Morinck thanked his friend for a long letter, stating his views about a question which they had discussed, and, although he declared that his public teaching did not leave him the time to answer quite as lengthily, yet he managed to cover nearly fourteen folio-pages with his reply ²). He asserts that the various types and figures in the Old Testament, besides announcing persons and facts of the New, had a meaning and a value of their own; on that account it was right to adorn some symbols with jewels; similarly, and that is the point at issue, it is right to adorn churches, although merely representations of more noble beings, as well as sermons and orations, which are chiefly devised to impart a higher knowledge : indeed though mere incentives to an aim, they can, if shaped and ordered well, contribute greatly to the better and more efficient attaining of it. In defending thus the *munditia* in churches and the *eloquentia* in sermons, Morinck refers to Erasmus, whose fine language moves his opponent, as W. owns himself, much more than that of the Scholastics; also to the question of the Vulgate, of which he, too, finds the language more rough and ungainly than that of the Greek text ³); rough gold is gold, but gold brought out by gems and jeweller's art is far more

'Hagius'; a few days later he sent to Lips another note, from Antwerp, mentioning that 'Hagius' had been right in not subscribing the letter : 'si subscripsisset et esset laicus, ageretur de capite illius'; which was perhaps the advice of his friends the jurispudent James de Voocht or Peter Giles, to whom it had been shown : Allen, iv, 1049, 1052.

¹) Allen, iv, 1049, 11-12.

³) Even then he writes to his friend : 'precor vt breuitate nostra nihil offenderis' : *MSGerMor.*, 276 r.

²) Morinck remarks on the occasion of his comparisons with the Greek text : *quantumuis huius linguæ adhuc rudis* : *MSGerMor.*, 282 r.

effective. He dated that letter July 9, 1527 ¹⁾ and requested van Winghe to remember him to his Subprior, Roch Heyme ²⁾.

Soon after his entry into the Abbey, Sarens reconstructed the Abbatial house, which was crumbling to ruin; there were nice halls in the new edifice, as well as most convenient rooms for the lodging of guests ³⁾. It gave occasion to some obloquy, and de Winghe had sent word to Morinck to acquaint him with the criticisms he had heard about his Abbot's extravagant building. That letter had been shown to Prior Breedzip, who tried to justify his prelate, saying that he thus had allowed many working men to earn their living. On that occasion 'Wingius' writes to Morinck a short letter to tell that the same argument was being used against the Abbot, since many people who make their living by catering for, or lodging, travellers, complain that their trade is at a dead-lock, since all the rich visitors are provided with board and lodging at the Abbey without having to pay anything at all. That letter closing with greetings both to the Abbot and the Prior, dated on the eve of Our Lady's Nativity, September 7, may have been written any year after 1534 ⁴⁾.

A third letter of the correspondence of these friends, dated from St. Trudo's, April 12, 1545, is reproduced here as it provides several details about Morinck's life and position at the Abbey, and his opinions about some contemporary events or personages. That letter takes up a quire of four leaves, beginning at the top of *f* 221 *r* and ending in the upper half of *f* 224 *v*. In what might be called the third paragraph, where Morinck examines the right of kings and emperors to wars of conquest, he repeats for several warriors amongst the Romans, what he says about Alexander (ll. 139-145): that part is not reproduced ⁵⁾. The text is in the hand that copied Epp. 2 and 3, the title in Morinck's.

¹⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 276 *r*-282 *v*: the letter, in an unknown hand, comes between the preface to the lectures on St. John's Epistles, Nov. 26, 1526, and that to the Gospel of St. Mark, June 3, 1528 (both in Morinck's writing).

²⁾ Cp. *supra*, p. 560.

³⁾ Cp. Cruels' life of Sarens: *MSGerMor.*, 172 *v*.

⁴⁾ *MSGerMor.*, 216 *v*: the letter is evidently a copy.

⁵⁾ It takes up the 8 last lines of *f* 222 *v*, 223 *r* & *v*, and the 13 first lines of *f* 224 *r*.

SUMMARY. M apologizes for his procrastination in answering letters (1-17); he is practically the only one interested in studies in the Abbey (18-34); still he prefers his position to a more intellectual post in Louvain (34-73). He communicates his opinions about Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester, collaborating with Henry VIII. (74-124); he asserts that Kings and Emperors in the use of their right of war, are as much bound by the laws of justice as the individuals (125-145); he replies to Winghe's suggestion of writing against heretics, for which he is not fully qualified (146-173); final greetings (174-179).

GERARDUS MORINGUS D. NICOLAO WINGIO SUO, CANONICO
REGULARI, LOUANI APUD MARTINIANOS. S. D.

S. P.

Redditæ mihj sunt literæ tuæ, vt prolixæ illæ quidem,
Rita plenæ sane officij, studij et humanitatis, eoque no-
mine longe gratissimæ. Vt video antiquum obtines, perlu-
benter scribis, et simul atque chartæ calamum admouistj,
5 ritu percussj plaustrij, impetum sistere nequis. Laudo, pro-
boque : velim me quoque nonnihil huius pruritus habere.
Nunc vero cum natura procrastinator sim, si quando ad
amicorum literas respondendum est, perpetuo diem ex
die prolatans, fit sæpenumero, vt ingenue fatear, vt
10 officium parum tuear, amicique fortassis fastum, vel
contemptum, vel aliud quiddam sinisterius interpreten-
tur : quod reuera mera socordia est, tametsi subinde
iustæ etiam causæ aliæ impedimento sunt ; atque adeo
inde factum est, quo minus literis tuis proximis maturius
15 responderim. Quod tamen sj nunc, licet serius, fecero,
gratius tamen fore arbitror si probe te nouj, quam sj
omnino non fecero.

Vt igitur ordine ad illas tuas respondeam : primum
quod putas hic non deesse quibuscum de rebus literarijs
20 subinde commentar : vt aperte dixerim, profecto desunt.
Verum cognatus tuus, D. Prior, vir est singularis, et

Textual notes. GERARDUS &c.] on f 221 r GERARDUS to S. D.]
without doubt in Morinck's hand 1. Redditæ &c.] in another
hand 1. literæ] corr from literæræ 11. sinisterius] r -strius

virtutibus ingenij plurimis egregie præditus, assertor
 exactorque disciplinæ monasticæ si quisquam alibj alius
 eiusdem ordinis, Literarum item Sacrarum, et Theologiæ
 25 Scholasticæ perpulchre peritus. At vero quandoquidem
 quotidie plurima auocamenta incidunt, quibus ille, non
 tam ex officio, quam quod Dominus noster Reuerendus
 ætate fessus, non omnia per se obire potest, non raro se
 immiscere cogitur, fit vt arbitrium temporis non ita
 30 habeat, et duntaxat precario studeat, cum ea in re sui
 iuris mancipijque esse vellet, sj modo posset. Alium
 præter hunc hic reperire est neminem. Plærique omnes
 Mercurio et Herculj quæstus præsidibus, magis quam
 Mineruæ litant. Quod itaque miraris cur non Louanij ad
 35 Collegij alicuius præfecturam animum transferam, vbj
 ceu in portu amœno tranquilloque, cum vtilitate aliqua
 Ecclesiæ potius quam dignitate conquiescam, cum præ-
 fecturæ huiusmodj aliquot istic sat honorifice, simul et
 commodæ sint. Non inficior tales esse; sed interim, vnde
 40 præsidia vitæ? Vnde, quod dubijs casibus seponatur?
 Est quidem istic sedes peramœna, sed fortuna tenuis.
 Nihil ad hæc iucundius, quam assidue cum omnis generis
 eruditis versarj, interim ad hunc, interim ad illum excur-
 rere, ac mutuo congressu colloquioque de varijs studijs
 45 ceu suauissimo pabulo animum pascere; sed interim
 quoque non negligenda tutela vitæ pro modo personæ

42. hæc] *after it iucūd was wr & er* 42. cum omnis &c.] *on f 221 v*

25. peritus] the records mention Breedzip's ability as scribe, and relate that he made by himself two large-size missals, which were in use in the choir: Daris, v, 151.

32. Plærique &c.] that explains how Abbot Sarens, wanting a secretary on account of his waning strength, did not find amongst his brethren, though excellent at manual labour, any one sufficiently qualified to fill that post. In the second half of the forties, he had secured the services of a 'clericus' of Tournai diocese, Piat du Praet, *de Prato*, apostolic and imperial notary, recognized by Brabant Council. Some of the later deeds of the action against Vrancken are in his hand; the collection of those documents also contains two letters on that matter sent from Rome, March 6 and April 3, 1548, to the secretary of 'Mr de Sainct Tron' by Richard Belin, connected with Blossius and Laurent du Blioul: *MSGerMor.*, 121 r-124 v.

honestā, quæ etsi istic alicubj habeatur, tamen rara est,
 neque omnibus in promptu. Equidem hic ex Canonicatu
 accipio quæ non refert edere ; quæ sane non necessitatj
 50 modo sufficiunt, verum etiam ad qualemcumque mundi-
 tiam et vrbānitatem tuendam sic satis suppetunt. Accessit
 hoc anno benignitate Dominj mej quiddam non penitendj
 census ; et fortassis tempore plura accessura sunt, quæ et
 defecturam deinceps ætatem solatio fouere, et recumben-
 55 tibus in me solum ex sorore vidua cognatulis ad educa-
 tionem vtcumque commodare poterunt. Vt interim mittam
 quod hic omnia gratuita sint : victus, cultus, famulus,
 vinum, requisita cubiculj ; conuiuæ denique, si quj forte
 veniant, sine meo liberaliter habeantur. Quæ sane sj
 60 Louanij precio comparanda forent, vereor ne tenuitas illa
 tum nostra onerj ferendo non esset. Quapropter etsi
 Louanij multo quam hic agere malim, vtj profecto malim,
 non licet tamen malignitate fortunæ, quæ facultatem
 aliam non indulget. Ingenue fateor, est nonnihil tædio
 65 perpetuo alieno more viuere, alienisque affectibus iugiter
 inseruire oportere. At vero in his post tot annorum spa-
 cium iam collum tritum habeo, consuetudoque diuturna
 plurimum quod ibj est tædij mitigauit, præsertim dum
 rationem in eo quanto plures e diuerso commoditates in
 70 ea vitæ securitate insunt, quam si meo arbitrio pro habitu
 personæ instituta familia maxime Louanij viuerem. Quis
 quippe non nouit expertus, quantum necessitas familiaris
 sorbeat ? Sed de his alias.

Vintoniensem non esse ea animi firmitate vt, secutus

53. fortassis] *before it fort was wr & er* 60. precio comparanda
 forent] *wr over* multo quam hic agere malim, vti, *which words are*
er (cp. l. 62) 73. sorbeat] *corr from* sorbeant 74. firmitate]
last e corr

48. Canonicatu] one of the 12 prebends in our Lady's of St. Trond,
 which were the Abbot's collation : Daris, v, 69.

53. census] evidently a benefice, about which it is difficult to
 provide more details in the absence of all documents.

74. Vintoniensem] Stephen Gardiner, since 1531 bishop of Win-
 chester, was one of the most conservative amongst the prominent
 prelates in the latter years of Henry VIII. The famous *Six Articles*
 of 1539, which tried to put a brake to the downward movement,
 abolishing rites and doctrines under the impulse of Cromwell and

- 75 exempla fortissimorum illorum simul et summorum hero-
um Roffensis et Morj, multorumque aliorum insignium
virozum, sceleratis conatibus suj Regis ex professo se
objiciat : miserandum sane, vtique cum non minore pano-
plia quam illj instructus videatur, certe quam Morus,
80 quem in pistrino Theologico minus cæteris molam ver-
sasse existimo. Nam Roffensem, sj ex scriptis censeas,
facile omnium principem, omniaque legendj stipendia
emeritum, omnis denique Ecclesiasticæ antiquitatis pro-
mum et condum haud falso dixerim : id quod cum alia
85 eius, tum vero opus illud eximium contra Ecolampa-

83. Ecclesiasticæ &c.] on f 222 r 84. cum] added over line

Cranmer, was to a large extent his work. He used his influence on the King to save as much as possible from the old faith, in which the fall of Cromwell helped him. He was favoured by Henry's confidence for several years, and, being sent as ambassador to the Emperor's Court, may have been looked upon as a means to bring England again under obedience. He at any rate succeeded more than once in frightening Henry from giving way to innovators by the danger of displeasing Charles V., for there hardly can be any question of a religious interest guiding Henry in his tyrannical Church policy. Gardiner himself does not seem to have been a stranger to fear, at least not of Henry VIII., for having given way most paltrily to all his sacrilegious whims under his reign, he only starts, under Edward VI., opposing the principles of the party in power, not on account of their intrinsic value, but pretendedly for an extrinsic consideration, censuring as unfair all changes brought in before the King's majority : Gairdner, 214, sq ; Blunt, II, 124, sq ; Strype, I, 549, II, 94, 110, 115, V, 545, 561, &c. ; Cranmer, I, 102, 141, 160-7, 194 ; Seck., III, 225 ; Pollard, 416, sq ; *RéfAngl.*, 214, sq ; Gough, 338 ; Bémont, I ; Hermelmau., 181-5 ; &c.

77. sceleratis conatibus] considering Henry VIII.'s ruthless cruelty and barefaced rapacity, his obstinate hatred and whimsical tyranny, all cloaked by the mantle of his religious zeal, it is hardly possible to attribute even for the shortest while any earnest desire of 'good will to man' to this 'Supreme Head of the Church of England', in whom after 1530 there seems to have been nothing but perverse selfishness, which some may style 'clever policy and diplomacy', but which, at several periods, was little less than sheer monstrosity : *SchismAngl.*, 227-46 ; Blunt, I, 340-353, 365, 371, sq, 384, 425 ; *RéfAngl.*, 66, sq ; Bémont, 88, 133 ; Pollard, 431, sq.

81. Roffensem] Ortroj ; Pits, 715-7 ; Gillow, II, 262-70 ; *DNB* ; *OpmHistMart.*, 93 ; JovEDV, 211-2 ; *DelPoBel.*, III, 93.

84. alia eius] Ortroj, 358-60 ; Bale, 201 ; *BullBiB.*, XIX, 164-5, 295.

85. contra Ecolampadium] his *De Veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia*, published in 1527 : Ortroj, 147-8, 359.

dium, mea sententia, plane fatetur. Potest excusare Vintoniensis quod tempora meliora expectet, dum, vt scribis, Rex ipse vel ad sanitatem redeat, vel de medio tollatur, et tum quidem ex tuto facturus sit, quod nunc sine fraude
 90 non liceat; interea velle alia multa salubria contra hæreticos cudere et meditari, quod hinc subductus non posset: quo modo Christus Dominus, Herodem fugiens, legationj paternæ obeundæ se seruauit; quo modo Apostolos, vrgente persecutione, de ciuitate in ciuitatem fugere iussit,
 95 vt scilicet se reseruarent Ecclesiæ, cuj adhuc infantj necessarij erant; quo modo Paulus e Damasco fuga elabitur, non quidem metu mortis, quam cupere se postea aiebat vt esset cum Christo, sed studio illustrandj Euan-
 100 gelij, cum postea dicat, 'Jn carne manere necessarium propter vos'; quo modo et alij plurimj martyres martyrium subire distulerunt, quod alijs in fide confirmandis aut ad eam alliciendis se adhuc vtilis ducerent; quo
 modo denique S. Athanasius, toties fugiendo, contundendis Arrianis se seruauit: aliquid fortassis tale vir
 105 doctus prætexere potest. Atquj, cur relictis causa fidej fortunjs, aut correptis secum quas posset, non alio profugit? tum ex tuto absens facturus quod præsens non posset. Non dubito Principes alij syncerj harum aut aliarum prouintiarum, hominem doctissimum sine for-
 110 tuna esse non sinerent; certe Pontifex Maximus non sineret. Verum enimvero, scio quid hic respondeat: Facile est alijs de muro (quod aiunt) ictus dictare; tu si hic sis,

87. expectet] *corr from -ctent* 111. Facile] *ms ffacile*

88. ad sanitatem redeat] some symptoms seemed to indicate that about 1543, Henry VIII. was turning back to the orthodoxy of the days before the Divorce: still those symbols were delusive, as he appears to have favoured the opinions of his last Queen, Catherine Parr, who professed the 'new learning'. A decisive sign is provided by his will excluding Gardiner from the Council that was to guard over his young successor: Gairdner, 227, *sq.*, 241-3; Bridgewater, 383; cp. *SchismAngl.*, 236-7; Gillow, II, 374.

97. cupere se &c.] *PHIL.*, I, 23.

99. Jn carne &c.] *PHIL.*, I, 24.

112. de muro &c.] cp. *Facile, cum valemus, recta consilia ægrotis damus*: *EOO*, II, 249, D; *Adag.*, 39.

aliter sentias ! Ingenue fateor, difficile est ea perfectione
 esse, neque ego essem, si eo loco essem, vereor. At vero
 115 cur ergo libello edito Regis partem adiutat ? Si ex pro-
 fesso labefactare nondum voluit, cur itaque adiutare
 voluit ? Nemo duobus dominis seruire, ueritatj et falsi-
 tatj potest, et cum ἀνδρογυνης esse velit, mere aut mas aut
 foemina manere. Aut omnino tacuisset in tempus ido-
 120 neum, aut aperto Marte in diuersum scripsisset. Verum
 audio hominem multiplicj ingenio esse, cuius sinus et
 anfractus compræhendere non cuiuis promptum sit :
 eiusque specimen pridem Louanij dedisse, dum de libello
 ædito causam dicere a Theologis nostris rogaretur.

117. falsitatj &c.] on f 222 v 118. ἀνδρογυνης] in another hand,
 possibly Morinck's 124. Theologis] corr from -logics

115. libello edito Regis] it was supposed that Gardiner had a hand in the *King's Book*, 'A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man, set forth by the King's Majesty of England', of May 1543, and which was a revision and correction of the *Bishops' Book* of 1537 : Gairdner, 226 ; Pollard, 431, sq ; Gough, 338-9 ; &c.

123. Louanij] Morinck alludes to what happened to Gardiner, when, having resided as ambassador in Charles V.'s Court from November 1540 and, having followed him from Artois to Ratisbon (Gachard, II, 166, sq ; 187, sq), he returned from the Diet, probably in August 1541, and passed through Louvain on his way to the sea. Having been very well received there, even by the Theologians, he was after a while, goaded on towards a clear statement of his opinions about the Pope's supremacy, which caused a reversion of feeling. That abrupt change is described in a letter of Sept. 22, 1541 to Edmond Crispin, of Oxford, by Francis Dryander (*CorrMel.*, 318, 348, 400), who, having spent ten days in Louvain with old friends, had come to Antwerp on Sept. 21, and reported there on the following day on what he had heard. He stated that the Bishop of Winchester came 'magno cum strepitu' to Louvain, as beseemed the ambassador of so great a King as Henry VIII., and was received 'apud Jeremiam', in a private household. The theological faculty presented him with wine in the name of the University. But when their attention was called to his oration *de Vera Obedientia*, they determined to recant what they had done, and affront him. <Jac.> Lathomus and others attacked him on the primacy of the Pope. The Bishop vigorously defended his oration, but they denounced him as a schismatic, and when he intended saying Mass in St. Peter's Church, the necessary ornaments were refused him. The Bishop offended, hastened his journey, and the dean <Ruard Tapper> on the following day, in an elaborate ora-

125 De bello quod scribis, quoniam ais non esse forj tuj,
 agam quod mones, et egi cum alijs quj hæc argutius in
 diatribis excutiunt. Et interim tamen etiam audire sen-
 tentias aliorum, quj hæc duntaxat ad censuram sensus
 communis æstimant, non inconsultum iudico, vt auditis
 130 singulis firmj aliquid de rej summa statuere liceat. Porro
 autem quod grauissima tibj quæstio videatur, et quæ
 aliquando te cogitabundum habuerit, Vtrum fas sit solo
 iure bellj, dominandique libidine alienas ditiones inua-
 dere ? mihj certe ibj parum scrupj inesse videtur. Siqui-
 135 dem sj bellj ius appelles, sine iusta causa illatam vim, cuj
 obsistj non potest, quis eam ius esse, et non summam
 iuiuriam dixerit ? Idem dixeris de dominandj libidine.
 Quibus ex fontibus profecta bella, quia iustitia carent,
 mera latrocinia sunt. Qualia Alexander Macedo gessit,
 140 qui cum ex comprehenso pyrata rogaret qua actus insania
 mare totum rapinis conturbaret, vicissim libera contu-
 macia audiuit : Eadem qua tu actus orbem terrarum con-

133. dominandique] -ique corr from another ending 134. vide-
 tur] before it is er videbitur

tion, 'famam hominis pro concione misere proscindit': *L & P*,
Henry VIII., xvi, 1133; Foxe, vi, 139; *Cranmer*, i, 580; *RéfAngl.*,
 226, 668. By his 'libello' (l. 123) *De vera Obedientia Oratio* he
 upholds Henry VIII.'s divorce and his supremacy over the Church
 of England; it was printed first by Th. Berthelet in (1534: *HLEP*,
 and again in) 1535; it was re-edited in 1536 at Hamburg with a
 preface by Edm. Bonner, archdeacon of Leicester, Henry VIII.'s
 ambassador in Denmark; in 1553 it was translated — no doubt for
 the sake of controversy — presumably by John Bale, signing as
 'Michael Wood': *AmHerb.*, i, 425, 426, ii, 741, iii, 1545, 1573, 1582;
RéfAngl., 223-6, 665-6; *SchelhamHist.*, i, 33, 837-50; Maitland, 251;
 Gairdner, 326; &c. The Louvain divines got to know Gardiner's
 exact standing, possibly by copies of his *Oratio* which he is said
 to have distributed; or, what is more likely, by the protest of the
 numerous students or residents from England, who having left
 their country on account of men like Gardiner, were better en-
 lightened about the opinions of their persecutors, and must have
 been strangely surprised to see a Latomus or a Tapper welcoming
 the man who was Henry VIII.'s tool in severing England from
 Rome.

139. Alexander] this reply of the pirate to Alexander is most
 probably quoted from St. Augustine's *Civitas Dei*: *AugO*, vii, 115;
CivDei., 1603. Cp. *EOO*, iv, 200, v; *ErIncl.*, 220.

turbas ; sed quoniam id exiguo nauigio ego facio, latro vocor ; tu magna classe, copijs et delectibus, Imperator
 145 diceris !...

Cæterum quod, occasione mentionis bellj, me hortaris cum aliquo hæreticorum huius temporis manum conserere, cum, vt dicere lubet, armis spiritualibus olim satis sim instructus, eruditione scilicet multa et eloquentia, et
 150 talentum habeam, de cuius vsu Domino ratio reddenda sit, vt respondeam : Vinum a Nymphis, aquam a Libero postulas. Nescio enim an satis instructus sim. Jd scio annos plurimos quibus hic desedj, nescio quo modo sine fruge mihj transactos, pluraque obliuione amissa, quam
 155 studio parta, vt desuetudine longa vix etiam verba latina subinde subeant. Præterea sat multj hodie cum hæreticis dimicant, vt nostra opera parum fortassis opus sit. Et tamen si quod argumentum nossem non diligenter satis ab alijs tractatum, in quo mediocritas nostra rebus afflictis
 160 aliquid solatij afferre posset, fortassis tentarem quid vires possent. Proinde sj quod tale nostj, obsecro, indica. Neque enim vlla Bucerj scripta legj, nec Caluinj, aliorumque portentorum nomina audiuj : tantum abest vt scripta legerim. Et vnde mihj horum noticia hoc in loco, vbj de
 165 omnibus potius quam de studijs mentio est ? Ruardj scriptis, sj qua in manibus habet, possem fortassis, si ille patèretur, aliquid addere lenocinij, quo maiore cum plausu in publicum venirent. Verum si hominis doctissimj ingenium sat pernouj, non hoc permetteret, metu
 170 fortassis ne quid de fide sententiarum decederet. Si quid

145. diceris !...] after this word a long passage is left out, comprising lower part of f 222 v, f 223 r, v, and nearly upper half of f 224 r : cp. p. 563 146. Cæterum &c.] on f 224 r 146. Cæterum] corr over Cærum 160. posset] before it potest is er 168. doctissimj &c.] on f 224 v

165. Ruardj] Ruard Tapper (Febr. 15, 1487-March 2, 1559), dean of St. Peter's from 1535, professor of divinity from 1526, and inquisitor of the Faith from 1537, was one of the ablest theologians that ever taught in Louvain. He lacked, however, the charm of a neat expression, and, for certain, the grace of literary form — for which he was cruelly criticized : BN ; BibRefNe., 1, 577, sq.

Caluinj alicunde nancisej daretur, fortassis defunctj Campensis vices obire possem. Nunc cum non detur, quid obsecro, possum ?

Lubuit scribere paulo fusius, vt cum epistola tua equi-
175 librium facerem. Itaque sj prolixior iusto sum, tibj imputa quj exemplo prouocastj. Vale in Domino.

Apud S. Trudonem, anno salutis 1545, 12 Aprilis.

Omnes tuos sodales apud quos aliqua mej memoria est, presertim D. Priorem, officiosissime, queso, salutes.

180

Gerardus Moringus
tuus toto pectore, vt nostj

171. Campensis] without doubt John of Campen, professor of Hebrew in Busleyden College (a full biography of him will be given in *ColBusPrim.*); having worked for a considerable time on the original texts of the Psalms and the Ecclesiastes (*NèveMém.*, 235-44), he started an epistolary discussion with Melancthon (*ZGE*, ix, 541-2), which seemed to become successful when death overtook him on Sept. 7, 1538 : *MelaVers.*, 18-21, 79 ; Hurter, II, 1311-2. Morinck, whose interests also lay chiefly in exegetic work, thought of following his example as apologist.

179. D. Priorem] at John Aerts' decease (Sept. 17, 1537), Henry Bouwens, *Balduini*, was elected prior in his place on October 4, 1537 ; he filled that office until he died, Sept. 19, 1554, whilst on a canonic visit in Mariendael Convent, at Diest (*Gestel*, I, 239). He was a native of Louvain, son of Henry and Aleydis van den Grave, and had entered the order in 1512 ; after having been employed successfully in several offices by his community, he was entrusted with the spiritual direction of a nunnery at Mishagen, a hamlet of Eeckeren, about 10 kms north of Antwerp. It gave hospitality to the Bridgettine community of Syon, who had left England after 1536 (*AntvAnn.*, II, 183), and settled in this country, until they were advised to return by Cardinal Pole in Queen Mary's reign ; they were compelled to leave England a second time in 1558, when they resorted to Mishagen, until, molested by the armies, they took refuge in Mechlin, at least for a time : *AntvEpisc.*, 192 ; Lechat, 230 ; Diercxsens, IV, 155-6 ; Guilday, 56-7. Bouwens was probably succeeded at Eeckeren by Augustine Mollemans of Heverlee and about 1545 by Nicolas van Winghe. — As Prior, Bouwens had to bring in, and carry on, many a lawsuit ; he also built an 'ambitus laicorum' ; on account of the many dangerous and heretical books amongst the brethren, the General of Windesheim John Dalenus, deputed him with the priors of Valrouge and Bethleem to inquire into the matter in the various convents and burn them. He celebrated in 1547 the centenary of the acceptance of St. Martin's in the Augustine Order : *ChronSMart.*, 75, 178, 299, 300.

Ep. 5. — GERARD MORINCK TO NICOLAS DE WINGHE
 <Summer> 1547

The fourth letter of the correspondence between Wingius and Morinck, takes up a quire of two double leaves, of which the three last pages (219 v-220) are blank. It starts on *f* 217 *r* at the top, and goes almost to the bottom of *f* 219 *r*. Except for the heading, the document is entirely in Morinck's hand, — which shows a considerable change for the worse, even since the title he wrote to Ep. 4. Still, only two years have elapsed, for it is dated 1547, and, as it refers to his unfinished Paraphrase of Jeremiah, to which he put an end on November 29, 1547 (*MSGerMor.*, 238 *r*), it may be assumed that it was written in the preceding summer.

SUMMARY. Morinck deplotes his lagging behind in spiritual things (1-8); he communicates his impressions of the first sessions of the Council of Trent (9-31), and of Cardinal Pole's exemplary life (32-81); he relates the fate of *Vita Dorpii*, coolly received by Erasmus (82-143); gives his opinion on Gardiner and his letter to Bucer (144-162), and reports on his own latest writings and studies (163-190).

GERARDUS MORINGUS NICOLAO WINGIO SUO
 LOUANIJ MARTINIANO.

S. P. Amantissime mi Wingj,

Si vales, bene est; equidem benignitate Christi recte quidem a corpore valeo, sed vtinam etiam ab anima: qua ex parte, nescio qui fiat vt, cum ætate procedente in dies magis vigescere deberem, in dies magis flaccescam: 5 siue difficile est mores tueri inter delitias et sybariticas mensas, siue officij monitor, quotidianus sodalis, deest. Tametsi muti monitores, Christus Dominus, Paulus, alijque Patres, numquam desunt. Sed hæc mea imbecillitas. Gratiam habeo de dono missis Orationibus et Actis

Textual Notes. — GERARDUS &c.] *f* 217 *r*; the title in a strange hand S. P. &c.] in Morinck's hand

9. Orationibus &c.] reports on the Council with the texts of the orations and definitions were published at once, and often reprinted.

- 10 Concilij Tridentini. Legeram quidem et habui antea, sed non eo minus donum tuum gratum fuit. Nam eo amicis alijs gratum feci, præsertim Priori nostro, cognato tuo, cui exemplar vnum donavi. Sunt orationes doctæ sane omnes, acres et instantes, sed aliæ alijs plus artificij
- 15 rhetorici habent, minusque affectationis, meo certe iudicio. Impense blanditur ea quæ ab oratore Gallo habita est, tota scilicet tersa, profluens, lucida, non morose culta, ac quadam etiam maiestate gratiosa, licet sacris citationibus expers, cuius rei oratori sibi, non Theologo,
- 20 autor fortassis rationem habendam non duxit. At vero demirari non possum cur tanto temporis spacio non plures sessiones celebratæ, non plura definita sint : si Patres hoc pede progrediantur, res exierit in decennium. Concilium Constantiense duravit plus minus quadriennium,
- 25 Basiliense non succurrit quanto tempore. Atqui, quot

18. sacris citationibus] *underlined* 20. non] *over line*

12. Priori nostro] Thierry Breedzip : cp. p. 530.

16. oratore Gallo] on June 26, 1546 the *oratores* of the French King Claud d'Urfé, James de Lignières and Peter Danès arrived at Trent. Their powers were to be handed in at the general meeting of June 30, when Danès, in an address, mentioned the services rendered to the Church by the French Kings, and Francis' successful efforts to keep his realm free from heresy ; he then earnestly requested the Fathers to restore unity to the Church by the definitions of the dogmas, which would have as sequel a thorough reform of all wrong practices : *PastPäpste*, v, 554.

19. non Theologo] Danès was before all literator and erudite : cp. *supra*, p. 457.

21. non plures sessiones] in that first period, the activity of the Council was hemmed in chiefly by the difference in the views of the Pope, who insisted on beginning with dogmatical definitions, whereas the Emperor, wholly taken up by the pacifying of Germany, urged his orators and the Fathers on whom he had some authority, to leave dogmatical tenets to the last, so as not to excite Protestants, and rather humour them by examining and edicting measures of reform, which, in the opinion of the Papal party, were to be the consequence of the dogmatical decisions : *PastPäpste*, v, 529, *sq.*, 550, *sq.*, 581, *sq.*, 599, *sq.*

24. Constantiense] from Nov. 1, 1414 to 1418.

25. Basiliense] it started on July 23, 1431 and was transferred to Ferrare on Jan. 1, 1438, notwithstanding the opposition of some members who stayed at Basle : Mourret, 152, *sq.*

25. quot ibi sessiones] the first session took place on Dec. 13,

ibi sessiones vno in anno habitæ ? Quot placita sancita ?
 Quid in causa sit, equidem ignoro. Sunt qui seminant
 per tempestatem hanc Germanicam omnia suspensa esse,
 et Patres alios alio diuertisse, quo cuique commodius
 30 visum esset, vsque dum sereniora enitescerent. At nihil
 firmi vtique hic scimus.

Profecto adsunt viri, vt video, summi et clarissimi,
 omnique studiorum genere, linguarum etiam intelligentia
 excultissimi : quorum aliquot ex scriptis, aliquot item
 35 de facie mihi noti sunt ; præsertim Cardinalis Anglus,

30. esset] *corr over* fuit
 (possibly *euenirent*)

30. enitescerent] *corr over* word *er*

1545, the 6th on January 13, 1547, the 7th on March 3 following,
 after which the Council was transferred to Bologna, which town
 most of the Fathers entered from March 22 to 26 : *PastPäpste*, v,
 534-609. Probably the book sent to Morinck contained the orations
 pronounced up to the seventh session, or at any rate, up to the
 fifth (June 17, 1546), to which belonged the speech delivered by
 Danès on June 30.

26. Quot placita sancita] although few, the definitions and
 decrees taken, up to January 1547, were so substantial and so
 important, that Harnack (*Dogmengeschichte*, III, 605) doubts
 whether Reformation would have developed as it did, if they
 had been taken by the Council of Lateran and put into practice :
PastPäpste, v, 603.

28. per tempestatem] during the war against the Smalkalden
 League, Trent lay open to hostile invasion, which made the
 Fathers propose either suspension or translation, as early as
 August 1546 ; Paul III. urged the Council to continue its work,
 irrespective of being left unprotected — possibly on purpose —
 by Charles V. ; only the epidemic that broke out in the first half of
 March 1547 could bring the majority to leave Trent : *PastPäpste*,
 v, 583-607.

35. Cardinalis Anglus] Cardinal Pole had been appointed Papal
 Legate to the Council on February 6, 1545 ; he left Rome a few
 days after the other two Legates, for fear of ambushades from
 Henry VIII. (*Pole*, 220, 225), and reached Trent on May 4 ; he took
 an active part in the work ; at the second general meeting an
Admonitio by him was read to the Fathers ; on June 28, 1546,
 however, ill-health compelled him to leave Trent for Padua, and,
 relieved from his office as Legate, he was called to Rome on
 Oct. 27, 1546 : *PastPäpste*, v, 513, 520, 534, 538, 578, 639 ; *Pole*, 228-
 236.

Reginaldus Polus, qui me mensæ suæ admouere, dum Leodij Legatum a Latere ageret, autore Hesio, præsentē item Episcopo Veronensi, est dignatus; vir non ita Anglus

38. est dignatus &c.] on f 217 v

36 Polus] this noble character, second-cousin to Henry VIII., had been trained as humanist and erudite by men like Lupset and Longolius; after a short period of indecision, when he tried to gain Paris University in favour of the Divorce (Brewer, iv, 6505), his sense of truth and loyalty to the Church prevailed; his kinsman Henry VIII. accordingly hated him to such an extent that he had him waylaid with ambuscades for the rest of his life, and that he revenged himself cowardly by murdering his mother. Pole was an intimate friend of Sadolet, and especially of Contarini, and, far from being the ambitious, cruel, narrow-minded tyrant of antipapistic literature, he stands out amongst the leading prelates in Paul III.'s and Jules II.'s time for his gentle character and the leniency with which he treated all innovators: *Pole*, 50, sq, 173, sq, &c.; *PastPäpste*, v, 116-23, 335, sq, 345, sq; *SchismAngl.*, 72, sq, 121, sq, 177^{bis}, sq, &c.; Bridgewater, 383, sq; Pitts, 757-9; Mayans, 181, 196; Allen, vi, 1627; Hurter, ii, 1466-8; *DNB*; Th. Simar, *Christ. de Longueil*, Louvain, 1911; *RéfAngl.*, 153, sq; &c.

37. Leodij Legatum] Reginald Pole, being sent as Papal Legate to France and Belgium to get into connection with the English Catholics, was received everywhere with great veneration by the people, whereas Francis I. and Charles V. were afraid to admit him to their Courts, since Henry VIII. had declared him to be a traitor, and requested either to deliver him up as a prisoner or to refuse him entrance in their dominions. Notwithstanding Mary of Hungary's indignation at the proposal made to that effect by the English ambassador Hutton, on April 21, 1537, she was induced by her advisers to ask Pole to go and reside at Liège. Even whilst there, he was surrounded by English spies, sent out to kill him; fifty thousand crowns were promised as reward for who could give him up dead or alive, and to Charles V. had been offered 4000 soldiers in return for him. As circumstances were not favourable in England, where the rebellion in the North had just been quenched, and as peaceful negotiations, which had been contemplated at first, proved completely out of the question, Pole remained in Liège, under the protection of Erard de la Marck, and spent there many happy days, until he left again for Rome on August 22, 1537: *Pole*, 142-157; *SchismAngl.*, 177^{bis}-179; *L & P.*, *Henry VIII.*, xii, xxxvi, 987, 1061; *PastPäpste*, v, 683-6; Halkin, 211, &c.

38. Episcopo Veronensi] John Matthew Giberti (Sept. 20, 1495-Dec. 30, 1543) had been for several years in Julius de Medici's household, and had served him in matters of the highest importance under Leo X. When his master became Clement VII., he was appointed Datary, until in 1528 he was finally allowed to go and work in the diocese of Verona, of which he had been elected

vt Angelus : statura media, corpore gracili, forma venusta
 40 et luculenta, tum iam non maior annis quadraginta ;
 vultu modesto, verendo quidem, sed gratioso, qui nihil
 præter veritatem, simplicitatem et religionem præferebat.
 Voce clara et articulata loquebatur latine vt qui tersis-
 sime, longe vero tersius ipso Veronensi, etiamsi ille
 45 Hebraice etiam callere se subindicabat. Quid dicam de
 victus continentia ? quæ quamquam Italis omnibus gen-
 tilis et vernacula est, in hoc tamen mihi propemodum
 talis videbatur qualem Erasmus in Medico quodam Italo
 prædicat, quem narrat in cœnam sibi ouum coqui iussisse
 50 solitum, cuius vitellum ex æquo cum filio partitus fuerit,
 mox hausto semicyatho vini in multam noctem studuisse.
 Ita Polus, siue pransus siue impransus, cenatus an incœ-
 natus. perpetuo ad omnia mentem promptam habebat.
 Quot parasangis nos plærrique ventris animalia ab eo
 55 instituto absumus ? Quid commemorem de singulari
 scientia Literarum Sacrarum ? Vel illud testimonio erat,
 quod ex more inter prandium et cœnam semper lectorem
 ascisceret, qui caput vnum ex Sacris siue Literis siue
 Doctoribus recitaret ; quod recitatum deinde sermonem

40. tum] possibly er 48. videbatur] ba- added over line

bishop in 1524. He was an exemplary prelate, who promoted reform amongst clergy and laity, and who encouraged study, in so much that he set up a press in his own palace to edit St. Chrysostom's works in Greek. In 1536 he was invited by Paul III. to form with Sadolet, Contarini, Pole, Carafa, Sadoletto and others, a Commission of Reform ; he accompanied his friend Pole in 1537 to France and Liège, though he longed to return to his diocese, where he spent his last years : *AléaJo*, 39, &c. ; *BalanR*, 204, &c. ; *BalanH*, 307, 313, 385 ; *Laemmer*, 394 ; *AleaE*, 56, &c. ; *Pole*, 142-155 ; *Pastor*, II, 609-620 ; *PastPäpste*, v, 116-22 ; *Allen*, v, 1443^a.

48. Erasmus &c.] *Opulentia Sordida* : EOO, I, 866, B.

59. sermonem] Alvise Priuli, Pole's friend, describes in a letter of July 28, 1537 to Beccadelli, the way of living in the house of the Legate : Giberti is master of the ceremonies ; generally at the end of the meals, he reads a chapter from Eusebius' *De Demonstratione Evangelica* ; the Legate has finally accepted to explain, every other day after Complines, the Epistles of St. Paul, in answer to everybody's request ; and to the great satisfaction of Giberti and all the others, he has started with the letters to Timothy : *Pole*, 150-151 ; *Card. Quirini*, *Card. Poli et aliorum ad ipsum Epistolæ* : Brie, 1744-57 : II, letter civ.

- 60 accumbentibus præberet, tametsi inde ad alia quoque
transilus esset, sed sacra, sed erudita, vnde vel melior
vel doctior, quinimo et melior et doctior euaderes. Quam
hoc alienum a moribus multorum etiam Abbatum ! qui ne
minimum quidem de studijs honestis et liberalibus inter
65 epulas inferri sustinent, siue amaricinum non omnibus
idem olet, siue prophana, vtpote symposiaca, tum tempesti-
uiora videntur. Neque enim vsquam ad Abbatis mensam
siue hic, siue Leodij, siue alibi lectionem aut sacram
aut moralem audiui, præterquam Boneffiæ, vbi religio
70 seuerè sane viget : etiamsi hic non minus viget, sed illud
moris non est, alijs impredientibus. Plura luberet de hoc
Polo narrare, de famulitio Domini simili, quam modesto,
quam quieto, quam trium liberalium linguarum noticia
ad amussim instructo, nisi quod vereor ne verbosior sim.
75 At da veniam ! Satis dici de eminentissimo illo viro non
potest. Omitto stemma quod ei regium, et cum rege con-
tentiosum est : alia sunt in diuino illo viro prædicanda.
Quod si tales reliqui Patres in Concilio sunt, mirabor si
Concilium illud non coierit autore Spiritu Sancto, quod-
80 que in definitionibus suis propemodum dicere queat :
' Visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis '.

Scribis per Costerium tuum, transmittam tibi Vitam

64. quidem] *added over line* 66. idem] *corr over æque wh. is
corr over bene* 66. tempestiuiora] *before it is er et t* 68. alibi]
after it a word beginning with s was started and er 70. etiamsi...
(71) impredientibus] *added in margin* 73. noticia] *added over line*
74. ne] *corr over nisi* 76. regium] *after it est is er* 77. sunt]
after it is er in diuino illo prædicanda 78. reliqui &c.] *on f 218 r*

69. Boneffiæ] *GallChrist.*, III, 600 ; *BelgMon.*, 65, sq ; *supra*, p. 476.

76. stemma] through his mother Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, Reginald de la Pole belonged to the York (and legitimate) branch of the Plantagenets ; through his mother Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., George of Clarence's brother, Henry VIII. belonged to same house, whereas through his father Henry VII. (who had cleared out of his way several possible pretenders of the York family), he belonged to the Lancaster (originally illegitimate) branch.

82. Costerium] John de Coster, *Costerius*, a native of Louvain, entered St. Martin's in 1533. He soon distinguished himself as a holy man and as an eloquent preacher. He collaborated with

Martini Dorpij, olim a me conscriptam; subolet quo
petente hoc scribas. Est Anglus quispiam, nescio quis,
85 qui idem per M. Jodocum Colenbrantum, licentiatum
Medicum, a me enixe efflagitat, vsqueadeo vt vel magno
illam impetrare se posse optarit, vt Colebrantus scribit.
Vt somnium discutiam, fateor: depinxi aliquando vitam
præceptoris mei Dorpij, hoc dans memoriæ clarissimi
90 viri, sed non ea consummatione qua ilico in lucem exire
vellem. Multa adhuc lambenda. Multa aliter figuranda,
atque adeo tela tota retexenda. Scripsi indulgens studio
tum in virum meo, potius quam ex vero: sane dum
hodie mecum recognosco, piget pudetque vnquam in
95 manus vllorum nescio qua mea oscitantia venisse. Et
multo magis puderet in tanta vbertate eruditorum in dies
numerosius enascente, si cui eius legendi copiam facerem.

87. optarit] *corr in margin next to dixerit, er* 88. fateor] *ms ffateor* 88. depinxi] *corr in margin next to delini[ui], er* 93. quam] *added over line* 93. vero] *after it Et is er* 94. in manus vllorum] *added in right margin* 95. nescio ... venisse] *added in left margin* 95. Et] *before it are er two words, prob lectu dedisse* 97. enascente] *corr from -scentium*

Martin Lips at the 10th volume of *Augustinus* (cp. *supra*, p. 535), and, formed at his school, he became a great erudite; he edited, corrected, and annotated, texts of works by authors like St. Ambrose, *Guerrius, abbas Igniacensis* (Louvain, 1555), St. Vincent of Lerins (Louvain, 1568), Thomas a Kempis; he also wrote commentaries on the *Cantica Canticorum* (Louvain, 1558), on the *Ecclesiastes* (Antwerp, 1575), on the Prodigal Son; further an Oration in praise of Holy Scripture (Antwerp, 1555). The Convent library contained many of his manuscripts, and also a fine copy of St. John Chrysostom's Homilies, in Greek, written out by him. On Sept. 24, 1554 he was elected the 13th Prior, in which quality, he ruled to perfection over the community, not abandoning, however his studies. He died before his time, struck it seemed by a lot, which he had drawn when celebrating the Three Kings, at which his brethren had extracted from him the permission to indulge in that sport. To him befell a slip with the word *stultus*, which he took as a divine warning: he fell ill and, lingering a few weeks, died on March 9, 1559; his friends, amongst them, John Latomus, of Bergen-op-Zoom, Prior of Our Lady's Throne, adorned his tomb with many epitaphs and poems: *ChronSMart.*, 76, 180-1, 260-4, 306-7; *BibBelg.*, 485-6; *Mol.*, 289; *Sweerts*, 413; *SweMonSep.*, 226; *Miræus*, II, 66; *Hurter*, II, 1474.

83. vitam Martini Dorpij] cp. *supra*, pp. 257-281.

94. in manus vllorum] cp. *MorinckEp.* 1, 155.

Proinde Erasmus, felicis memoriæ, dum quidam exemplar vnum characteribus Italicis festiue scriptum, ad
 100 eum tum Basilææ consistentem transmisisset, vt an
 scombris an prælo dignum esset censeret, rescripsit nihil
 sane magna laude dignum : crediderim quod stylus affec-
 tior ac morosior esset, non tam rei quam verbis ser-
 uiens, vt re vera seruif. Rursus quod quædam inessent a
 105 stomacho eius alieniora, præsertim quod scripsi tyrunculo
 Theologo præludendum esse in Doctoribus scholasticis,
 et deinde ad Patres accedendum, quod ita futurum
 esset vt Patres inoffensius ac sanius legeret. Porro scis
 quam ille scholasticis, non dicam plane iniquus, certe
 110 parum æquus esset. Denique quod dixi Dorpium falso de
 Luteranismo suspectum fuisse, propterea quod moriturus,
 accersitis duobus primariis Theologis, ingenue professus
 fuerit se nihil minus quam Luteri placita probare, velle-
 que mori in fide Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, quæ iam inde ab
 115 Apostolis ad nos vsque descendisset. Aiebat enim se ipsius
 Dorpij ad se scriptis literis diuersum docere potuisse.
 Non inficior in exortu Luteranismi, æditis Luteri placitis
 eorumque fusioribus declarationibus, acerrime Dorpius
 simul et vehementissime tum domi nobiscum ad focum,
 120 tum foris in diatribis, in illa numquam non inquirebat.
 Vidi ad hæc literas idiographas ad eum (Ecolampadij,

100. transmisisset] *added in right margin next to same word
 corr and er* 101. esset] *added over line* 109. certe] *corr over sed*
 114. iam] *before it ab is er* 115. Aiebat &c.] *on f 218 v*

98. Erasmus] cp. *MorinckEp.* 1, 163-170.

105. tyrunculo &c.] *DorpVita*, 290, sq; cp. *DorpApol.*, 456, sq.

111. de Luteranismo &c.] *DorpVita*, 640, sq.

115. Aiebat &c.] possibly Dorp's letter to Erasmus from The Hague, November 28, 1519 (*supra*, pp. 217-221, 374-5), in which he seems to blame his colleagues for condemning Luther.

117. in exortu &c.] when Morinck was Dorp's *conviva* in Holy Ghost College : *supra*, p. 463.

121. literas ... (Ecolampadij) evidently after the publication of the *Oratio in Laudem Divi Pauli*, and probably in answer to Erasmus' request, of February 5, 1520, to (Ecolampadius to write to Dorp and encourage him in the trouble caused by some of his colleagues : Allen, iv, 1064; *supra*, p. 228. (Ecolampadius, who was preacher at Augsburg, at the time, proclaimed at every oppor-

quibus ad præconium Euangelij tum vere renati, vt ille volebat, nauiter Louanij suscipiendum instantissime sollicitabatur. At vero ne verbum quidem vnquam ex eo
 125 audire me memini, cum quotidianus ei et assiduus essem, vnde eum vesaniæ illorum importunissimorum impostorum aliquousque accessisse colligere potuerim. Excutere quidem paradoxa quid in se ponderis haberent, vtique impune licet, quibus non protinus suffragari oportuerit :
 130 alioqui qua venia tum Luterana lectitassent, qui primi in ea calamum distrinxissent? Jnest et quiddam aliud de literis bonis, Erasmo vt earum vindici et assertori, suspicor, non admodum aridens. Proinde si vir ille tantus, in ijs vere lapis lydius, nostram illam opellam non magno-
 135 pere probarit, — probaturus autem vtique, qua erat humanitate, interrogatus, si modo probanda fuisset — non est quod quisquam eius inspiciendi copiam a me expectet.

123. Louanij] *added in margin* 123. suscipiendum] *written over a word er, possibly exquirendum* 128. haberent] *corr from habeant* 129. impune] *added over line* 129. licet] *corr from licuit* 129. oportuerit] *written over oportuit* 131. distrinxissent] *corr from -xere* 137. a me] *added over line*

tunity about 1519-20, the necessity of studying and preaching the Gospel, stating that the reading of the Fathers has only one use and aim, namely, inciting to the study of Holy Scripture (Herzog, I, 132-8; *Adelmann*, 116, sq). Most probably he also urged Dorp in that direction : still there was not then any idea in him of breaking with the Church : for in March 1520, he entered a convent : Herzog, I, 140, sq.

124. ne verbum &c.] *supra*, p. 463.

132. de literis bonis] probably *Dorp Vita*, 270-289.

133. si vir ille &c.] Morinck was much more sanguine about his biography, and did not take so literally Erasmus' disapproval, in 1527, when he wrote to Livinus Crucius : *Morinck Ep.* 1, 155-169 ; *supra*, pp. 498-9. Possibly he had, meanwhile, learned more of Erasmus' mind and character, and, no doubt, must have felt himself, that the complete absence of any mention or allusion to the difference between the two men, was a real defect in his biography ; in so much the more that the deficiency of any reference was a proof either of a disparaging weakness in passing by a disagreeable episode ; or of a want of discernment failing to gauge the value of that controversy in the history of learning and humanism, which contributed more to Dorp's fame than any of his other achievements.

Mallem quiddam de integro condere in gratiam amici, si quis modo eius tanto desiderio teneatur, quod memoriam
 140 amplissimi viri in tempus aliquod fortassis extenderet, et mei in eum amoris affectusque pignus obsesque foret, quam quippiam prodere vnde sordidaretur magis quam honestaretur.

Vintoniensis epistolam ad Bucerum Traiecti scriptam
 145 religiose perpenseque legi. Est sane erudita et arguta. De munditie taceo, quæ tanta est quanta est ætate hac Theologi vilius. Declarat vir præstantissimus se in argutijs tum Philosophicis, tum Theologicis exquisitissime versa-

140. viri in] *added in right margin* 140. tempus aliquod] *added over viri in longum er ; before tempus, in is er* 142. quippiam] *added over a word er* 146. hac] *added over line*

144. Vintoniensis epistolam] Stephen Gardiner had attacked Bucer, whom he had met at the Ratisbon Diet in 1541, about the celibacy of the priests and nuns; he had written *Ad M. Bucerum de impudenti ejusdem pseudologia* (against James Latomus) *conquestio*, — which was printed in Louvain 1544 (probably *stylo anglico*), and Cologne 1545. As a reply had been waited for in vain, Gardiner wrote *Ad M. Bucerum Epistola, qua cessantem hactenus et cunctantem, ac frustratoria responsionis pollicitatione, orbis de se judicia callide sustinentem, urget ad respondendum de impudentissima ejusdem pseudologia justissimæ conquestioni ante annum editæ*: Ingolstadt, 1546. Bucer retorted in 1548 in his *Gratulatio ad Ecclesiam Anglicanam*, to which Gardiner wrote an answer on May 9, 1548: *Exelasis testimoniorum*; which, however, on account of the trouble in which he lived, was not published before 1554: Strype, II, 105-9; P. Janelle, *La Controverse entre Etienne Gardiner et Martin Bucer sur la discipline ecclésiastique 1541-1548* (in *Revue des Sciences Religieuses, de la Fac. de théol. cath. de Strassbourg*: July 1927); AmHerb., III, 1833; Gillow, II, 384; *RéfAngl.*, 231, 674; Hermelmau., 184; &c.

144. Traiecti scriptam] Gardiner had arrived at Bruges on Nov. 3, 1545, to treat with the French ambassadors under Charles V.'s mediation. The interviews started at Bruges on November 7, and were continued at Antwerp until Nov. 25, when the French legates returned, without reaching a final conclusion. Gardiner probably accompanied the Emperor to Turnhout and Hertogenbosch, on his way to Utrecht, where he arrived on Dec. 30 and presided the Chapter of the Golden Fleece in January 1546. In March the Court left for Ratisbon, where Charles arrived on April 10, and stayed till August for the Diet: Gachard, II, 312-333. Most likely Gardiner wrote his *Epistola* at Utrecht, where the gout kept the Emperor inactive for several days. The movements of the Court also explain the place where it was published.

tum et Literas Sacras intentissime excussisse, Patres
 150 denique Ecclesiasticos tum Græcos tum Latinos in nume-
 rato habere. Largiatur diuina benignitas viro excellen-
 tissimo longæuitatem, vt quam operam in capiendis his
 vulpibus paruulis, strenuam Christo nauat, diu nauare
 quæat.

155 Paucis his annis plurimi, alij alijs in locis, viri maximi
 decesserunt : Roffensis, Morus, Joannes Faber, Eccius,
 Latomus, Turnholtus, et postremo Pygius : quorum virtute
 constantiaque, aliquorum etiam sanguine, sana fides egre-
 gie defensa stetit. Sed nouit Dominus quos vice horum
 160 alios æque pugnæ idoneos in palestram producturus sit :
 quorum principem Vintoniensem fore auguror, si quo
 ardore cœpit, pergat.

Latomum et Lerinensem longo postliminio remitto,
 quos de industria tanto tempore seruauī vt non nisi cum
 165 iusta epistola ad herum redirent, quam hactenus sopita
 quadam socordia vix tandem mihi extundere potui. Alio-
 qui sciui me precario habuisse, non mancipio : commo-
 dato, non dono.

Habeo in manibus, et diu habui, perexiguam paraphra-

149. Literas] *before it patres is er* 152. longæuitatem &c.] on
 f 219 r 156. Faber] *ms ffaber* 167. commodato] *written over*
same w er

156. Faber, Eccius] John Faber Heigerlin died on May 21, 1541 ;
 John Eck, on Febr. 10, 1543.

157. Latomus, Turnholtus] James Masson, *Latomus*, died on
 May 29, 1544 ; John Driedoens, of Turnhout, on Aug. 4, 1535 : *supra*,
 pp. 344-5, 507.

157. postremo Pygius] Morinck refers to his old friend Albert
 Pigge, who became *cubicularius* of Adrian VI., and of Clement VII.,
 and finally provost of St. John's, Utrecht. He was not the last to
 die of the theologians mentioned, as he departed this life on
 Dec. 26, 1542, but the last to take up apologetics, his first writing
 of the kind, the *Apologia Indicti Concilii* (*supra*, p. 486), being of
 October 1537 : *Cran.*, 97, *a-i* ; *HEpD*, 115-6 ; *VisMonEccl.*, 604-6.

161. quorum principem &c.] under Queen Mary, Gardiner was
 necessarily hindered in all his apologetic or controversial efforts
 by his past errors, of which his adversaries did not fail in remind-
 ing him, if they did not make them up into cruel arguments. It is
 moreover surprising that this favourer of Henry VIII.'s wildest
 doctrines, found fault with Erasmus and his *Paraphrases* : *Cran-*
mer, II, 787, *sq* ; *Pits*, 748-9 ; *Gillow*, II, 368-386.

163. Latomum] any of his numerous writings : *cp. BibBelg.*, 416.

170 sim in Lamentationes Hieremiæ, quam propemodum ad
calcem vsque perduxî. Dabo tibi gustum vbi absoluero.
Composui item in gratiam Gemblacensium vitam sanctis-
simi Patris Guiberti, Sancti eorum tutelarî et domesticî,
cuius exemplar vnum integrum syncerumque, si habe-
175 rem, muneri mitterem; missurus autem in posterum,
vbi illi eam prælo dare velint. Neque enim ego vllas
præli impensas subire velim, post gratuitum dedicatum
eis laborem.

Vale, Vir Optime, et nos quod soles, ama. Costerium
180 vestrum, per quem munusculum tuum bona fide accepi,
verbis meis quæso salutes, et vestros omnes, si quibus
etiamnum nostri memoria et noticia est.

E monasterio Benedictinorum ad diui Trudonis. Anno
1547.

185

Gerar. Moringus
tuus ex animo.

Mitto exemplar vnum epistolæ quam nostri pro honore
sanctissimi Patris sui Trudonis in lucem dari volunt.

Composui epistolam, prolixam satis, ad nobilem quem-
190 dam Leodiensem de venatione.

177. gratuitum] *after it eis is er* 178. eis] *added over line* 187.
Mitto &c.] *added afterwards by Morinck in a different ink and*
with a different nib 188. in] *before it is er compositam et*

170. Lamentationes Hieremiæ] they were completed on Novem-
ber 29, 1547: *MSGerMor.*, 315 v-338 v; *supra*, p. 489.

172. Gemblacensium] the abbey of Gembloux; the *Vita*, dedi-
cated Oct. 10, 1546 to Abbot Arnold de Monte, van den Berghe, had
been requested through Peter Faber, one of the Gembloux monks
transferred to St. Trudo's in July 1520, to renew the monastic
spirit: *GallChrist.*, III, 567; *Daris*, v, 150-1; *BelgMon.*, 15, sq, 24.

172. vitam ... Guiberti] *MSGerMor.*, 202-3; *supra*, pp. 493-4; *Bib-*
Belg., 281, mentions that it was in manuscript in St. Trudo's with
a life of St. Anthony.

179. Costerium] on his way to 'Croix en Lens' he may have
passed through St. Trond.

187. epistolæ] probably the *Vita Sancti Trudonis* &c., printed in
June 1540 in Louvain by S. Zassenus: cp. *supra*, pp. 490-1.

189. epistolam ... de venatione] probably the memoir about the
right of ordinary people to game, dedicated on March 15, 1539, first
to Richard de la Rivière, Lord of Heers (who matriculated in
Louvain, July 1, 1513: *LibIntIII.*, 193 v), and, at his untimely
decease, to William de Horion, of Ordange: *supra*, pp. 488-9.

LIST OF

CORRIGENDA & ADDENDA

Pages

- 123, l. 13, read Bommel instead of Kampen (cp. p. 461)
- 141, note 8 : the same correction of the date has been afterwards accepted by Allen, III, 967, 72.
- 172, note 1 : read Burer instead of Bürer
- 174, l. 1 : & note 1 : read Longicampianus instead of -campanus
- 197, note 7 : read 952 instead of 752
- 244, note 4 : read 29 instead of 27 (cp. p. 385)
- 284, l. 3 : read 1522 instead of 1526 (cp. p. 464)
- 403, l. 31 : read possibly instead of possibly,
- 405, l. 28 : read affection, upon instead of affection upon,
- 461, note 2 (l. 2) : read 123 instead of 121
- 486, l. 20 & note 7 : von is perhaps more likely than van
- 487, note 1 : cp. *ColBusPrim.* for information about William de Hor-
rion's son Michael, who studied in the *Trilingue* from 1530
to 1532, and was John van Campen's domestic disciple :
Cran., 95, e.
- 576, note to l. 36, l. 12 : read Jules III. instead of Jules II.
- 588, note 3 : read 184-186 instead of 77
- 631, note 1 : add : The narration of the Siege in Willem Boonen's
Geschiedenis van Leuven geschreven in de jaren 1593 en
1594 (ed. by Ed. van Even) : Louvain, 1880 : 81-82, is evi-
dently based on tradition, and hardly reliable for the
explanation of the liberation. In his *Obituarium Ecclesiae*
Sti Quintini, the Rector of that parish from 1536 to 1565,
Henry Damen, of Mierlo, noted on August 2 : ' Hoc die
aº 1542 venit martinus Rossemius nomine Regis Francie,
ex Julia et gelria per brabantiam ante Louanium ex latere
montis Caluarie, sed captis interlocutoribus nostris pretore
cum D. Damiano goes, gratia Dei, altera die ab obsidione
liberatum est quasi miraculose '. The two last words of this
apparently authentic report are written in red ink : they
show Damen's opinion, which corroborates Goes' statement
about his share in that deliverance (cp. pp. 660, sq, 678,
682) : Archives of St Quentin's, Louvain.
- 679, note to l. 573 : add : Cp. *infra*, p. 698
- 682, note 4 : add : The account of the *Receptor Universitatis* for June-
December 1542 has an item, stating that he paid to the
newly appointed Promotor, Joh. Simonis, ' viij Rf. ix ft ' on
the Rector's order ' pro vino propinato mgro. seuerino &
christophoro ' : FUL, 273 : 348 v
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JOHN HELYAR

VIVES'

DISCIPLE

JOHN HELYAR

VIVES'

DISCIPLE

John Helyar.

One of the students whom Vives found in Corpus Christi College, on his arrival in Oxford, in August 1523 ¹⁾, was the Hampshire boy, John Helyar ²⁾, a protégé of Edward Fynche, who himself was one of Wolsey's *familiares* ³⁾. He distinguished himself by his interest in Vives' lectures, and wrote to him a letter on December 19, 1524, when, on account of the epidemy, the favourite teacher had been held up in London to the great disappointment of his pupils, amongst whom were Richard Pate and Reginald Pole, Nicholas Udall and Edward Wotton ⁴⁾. Helyar continued the life of study he had started under the guidance of the Spanish Humanist, and probably entered into closer connection with the Cardinal Chancellor ⁵⁾. After Wolsey's fall he studied and taught for a while in Oxford ⁶⁾; took care as a resident priest of the parishes of East Meon and Warblington, which he had secured ⁷⁾; but soon left England for Paris; he was in Louvain in the first months of 1537, when Rescius prepared his collection of Epitaphs

¹⁾ *Supra*, p. 7.

²⁾ *VivAngl.*, 269; *supra*, p. 14-16.

³⁾ *Supra*, p. 15.

⁴⁾ *VivAngl.*, 269.

⁵⁾ Wood, I, 41, suggests that he belonged to the Cardinal's *familia*; possibly he may have been appointed in his College in Oxford, which would explain the literary writings which seem to suggest that he was interested in teaching; at Wolsey's death he supplicated to be allowed to read the Sentences as Bachelor of Divinity (Wood, I, 683).

⁶⁾ Helyar supplicated for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in Oxford on December 7, 1532, being still ascribed to Corpus Christi College: Wood, I, 683; *DNB*, quoting *Reg. Univ. Oxford*, I, 326: 1534.

⁷⁾ Cp. *infra*, p. 599, sq.

on Erasmus ¹⁾, and was still alive in 1539 : those are, in brief, all the data supplied by his biographers for his maturer age ²⁾.

In a paper published in the *Bulletin Hispanique* of 1928 ³⁾ Professor Marcel Bataillon drew the attention to interesting reference to him, in connection with St. Ignatius' *Exercitia Spiritualia*. One of the oldest copies of that book — made soon after it was translated from Spanish into Latin, is found in a manuscript volume which was Helyar's, and which in the course of time became the property of the Theatine Convent of 'S. Silvestro al Quirinale'. Finally it passed into the Vatican Library, where it is catalogued as *Ms Regina Lat.* 2004, as part of the collection of Queen Christina of Sweden — although it never seems to have belonged to her.

The paper *codex* was an actual copy-, and exercise-book of the English erudite for the years 1534 to 1537. It contains the transcription of St. Ignatius *Exercitia* ⁴⁾, which he, no doubt, copied in Paris where he resided for several months ; and besides, a variety of notes, and translations from the Greek of St. John Chrysostom, of St. Basil and of other authors into Latin ; the most interesting of those renderings is the *Sancti Patris nostri Joannis Chrysostomi Liber præclarissimus, ad eos, qui scandalizati sunt et offensi calamitatibus ac malis, quæ nuper contigerunt, et populi, ac multorum sacerdotum persecutione, vexatione, et subuersione. Item De incomprehensibili providentia ac potentia Dej, et contra Judæos. Jo. Heliare Anglo interprete* ⁵⁾. Without doubt,

¹⁾ *D. Erasmi Epitaphia per eruditos aliquot viros Academiæ Lovaniensis edita* : Louvain, R. Rescius, March 1537 : Joannis Heliaris Angli ; *CatDuo*, O 2 r, v.

²⁾ Pits, 706 ; Wood, 1, 41-42 ; Gillow, 11, 264-5 ; *DNB*, and references ; *cp. infra*, pp. 599, sq.

³⁾ Bordeaux, 1928 : p. 77.

⁴⁾ The *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, in their second series : *Monumenta Ignatiana*, offer a critical edition of the *Exercitia Spiritualia Sancti Ignatii de Loyola et eorum Directoria*, published Madrid 1919 ; Helyar's transcript ranks as *Codex 11*, and is fully described, with the rest of the *codex*, on pp. 207-9, and 569-73. — The text of the *Exercitia* (ff 24, sq) was copied by Helyar for his own use ; he wrote interlinear and marginal remarks and annotations, occasionally risking corrections, generally expanding the author's suggestions.

⁵⁾ *F^o 35 r, sq* ; it is probably the translation indicated amongst Helyar's works by Bale, 216 (and Wood, 1, 42) : ' Chrisostomum de providentia et fato transtulit li. i. '. Without doubt, it was meant to be

that book was translated on account of the similitude of the circumstances at the time of the author and at that of the translator : the latter points out that likeness in marginal notes all along his text ¹⁾, and especially in a kind of notice or preface written next to the title and prologue ²⁾

Hic liber non tam accommodatus erat hominibus Grecis illius temporis quo Chrysostomus vivebat, quam Anglis nostræ memoriæ; nec tempestivius illis tum est a Chrysostomo scriptus, quam his nunc versus, ac Latinitate donatus prodit. Quis enim dubitat plurimos in Anglia horrendis ac immanissimis Regis sui flagitijs ac sacrilegijs vehementer scandalizari ac offendi? Qui postquam supremum Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ caput appellari voluit (quod omnium scelerum caput est), numquam desijt optimos quosque ac Christianissimos Episcopos, Sacerdotes, Monachos, Laicos, Patricios, populares, cognatos, amicos suos, senes, juvenes, pueros, viros, mulieres iniquissime vexare, spoliare, trucidare; Monasteria evertere; templa item, et sacraria; aras, diuorum thecas ac capsas compilare ac diripere? Quorum scelerum atrocitate permulti infirmi offenduntur, adeo vt de prouidentia Dei subdubitare (sicut credibile est) occipiant, qui talem tyrannum ita sinat in suam Ecclesiam crassari, vt nec illum fulmine prosternat, aut subito telluris hiatu absorbendum curet, nec suis opituletur. Horum infirmitati hic liber medetur, qui hoc consilio a me versus est et in lucem editus, ut cum alij omnes, tum vero potissimum nostrates, quicumque ad hunc modum offensi sunt Regis, [sicut &] aliorum, facinoribus, hinc remedia ac pharmaca petant. Deus sinendo ea mala eousque procedere, facile declarauit et quam Ipse prospiciat rebus omnibus, et quam scelerata sint quæ Rex agit.

Amongst other translations from Greek there is <Sancti Basilii Magni> Homilia vndecima de Creatione ac Structura

published, for, before the chapter 10, *f* 44 *r*, Helyar wrote this advice — evidently intended for the copyist or the compositor : ‘leue space here’. Whether the book was actually printed, is unknown to me.

¹⁾ Where St. John Chrysostom mentions the cruelty towards martyrs, Helyar adds (*f* 44 *r*) : ‘Vt nunc fit in Anglia, vbi his atrociora peperantur’. Where reference is made to the beneficent example of their constancy (*f* 51 *r*), a marginal note states : ‘Jtidem in Anglia multos in corde constanter tenere veritatem spes est’. In chapter 19 (*f* 51 *r*) the imprisoned and exiled Greek Christians are compared to those of England : ‘vt franciscanj in Anglia omnes obseruantes’. — ‘Rex immannior est quam vt exilij poena contentus sit : vitam aufert’. Women and girls were martyred in the 14th century : ‘Et hoc genus spectaculi Anglia spectauit’. St. John Chrysostom praises St. John the Baptist beheaded for vindicating the indissolubility of marriage (*f* 51 *v*) : Helyar remarks : ‘An non eadem in Anglia nuper gesta sunt?’ — ‘Roffensis et Morus pro iusti matrimonij defensione in carcerem coniecti, mox pro defensa Christj Sponsa interfectj’. Where the original celebrates the triumphs of faith over persecution and selfishness (*f* 54 *r*), the translator exclaims : ‘Hæc disce ex tuis martyribus, o Anglia!’

²⁾ *F* 35 *r*. Cp. Migne*Gr.*, LX, 194, *sq.*

Hominis, Joanne Heliare Anglo interprete' ¹⁾, which shows that what is contained in this *codex* are original draughts, for there are many changes in the rendering, and in the margin several notes express doubts as to the exact reading in the original, or the sense of a word, and occasionally a suggestion of an emendation or a criticism of the text. The writing of this translation is quite identical with that of Helyar's epistle to Vives in 1523; whereas his letters are a size bigger in copies like that of the *Exercitia* and a size smaller in the great amount of annotations on the Hebrew and Greek texts of some parts of the Bible.

These copies, translations and annotations reveal Helyar's preoccupations: he is shown as being chiefly interested in exegesis, for which science he even started the study of Hebrew, and probably trained himself in Greek by rendering from the original several of the writings of the Fathers. His staunch attachment to his faith certainly guided him in the choice of these texts, and the notes which he added show his standing towards Henry VIII.'s bold innovations in religion and morals. His deeply founded devotion appears from the fact that he copied and commented soon after its composition the work which was going to be as the corner stone of a renewal of the religious spirit in the years to come. These are not the only facts which can be inferred from his *codex*, of which the first and the last page, as well as one page about the middle contain an amount of notes varying as much in

¹⁾ On f 64 r, sq; this is one of four homilies on creation translated from the Greek of St. Basil: two are entitled *In Opificium sex dierum*: ff 13, sq; two others, on ff 58 sq: *Homilia decima, et undecima in Hexameron, quibus præmittitur alterius Homiliæ de Paradiso initium*: MigneGr., xxix, 3-207; id., xxx, 62, sq. Other homilies by the same Father are that in *Barlaam Martyrem* (ff 68, sq; MigneGr., xxxi, 483); *De Poenitentia ad Maximum Philosophum, et de Humilitate* (ff 143, sq; MigneGr., xxxi, 525, 1475): *de iis quæ ad vitæ usum pertinent, et alia in S. Mamantem* (ff 150, sq; MigneGr., xxxi, 539, 589); in *Psalmos* (ff 77, sq; MigneGr., xxix, 210); *Homilia in Prov. 5: Ne des somnum oculis tuis &c.* (ff 22, sq; MigneGr., xxxi, 1497). The *codex* further contains the translation of St. John Chrysostom's *Homilia in illud Apostoli: Modico vino utere propter stomachum* (ff 4 sq; MigneGr., ii., 21); two extracts from the *Catena Aurea Græca* about Theophylactus (on S. John) and Isidore Pelusiota (on S. Luke) f 57; grammatical commentaries on the Hebrew text of the Genesis and the Ecclesiastes: ff 70, sq, 2, 159; and, finally, *Theologicæ Theses Lovanii disputatæ*: ff 148-9.

subject as in size : some are quite personal and trivial, others most interesting for the knowledge of his life and opinions ; some consist of one or two words ; others reach the extent of full-sized documents.

Helyar's Letter to Vives.

The largest amongst those annotations is the rough draught of a letter on the lower half of *f* 76 *v*, of which the upper part is taken up by notes and explanations on chapter xii of the Ecclesiastes (4-6). There is no name, but as Helyar addresses his former *Præceptor*, mentioning that he is said to have written a treatise *de Anima*, which is expected to be published very soon, there is no doubt but it was written to John Louis Vives, who was his teacher in Oxford, and who in fact wrote *De Anima et Vita Libri Tres. Opus insigne nunc primum in lucem editum*, printed in Basle by Robert Winter in September 1538 ¹⁾. In that way Vives' correspondence is enriched with one more item, for the draught, although not in the form as it was dispatched, may be considered as equivalent. There are a few words and sentences which Helyar had not yet decided upon : for they are written, the one next to, or over the other without any erasure : in such cases the form which seems to have been the last in the author's mind, is used in the letter, whereas the others are supplied in the notes ²⁾. It is dated from Louvain, the day after the feast of St. Gertrude, who is evidently the Saint to whom the Abbey and the Church of that name are dedicated, formerly celebrated with great public rejoicings in that town in general on March 17 ³⁾. The year is not added, but is indicated clearly as 1537 by the reference to the recent appointment of Reginald Pole as Cardinal, on December 22, 1536 ⁴⁾. The text of the letter is as follows ⁵⁾ :

¹⁾ Bonilla, 794.

²⁾ *E. g.* ll. 6-7, 10, 37.

³⁾ *Louvain*, 208-9, 399, *sq.*

⁴⁾ Cp note to l. 42.

⁵⁾ The address is quoted from Helyar's letter of Dec. 19, 1524 : *supra*, p. 14. In the textual notes *H* stands for Helyar ; *H* or *H*₁, for what he first wrote down, or changed whilst he was writing, making the corrected word follow on a line with the word erased or discarded ; *H*₂ and *H*₃ indicate what seem subsequent corrections : those marked *H*₃ are generally written much clearer and more regular than the small and negligent hand of *H*₂.

Louvain, March 18 <, 1537>

<IOANNES HELIARES DÑO LUDOUICO VIVI, PRÆCEPTORI
SUO SAL. P. D.>

> Quemadmodum debitores qui grande æs alienum conflauerunt, sub diem numerationj præstitutum non libenter occurrunt creditoribus, imo fugiunt illorum congressum : vel quia non sint soluendo ; vel quod citra pudorem
5 conuenire eos non possint ; vel quod expostulationes et iurgia metuant : jta ego, qui ex intermissa ad te scribendi consuetudine grave debitum contraxi, haud scio quo pacto, hoc grauatus cunctatusque ad solutionem accedo, quo me diutius ratione silentij mei obæratum tibi fuisse
10 recordor. Cæterum quum diligentius mecum reputo æs alienum meum indies fœnoris instar crescere, adeo ut si differre pergam, nulla sit spes satisfaciendi reliqua futura ; quum tuam item humanitatem, et ingenium longe a vulgarium creditorum moribus diuersum consy-
15 dero, temperare mihi non possum, quin aliquam debiti partem ad te, per hunc transmittam tabellarium, præsertim quum sit tam commodus ; non tamen quo te placem, qui facillimus es, et placidissimus : ita ut quod iure licet exigere, pro tua humanitate non exigas, quin ne ipse
20 ingratus et optimj Præceptoris immemor esse videar. Speroque hac ratione me effecturum ut vel condones quod restat, vel minutis subinde acceptis portiunculis

Textual Notes. — 1. Quemadmodum &c.] on f 76 v 4. vel ... (5) possint] *H*₃ adds betw lines over pudeat eos debere inserted by *H*₂ over the line after quod (*H*₁) 6. metuant] *H*₃ wr & er a word over it 6. ex] after it *H* wr & er dilato 6. intermissa] *H*₃ adds a over -sso 7. consuetudine] *H*₃ adds over munere (*H*₁) 9. ratione silentij mei] *H*₃ wr over per taciturnitatem meam (*H*₁) wh he er 9. obæratum tibi] *H*₁ ; *H*₂ wr over it in ære tuo, wh he er 10. Cæterum] *H*₃ adds over Verum *H*₁ 10. quum] after it *H*₁ wr mecum wh *H*₃ er 10. mecum] *H*₃ adds over line 11. indies] id 13. tuam] id 13. et] before it *H*₁ wr and er consydero 16. per hunc] *H*₃ adds over line 16. tabellarium ... (17) commodus] id 16. transmittam] *H*₃ corr from transmissa *H*₁ 17. tamen] *H* tã : may be tam 17. quo] *H*₁ adds over line 20. esse] id 22. vel] after it *H*₁ wr paulatim ; *H*₃ er and wrote over it subinde wh he er 22. subinde] *H*₃ adds over line

- contentus, paulatim imminui summam patiaris. Excusa-
 tiones nullas prætendam, neque vel ocium mihi defuisse
 25 vel tabellarij copiam mentiar. Potius simpliciter agnos-
 cam culpam tarditatis, permittamque me totum tuæ
 clementiæ : quæ hoc mihi æquior erit, quod per id tem-
 pus quo ad te nihil scripsi, non fuerim ociosus. Nam ut
 alia silentio preteream : hunc annum pene totum He-
 30 braicæ Linguæ impendi : quod iam ad intelligendam
 Sacram Scripturam, apprime esse vtilem ex Hieronymi
 commentarijs intellexerim : qui et ipsi sine nonnulla eius
 idiomatis cognitione intelligi haud facile possunt, nedum
 Sacra Biblia possint. Et alioqui iucundum est ex fonte
 35 haurire. Eius sermonis maximam molestiam existimo me
 deuorasse. Vtinam post radicis amaritudinem, dulces
 aliquando fructus degustem. Vale etiam atque etiam, mi
 Præceptor, et tibi persuadeas me non solere tui obliuisci
 in precibus meis, tametsi ad scribendum signior sim.
 40 In Britannia quanta rerum mutatio accidit ex quo ego
 illinc discessj ! Credo te audisse D. Reginoldum Polum,
 Anglum, Romæ esse creatum Cardinalem. Secundo vale.

24. prætendam] *H*₃ corr *H*₁ prælexam 24. ocium] *H*₃; *H*₁ tempus
 25. agnoscam] *before it H*₁ *wr & er tuæ bonitati fatebor* 27. hoc]
*H*₃ corr over tanto erit *H*₁ 27. erit] *H*₃ adds over line 29. alia]
*after it H*₁ *wr & er omitam* 29. silentio] *H*₂ adds over line
 30. iam] *H*₂ adds over line 35. sermonis] *H*₃ corr linguæ *H*₁
 37. degustem] *H*₁ *wr over percipiam wh is followed by decerpam :*
he evidently had not made his choice as no word is er 37. Vale]
*before it H*₁ *wr & er Salve* 38. solere] *before it H*₁ *er esse* 39.
 ad] *before it sim is er* 41. illinc] *H*₂; illam *H*₁ 42. Anglum]
*H*₂ over line

29. Hebraicæ Linguæ] hence the various annotations in the
 codex; it is possible that he had come on that account to Louvain
 to work in company or under the guidance of the Hebrew Pro-
 fessor of the Trilingue, Andrew van Gennepe, of Balen, *Balenus :*
ColBusPrim. ; NèveMém., 245.

41. discessj] it is not mentioned at all in Wood, I, 41-42, that
 Helyar left England; at Wolsey's death he asked permission in
 Oxford to read the Sentences.

41. Reginoldum Polum] he had been Vives' pupil, like Helyar,
 in Corpus Christi College, Oxford : *supra*, pp. 8, sq; *VivAngl.*,
 269; Paul III. created him Cardinal on Dec. 22, 1536, on the advice,
 it seems, of his friend Contarini : *PastPäpste*, v, 113-114.

Lovaniij, postridie Diuæ Gertrudis.

Tui libri, quos de anima scripsisse te fama est, cum
 45 summo desyderio ac favore expectantur a studiosis.
 Sumpsisti materiam præstantissimo tuo ingenio ac sum-
 ma eruditione dignam, quam nemo hactenus satis pro
 dignitate tractauit. <

<Tuus ex aîo Joânes

50

Heliâres.>

Helyar in Louvain.

A minute study of the various jottings which Helyar wrote on the first and on the last page of his codex, impart at least some details about his life in Louvain. He had arrived in that town in the beginning of 1536 ¹⁾, coming probably from Paris, where some of the zealous friends of Ignatius of Loyola provided him with the *Exercitia*. He noted down that from January 26, he boarded at the *ædes bonnonniæ* ²⁾, which without doubt was the house of John Lobel, *Lobellius*, a native of Boulogne, who had been professor of Canon Law since 1532 ³⁾, — which annotation, however, may refer also to 1537.

43. postridie] *before it H₁ wr & er in die* 49. signature of
 Helyar's letter to Vives of Dec. 1523 : *supra*, p. 16.

44. de anima] they were published first in September 1538, by Robert Winter in Basle, and dedicated to Francis, Duke of Béjar, Count of Benalcázar, a noble Spaniard, to whom Vives wrote occasionally, and to whom he related the story of Philip the Good and the drunken man — similar to the one of Abu-l-Hasan the Wag, of the Thousand-and-one Nights — dramatized by Shakespeare in the prologue to *The Taming of the Shrew* : Bonilla, 247, 435, *sq.*, 794 ; VO, II, 496, *sq.*

¹⁾ It results from the reference to the lessons on the Greek *Institutes* : *infra*, p. 597.

²⁾ *F 1 r* : postridie Paulj in ædes bonnonniæ commestum concessi.

³⁾ John Lobel, or Lobbel, was related to Philip Nigri, the Chancellor of the Golden Fleece, and one of Charles V.'s most conspicuous councillors. He studied in Louvain, and after having promoted Master of Arts, turned to the law, becoming Doctor Vtriusque Juris February 10, 1534. Already in November 1532 he had been appointed by the Louvain Town authorities as secondary (or afternoon) professor of Canon Law. He was a canon of St. John the Baptist's, afterwards St. Bavo's, Ghent, where he was elected dean in 1539, and died 1544 : VAnd., 42, 156-7, 187, 189 ; Paquot, xv, 282 ; *Analectes*, xxxix, 303-4 ; Hellin, 99, 265.

At any rate he was for a time Lobel's *conviva*, and to the same hospes may refer the other jottings mentioning his 'victus' to March 1, and July 21, 1537¹⁾). He possibly may have tutored some younger students ²⁾, so as to relieve somewhat his expenses; it may be the explanation of an account he worked out on the first page of his *codex*, amongst scraps of other annotations ³⁾. Those comprise two maxims ⁴⁾, the explanation of the Συμμορία of Athens, and three notes of jurisprudence, as there are also two found on the last page ⁵⁾. There Helyar put to use Robert Stephanus' *Summa Linguae Latinae*, copying out several words and terms with their explanation in Latin, to which in some cases he added the English (or French) equivalent ⁶⁾. There is moreover a note

¹⁾ *F 1 r*: Ego Joannes Heliarens satisfeci hospiti pro victu vsque ad calendas Martij a^o dñi 1537. Et eidem præterea quinque solares coronatos præ manibus tradidj. — On another place he wrote: Calendis Junij numeravi xxiiij stif<eros> dño Andreae <possibly Lobel's servant>. Item viij^o Julij xx a<sses>. — Also, but erased afterwards: Ego satisfeci hospiti vsque ad vicesimum Julij. Cp. note 3.

²⁾ Possibly the 'John Mesurer' who, according to a note on *f 159 v*, 'ys a good fellow'; possibly the Adrian with whom he read Erasmus' *Adagia* and Agricola's *Dialectica*: *infra*, p. 597.

³⁾ He wrote: 'Rec. pro pre<ceptore> P / vj. fl. vj a<sses>: — to the left he noted: De famulo d. C. 10. s. / Jt. de Joanne 6 s. / Jt. v. fl. et dimid. / vj. fl. vj a. — To the right: Expe<ndi> iij. fl. & xij. a. / Rem<anent> iij fl. xiiij. a. therof deuue 10. a. for L. — To the left: Layd owt for blood leting j. s<tiver>. / Jt. for shaving <half crossed off> a stiver. / Jt. for the wagon to machlin vj. s. / Jt. when he rydde <probably the waggoner with a message> by Antwerp. j. s. / Jt. to L. <prob. Lobel> iij. fl. / Jt. pro rasura j. <d er> s. / Jt. pro vehiculo. bis. to brussels. xij. a. / Jt. pro vect<ura> from Mechlin hider vj. a. / Jt. pro vect. to tyen. <evid. Tirlmont> iiij. a. — The total of that account showing the charges of the barber, and the various fares, is the above mentioned amount spent 'iij. fl. & xij. a.'.

⁴⁾ Nulla enim est res quæ alteri per omnia similis. — Nullus perniciosior hostis quam familiaris amicus.

⁵⁾ *F 159 v*.

⁶⁾ Phyllitis. hartes tong... / Verbascum... cuckoe spyttell. / Labrum vel lavacrum Veneris. the testell. / Cauda equina. the halywater sprinkell. / Cretanus. sampire. perspere / Αειζων. sempervivum. syngrene <viz., sengreen: Germ. Sinngrün>. In another column: Fistuca. a rammer quo pauitores vtuntur & the long piles that be dryven in to the erthe in marys grownd. / Grallator. one that goeth vpon stiltes. / Grallæ, — arum. y^e stilte self. / Calantica. vne coure chief. / Caldaria cella. <er vne> estuves chaudes / ... / Propola. a hukster. / Intertrigo... gall[yng] or chafyng, and in y^e horse / enterf[e]ryng. / ... / Insolati pisces. drye fishe (*f 159 v*).

in English, partly written in Greek letters ¹⁾, one line and a half of Hebrew writing, and a kind of time-table for the day, which the erudite scholar probably conceived in accordance with the prescriptions of the *Exercitia Spiritualia*, as results from the *examen conscientiae* by which it closes. That time-table is most interesting as it gives an idea of what an earnest and eager xvith century student considered as an ideal use of his day, and as a model distribution of intellectual activity between the various branches. Still the extraordinary strain that it puts on human attention flatters the twentieth century scholar with a doubt about its practicality as a daily programme, which otherwise would cover him with utter confusion. Here is the text ²⁾, which was, without doubt, composed in the first months of 1536 as results from the reference to the lecture on the Greek *Institutes*, II. 10-11 ; and from the complete absence of any mention of Hebrew, which in his letter to Vives, March 18, 1537, he declares to have studied a whole year.

Helyar's codex, f 159 v :

A quarta ad quintam *Institutiones* mandandæ sunt
memoriæ, et titulus aliquis *Institutionum* perlegendus.

— Ad sextam Viglius Phriszemius et Claudius Cantiu-

¹⁾ Θερ ββας <was> φορτυ σχιλλ. φορ θε φινε ουνπαιεδ, ανδ ορ θε ολδε ακομπτε, αλσο τοο γελδουνγες ανδ ονε μαρε : with the note : 'but that was [consu]med in mete and drynke & [...] f. over that : as is specified by [the] bill of my hand'.

²⁾ Punctuation marks are added, and titles of books are underlined, so as to bring some light into the text, which evidently was jotted down for the author's own private use.

3. Viglius Phriszemius] evidently a work by Viglius Aytta of Zwichem : cp. *Cran.*, 274, *a, b*. That writing was either the commentary on the *Institutes* taken down during his lectures at Bourges and Pavia, or, what is more probable, his edition of the Greek translation of the *Institutiones Juris Civilis* by Theophilus, which he had edited at Basle, Froben, 1533, and which Rescius reprinted early in 1536 : *Cran.*, 274, 5 ; Hoynck, I, i, 12, 67, 75, II, i, 108, 142, 154, 166, 216, 231, 237 ; *BibBelg.*, 844-5.

3. Cantiuuncula] Helyar evidently refers to Cantiuuncula's paraphrases on the *Institutes* : that on the first book was printed at Hagenau, Sept. 1533, and Lyons, 1534 ; that on the second, appeared in August 1534 at Hagenau, in 1535 at Lyons : *CantE*, 17 ; cp. *supra*, 54-57.

- cula alternis diebus inspiciendi sunt. — Ad septimam
 5 rudi[men]ta greca ; vestesque induende sunt. — Ad octa-
 uam lectio iuris ciuilis interessenda est : quibus vero non
 legitur, ordinaria lectura in iure ciuili obseruanda est. —
 Ad nonam missa audienda est, ientaculumque sumen-
 dum ; est idem faciendum diebus quibus non legitur. —
 10 Ad decimam [l]ectio iuris retractanda ; quibus non legi-
 tur, lectio grecorum *Institutionum* interessenda. — Ad
 vndecimam foris ambulandum. — Ad dimidium duode-
 cime Horatiana lectio audienda est. — Ad p[ri]mam *Ada-*
gia Erasmj et Rodolphi *Dialectica* alternis cum Adriano
 15 legenda sunt. Ad ij^{am}, greca lectura audienda. — Ad
 iij^{am} lectionj Amici interessendum. — Ad quintam eadem

Textual Notes. — 4. inspiciendi] *before it mandand-* is er 6. lectio] *before it* quibus is er 6. quibus] *evidently supply* diebus 11. grecorum] *H* 14. Rodolphi] *ro-* added over line

6. lectio iuris ciuilis] the morning lesson in civil law, from 7 to 9 A. M., was then given by John de Hase : *VAnd.*, 154, 155, 184 ; *Analectes*, xxxix, 303-4.

6. quibus non legitur] viz., Sundays and the feast days indicated on the academic calendar : *ULAnn.*, 1852 : 260, *sq* ; 1855 : 257, *sq* ; 1881 : 416, *sq* : only religion and languages were then taught.

11. lectio grecorum *Institutionum*] that evidently refers to the lecture which Rutger Rescius promised to deliver at the *Trilingue* from March 5, 1536, on Sundays and other free days about Theophilus' Greek translation of the *Institutiones Imperiales*, which he had reprinted from the edition of 1533 by Viglius (Basle, Froben), with the evident purpose of making that reprint sell better and quicker. The edition was ready by January 27, 1536, when he sent a copy to Nicolas Olah : *OE*, 567. The promise of those lectures had hardly been made public on the valves of St. Peter's, when the Faculties of Law protested that the matter was theirs exclusively, and, after trying in vain to settle the quarrel by friendly agreement, applied to the University on March 8, to have the reading stopped. Rescius did deliver a few lectures, until after some haggling, the University prohibited them on pain of being excommunicated : *LibActUnVI.*, 155 v-156 v ; *FUL*, 43 : 1 ; *Mol.*, 604 ; *Cran.*, 150, *f* ; *ColBusPrim.* It follows that Helyar wrote this time table whilst Rescius was still reading the Greek *Institutiones*, on March 5, 1536 or one of the few Sundays following.

13. Horatiana lectio] evidently by Goclenius, at the *Trilingue*.

14. Adriano] possibly a pupil whom Helyar tutored.

16. Amici] this prob. refers to the ordinary lecture of laws given in the afternoon from 2 p. m. (*VAnd.*, 154-6) by Peter Vriendt, *Amicus*. He was a native of Ter-Tolen, Zeeland ; after having gained

lectura examinanda est. — Ad sextam greca lectura est ret[r]actanda; diebus vero quibus non legitur, ad 4^{am} Quintilianus inspiciendus est. — Exinde ad sextam, aut
 20 epistolæ scribendæ sunt, aut alio modo calamus exercendus. — Ad dimidium septimæ Horatiana lectio est repetenda. — Ab octava ad x^{am}, [in]terpretes inspiciendi sunt. — Ad dimidium vndecimæ, ratio consumptæ diei exigenda; aliquid ex orationibus Demosthenis mandandum memoriae; capitulum aliquod Euangelij perlegendum;
 25 et sic Musis valedicam.

The spirit that animated Helyar in all his studies is clearly enounced in the last words of the time table; for one item it did not last very long, namely for the Greek *Institutes*, which probably were replaced by the study of Hebrew mentioned in his letter. It is most remarkable that this eager devotee of the Muses started the study of that language for the sake of the better understanding of the Bible and the commentaries of the Fathers. In that zeal he was a true disciple of Erasmus, and his deep sympathy for the *Exercitia Spiritualia* did not impair in the least the great veneration he felt for the Leader of the Humanists, which he expressed publicly in the verses composed at his death ¹⁾, and also in the lines which he wrote down in the confidential intimacy of his favourite note-book ²⁾:

Εἰς Ἑρασμὸν.

Κἄν μίαν οἱ πολλοὶ κοσμεῖν πόλιν ἄδυνατοῦσι·

Εἰς δὲ μέγας κόσμου κόσμος Ἑρασμὸς ὅλου.

the degree of Magister in another University, possibly Paris, he matriculated in Louvain on Febr. 13, 1515 (Mgr. Petrus Johannis amicj de tolsende, traj. dioc. : *LibIntIII.*, 210 r), and started studying law and languages; he entered Giles de Busleyden's service as tutor of his children; on Dec. 18, 1520 Erasmus recommended him to Francis de Cranevelt. He was for a time a teacher in Tournai Chapter School, from where he returned to Louvain to become doctor in laws on Sept. 13, 1530, professor in 1532, and University dictator from Dec. 22, 1533 till his decease in 1556 : *Mol.*, 546, 772; *LibActUnVII.*, 267, 274; *VAnd.*, 186, 50, 72, 156, 191; *Reusens*, I, 315; *Allen*, IV, 1173, 9, 1212, s; *Cran.*, xxiii; *Hoynck*, II, I, 110; *Analectes*, xxxix, 303.

¹⁾ *CatDuo.*, O. 2. r-v.

²⁾ Helyar's codex : f 76 v; also *CatDuo.*, O. 2. v. — Κἄν] H; Τῇν H₁.

Helyar and England.

The calm placidity which seems to hover over that erudite *codex* is in strange contrast with the violent animosity which was gathering like a storm about the scholar in his native country. He had obtained the vicarate of East Meon, and the rectorate of Warblington, both in Hampshire, and he had started residing there. Possibly it was through Reginald Pole, his old fellow-student, that he had secured those livings : that of Warblington, at least, where his mother, the Countess of Salisbury, resided, and where there was between the presbytery and the castle more than an official connection. Helyar was in the habit of seeing her children home in the evening at least once a week ¹⁾, which suggests that he was tutoring them. He lived on intimate footing with Sir Henry Pole, Lord Montague, and especially with Sir Geoffrey Pole, whom he must have known throughout several years. Since not only his own mother, but also his sister Agnes, his brother Roger ²⁾ apparently his brother-in-law John Fowell ³⁾, lived at East Meon, it seems as if he himself was a native of that place. It would explain also the intimate friendship with Richard Langrish ⁴⁾ and his old mother ⁵⁾. He was on excellent terms with the Bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner ⁶⁾, as well as with his chief officials Sir William Pallet ⁷⁾, comptroller, and

¹⁾ *L & P, H. VIII.*, xiii, ii, 803, 818, 1017, 2.

²⁾ *L & P, H. VIII.*, xiii, ii, 797, 1017, 1 (, 679).

³⁾ Probably identical with Mr. Lawe : cp. *L & P, H. VIII.*, xiii, ii, 113, 797, 828, 829, 1.

⁴⁾ Richard Langrish, or Langrigg, studied in Merton College, and, having been for a time canon in Cardinal Wolsey's College, became his chaplain, continuing that office under his successor to the see of York, Edward Lee : he promoted doctor of divinity on July 5, 1532, and succeeded Dr. Will. Clyff as Archdeacon of Cleaveland until his death, 1747 : Wood, I, 684 ; *VisMonEccl.*, 668.

⁵⁾ *L & P., H. VIII.*, xii, ii, 70 (, xiii, ii, 279).

⁶⁾ *VisMonEccl.*, 656.

⁷⁾ Sir William Pallet (Paulet, Pawlet, Paulet, Poulet), created Marquis of Winchester, Earl of Wiltshire and baron of St. John, (c 1485-1572), was an influential courtier in the reign of Henry VIII. and those of his three children. He was knighted before 1525, and became in 1532 'comptroller', in 1537, treasurer, of the Royal Houshold : *DNB*.

Dr. Stuarde ¹⁾, chancellor. Still notwithstanding his congenial friends, such as John Colyns ²⁾, George Crofftes ³⁾ and Master Geo. Palmes ⁴⁾, priests ; such as his own curate at Warblington Thomas Harrison ⁵⁾, and one of his wardens, Sir Anthony WyndSOR ⁶⁾, the atmosphere became too oppressive on account of the religious changes. With his servant Henry Pyning, two horses and 36 Lbs, besides his luggage, he went aboard a ship at Lurdington on May 1, 1535 ; under the guidance of a Warblington skipper, Hugh Holland ⁷⁾, he landed at Newhaven (Nieuport) and reached Paris, where he joined two English students, Reynolds and Bucklar. That voyage had been kept secret, apparently so as not to cause any anxiety to his mother, and as the Countess of Salisbury would have refused her permission ⁸⁾. It was given out that Helyar's intention was to study in Paris University ; and, from the amount of work done since his coming over, it appears that it was more than a pretext, and that he did not lose his time.

His departure could not have been kept a secret very long, and although his friends took care of his servants and his belongings, yet they could not hide the fact from the authorities of the diocese. On July 26, the parish-priest of Warblington — probably Thomas Harrison — reported on the Rector's absence to the Bishop of Winchester, who sent him off to Cromwell that he might tell the tale about the suspicious

¹⁾ Possibly the 'D. Edmundus Stuardus, Decanus Eccl. Vintoniensis', of *VisMonEccl.*, 666, & Bridgewater, 404.

²⁾ Parson of Rushale, Southampton, Chaplain to Lord Montague : *L & P, H. VIII.*, xiii, ii, 771, 821, 829, 2, &c.

³⁾ He kept Helyar's servants after his departure : *L & P, H. VIII.*, xiii, ii, 821, 822, 828.

⁴⁾ *L & P, H. VIII.*, xi, 1350 ; possibly prebendary of Wetwang, York, Geo. Palmes, LL.D., deprived in 1559 : Wood, i, 695 ; *WainewrArchd.*, 8.

⁵⁾ *L & P, H. VIII.*, xiii, ii, 113, *Addenda*, i, ii, 1306.

⁶⁾ *L & P, H. VIII.*, xii, ii, 70.

⁷⁾ *L & P, H. VIII.*, xiii, ii, 875, 986, 11 : Holland was paid by Helyar on Aug. 30, 1535 ; afterwards he seemed to have become a wheat merchant, so as to have the occasion often to resort to the Continent ; on March 11, 1534 he was accused of piracy : *L & P, H. VIII.*, vii, 316, xiii, ii, 797, 4, 817, (in which Holland seems to have implied that Helyar had been also at Orleans).

⁸⁾ *L & P, H. VIII.*, xiii, ii, 797, 818 : the Countess afterwards declared that she thought Helyar to be absent for two or three weeks only.

departure ¹⁾). Matters became more intricate by August 1535, when all the priests of Winchester diocese were convened to appear at Southwich before the Secretary Cromwell on Holy Cross-day, September 14. Helyar consequently applied to Sir William Pallet for protection ; he also wrote to his friend 'Master Palmes' on August 19, 1535, eagerly requesting him in this present trouble to entreat Sir Pallet to see that their boat should not be engulfed ; he is indeed well acquainted with the Secretary — evidently Cromwell, — and he is to prevent that any evil should come to Helyar for his being abroad 'to study', and for not appearing at Southwich, on account of a fever which he had caught a few days before ²⁾).

It seems as if, at least for a while, the excuse was accepted, and the absent Rector continued to direct his parishes and to receive the emoluments ³⁾. He regularly sent his servant, who kept up the acquaintance and brought messages and letters : thus on Dec. 21, 1536, Richard Langrish availed

¹⁾ *L & P, H. VIII.*, vii, App. 32 ; the year-date is not added : but is probably 1535 as Hugh Holland, of Warblington, who conducted Helyar from England to Paris in the May preceding, was said on March 11, 1534 to have been one of a party that pilfered a ship of St. John de Luce, lying at anchor at Calshot on 'Tuesday sevensight before Shrovetide twelvemonth' viz., February 19, 1533 ; they had put the crew under hatchet, but were afterwards surprised, and taken to Brest. The confession of Michael Jamys, on May 14, 1534, to the Commissary of the Admiralty in Southampton, implies that their captivity had finished only recently ; they may have had to answer for their piracy to the English Admiralty — which makes the first half of 1534 too crowded to put in the voyage to Paris : *L & P, H. VIII.*, vii, 316.

²⁾ *L & P, H. VIII.*, ix, 128.

³⁾ In 1535 Helyar had asked Sir Anthony WyndSOR, probably a Warden at East Meon, and his wife, to take care of the parish in his absence — and, evidently, of the fruits it produced ; they were his deputies for keeping an old custom alive, according to which a buck and a doe in the park were given yearly to the Vicar : letter of June 10, 1537 : *L & P, H. VIII.*, xii, ii, 70. The letter of February 9, to Thomas Harrison (asking to see that his timber is brought home, and mentioning two pear trees which had been marked for him, and which he now would have felled against March ; also enjoining Harrison to continue preaching on the Commandments, the Articles of Faith, the seven deadly sins and sentences), is dated from 'Byssam', probably Bisham, Berks ; on the back is the will of Richard Horne, Warblington, Oct. 17, 1538 : still the letter is much older ; it belongs to 1534 or 1535, at any rate to the time before his departure : *L & P, H. VIII.*, viii, 357, 447, *Addenda*, i, ii, 1306.

himself of the visit of H. Pynning to Hampshire to entrust him with an epistle mentioning that everybody desired his prosperous return ¹⁾).

Meanwhile the events had moved headlong in England to a final break with Rome. The putting into execution of the Act of Supremacy in the Spring of 1535, which had probably prompted Helyar to leave Britain, had been practically lost sight of since the execution of Fisher and More, and the Rising of the North ²⁾. Whilst studying Greek, he certainly must have been deeply influenced by those events, which, without doubt, put him in a most stern frame of mind, and that brought him into contact with several of the serious and devout students in Paris, who most probably procured him the text of the *Exercitia* of Ignatius of Loyala ³⁾).

The difficulties between Francis I. and Charles V., which started again at the death of Christina of Denmark's husband Francisco Sforza, and opened once more the burning question of Milan, November 1, 1535, precipitated the two monarchs into war : the death of Catherine of Aragon having solved the great cause of dissension with the Emperor, Henry VIII. was more likely to side with him against France ⁴⁾; — it probably suggested Helyar to leave Paris for a town under the protection of the great Habsburg, possibly on the advice of the Imperial ambassador, whom he had been recommended to by Sir Geoffrey Pole ⁵⁾. By the end of 1535 or early in 1536, he removed to Louvain ⁶⁾. His absence from his parishes, meanwhile, had caused some discontent, in so much that the revenues had been sequestrated. His friends sent Hugh Holland to Paris, who returned with letters to Sir William Pallet, and to Stuarde, as well as to Sir Geoffrey Pole. They decided on sending over Helyar's brother-in-law John Fowell to Lou-

¹⁾ In that letter written from Havant, Langrish mentions his urgent wish to make himself free from his office in the North — as chaplain to the Archbishop of York (cp. *supra*, p. 599), and to settle in his own country after a few years : *L & P, H. VIII.*, xi, 1350.

²⁾ *CMH*, II, 442-7.

³⁾ Cp. *supra*, p. 588.

⁴⁾ *CMH*, II, 69, sq ; Cartwright, 107, sq..

⁵⁾ *L & P, H. VIII.*, XIII, ii, 829, 2.

⁶⁾ Cp. *supra*, pp. 591, 594.

vain to get a certificate from the University declaring that he was studying there, so as to have the sequestration taken up ¹). Those efforts probably succeeded : on June 10, 1537, Helyar sent a messenger to Sir Anthony WyndSOR thanking him and his wife for taking care of East Meon parish ; he wishes to bestow some of his money within it, and requests the advice of his protector, to whom he also entrusts some greetings to his friends in the village ²). About the same time Hugh Holland was dispatched to the Netherlands to meet Cardinal Pole with the warning that Brian and Peter Meotes had been sent abroad to kill him. He called on him in the abbey of ' Anno ', namely ' Elnon ', St. Amand's ³), at some distance from Cambrai ⁴), where the Legate was probably awaiting Mary of Hungary's decision whether he was to enter her dominions or repair to Liège ⁵). It is quite evident that, being so near his old fellow-student, Helyar went to see him whilst he was Erard de la Marck's guest ; and, indeed, it is recorded that Holland, with Fowell, came to Louvain, but did not find Helyar, since, as they thought, he had gone to see Pole. Yet when the Cardinal returned to Rome, after having tried in vain to get into connection, either with his royal kinsman or with the English Catholics, his old school-friend stayed for a time, at least, in these parts, where he, without doubt, had found many countrymen ⁶), amongst them the famous Thomas

¹) *L & P, H. VIII.*, XIII, ii, 797. Helyar's name, however, does not appear in the Matriculation Register for the period 1534-39.

²) Robert Leg or Legge, a skipper or shipowner (*L & P, H. VIII.*, XII, i, 418, 1117, ii, 123), John Cowse, Mother Langrish and Laurence : *L & P, H. VIII.*, XII, ii, 70.

³) *Supra*, p. 475.

⁴) *L & P, H. VIII.*, XII, ii, 73, XIII, ii, 797.

⁵) *Pole*, 145-149 ; *Reus Marck*, 102. The legate made his solemn entrance in Liège on June 10, 1537 : *L & P, H. VIII.*, XII, ii, 71, 72, 73.

⁶) Amongst the matriculations in Louvain are found the following British names : John Vuthancus and Christ. Joyeus (dioc. London : Jan. 28, 1531) ; frater John Magdalenæ, ord. praed., doctor theol. (July 20, 1531) ; John Blyth (dioc. Eborac. : Jan. 10, 1532) ; William Blaccadar and Patrick Buchananus (dioc. glasguen. : April 23, 1534) ; Henry Philippus (Dec. 14, 1534) ; Thomas Herryss and Will. Killerby (Sept. 30, 1535) ; John Abercrummy (dioc. St. Andr. : Nov. 3, 1536) ; Matth. Chishoelme (dioc. dunblan. : Nov. 19, 1536) ; Trudo Cahmayde (of London : Aug. 30, 1537) ; Will. Layton and Antony Lisson (Sept. 20, 1537) : *LibInt* IV., 31 r, 36 r, 41 v, 65 r, 72 v, 82 r, 92 r, 98^{bis} r, 103 v.

Goldwell ¹). He wrote to 'Sir Thomas Harrison' on Aug. 16, 1538, that he wished for some news about the home-coming of his brother-in-law Fowell, and about Hugh Holland, as rumours were spreading of Englishmen being molested by the French ²). Since some time he had been living at the 'St. Anthony', an inn in the Oppendorp (now Diest) Street ³). He had kept in constant connection with the Pole family : he had announced to London Reginald's promotion as Cardinal, and he wrote several letters to Sir Geoffrey to have some sacred ornaments delivered to the messenger, evidently some of his property that was still at Warblington ⁴). Even in his last letter to curate Thomas Harrison, September 18, 1538, he mentions some of the tithes of the parish, where he evidently hoped to return very soon, especially since my Lord of Winchester, Bishop Gardiner, was giving good comfort — implying that things were going to be restituted to the old order ⁵).

Attainder and Death.

Unfortunately in the expectation that brightened his ultimate message, the exile was cruelly disappointed. Wanting

¹) 'Dnus Thomas Golduel', who had studied in Oxford (Wood, I, 166, 586, 605, 644, 675), matriculated in Louvain on July 20, 1536 : *LibIntIV.*, 87 r. He had been vicar of Cheriton from 1531, and became about 1539 Pole's chaplain : he was consecrated bishop of St. Asaph in 1555, and died in exile in Rome, the last of the English Catholic bishops of the ancient sees : *DNB* ; *VisMonEccl.*, 664 ; Bridgewater, 404 ; *Pole*, 371-3.

²) *L & P, H. VIII.*, XIII, ii, 113.

³) That may be the result of Lobel's leaving Louvain for Ghent, where he had a canonry : Vulmarus Bernaerts being appointed as his successor on Nov. 10, 1538 : *VAnd.*, 189. On Aug. 16, 1538 Helyar requested Harrison to have all letters and messages addressed to 'Jacobus Sempidiores, goodman of the *Antony*, who will pay carriage and keep them till he returns from the lectures or the chambers of learned men'. Although the name sounds strange, the house is recorded in Louvain in the Oppendorp Street, as belonging, about that time, to the Regent of the Lily, John Heems, of Armentieres († July 1, 1560) : *FUL*, 1227-30, 1257 ; and the mention of the 'lectures', evidently points to the University town. One year Hugh Holland had been advised that if he could not come as far as Louvain that summer, he was to direct the messages to a friar-observant in Antwerp, who would see them conveyed to Louvain : *L & P, H. VIII.*, XIII, ii, 113, 829.

⁴) *L & P, H. VIII.*, XIII, ii, 829.

⁵) *L & P, H. VIII.*, XIII, ii, 376.

to prevent the effects of the impending Papal excommunication, Henry VIII. decided to strike terror amongst the higher aristocracy, and to hurry on the dissolution of all monasteries. By the end of August 1538, Sir Geoffrey Pole was arrested ¹⁾, and the torture wrung out from him some particulars about his brother's and his mother's being in connection with the Cardinal, their brother and son ²⁾. Correspondence with a man who refused to admit the King's Supremacy was accounted high treason; and in order to give a larger range to the persecution, Helyar was ranked traitor after Reginald Pole, with Thomas Goldwell and William Peto ³⁾ as third and fourth. The Vicar of East Meon — whose *codex* breathes study and peaceful erudition — had become a threatening danger for the State. Unfortunately most of his friends and helpers paid very dearly for their past generous assistance : Hugh Holland was arrested on November 3; in the same month were imprisoned Helyar's friends Geo. Crofftes, of Chichester, who had taken his servant into his house, and John Colyns, then parson of Rushale, Southampton, and chaplain to Lord Montague; as well as his brother-in-law ⁴⁾. Matters were rushed to a tragic end : Henry de la Pole, Lord Montague, and the Marquis of Exeter were found guilty of treason and beheaded on December 9, 1538, whereas others of their so-called accomplices were hanged and quartered at Tyburn ⁵⁾. On December 3, Helyar was indicted, along with Henry and Reginald Pole, as traitor ⁶⁾ and that judgment was ratified

¹⁾ *CMH*, II, 449.

²⁾ On October 26, 1538, he was cross-questioned about his connection with his brother and with Helyar; it seems that he had tried to go and see the latter in Louvain, but he denied to his judges that he had had the intention of going further and seeing the Cardinal : *L & P, H. VIII.*, XIII, ii, 695, 1-2, 797, 1, 829, 875.

³⁾ William Peto, provincial of Grey Friars in England, left for the Continent in 1533 on account of the King's Divorce; he remained in the Netherlands until Mary's accession, when he was created Cardinal : he died in 1558 : *DNB*.

⁴⁾ *L & P, H. VIII.*, XIII, ii, 797, 817, 821, 828, 829, 1.

⁵⁾ *CMH*, II, 449.

⁶⁾ Helyar was the third of five traitors that were condemned although absent from England : the 2nd being Michael Throckmorton, the 4th and 5th Goldwell and Peto : *L & P, H. VIII.*, XIII, ii, 979, 7.

by Parliament by the attainder of April 28, 1539 ¹⁾. Geoffrey Pole and Hugh Holland were indicted on December 4, 1538 for having corresponded with the Cardinal and Helyar : in consideration of his — unwilling — disclosures, the former received a pardon on January 4, 1539 ²⁾.

One of the witnesses, a man in connection with the Countess of Salisbury, had declared on October 12, 1539, that Helyar had entered her son the Cardinal's service, and that he was the only Englishman who was with him ³⁾. If not at that time, at least a few months later, Helyar had rejoined his old friend in Rome. When a certain 'Borbryg' was dismissed from the management of the English Hospital there, Pole put Helyar in his place as master, and Goldwell as *custos* ⁴⁾. In 1540 he had been appointed by Paul III. as a penitentiary ⁵⁾, as results from a correspondence of Richard Pate ⁶⁾ with the Privy Council. Helyar had written to his old fellow-student, who had served Henry VIII. as ambassador from 1533 to 1536, and who was then residing in Brussels as his 'orator'. That letter, which urged the archdeacon of Worcester and his chaplain, Seth Holland ⁷⁾, to abandon the King, must have fallen into the hands of spies : for on October 3, 1540, Pate protests that he is not what that traitor's message wants to make of him. On October 7 the Privy Council examined Seth Holland on that account, and on October 11, they sent word that, notwithstanding the letter, Pate and his chaplain were still favoured with the King's confidence ; verbose protestations of attachment to the King and his doctrines were written in reply and sent to the Council on November 12, 1540 ⁸⁾.

¹⁾ *L & P, H. VIII.*, xiv, i, 867, 15, xv, 939.

²⁾ *L & P, H. VIII.*, xiii, ii, 986, 11.

³⁾ *L & P, H. VIII.*, xiii, ii, 592.

⁴⁾ Evidence given by John Legh in the Tower of what he saw or heard from Pole in Rome, May 1540 : *L & P, H. VIII.*, xv, 721.

⁵⁾ *L & P, H. VIII.*, xvi, 129.

⁶⁾ *Cp. supra*, p. 11.

⁷⁾ Seth Holland, a student of All Souls, promoted M. A. on March 20, 1538. He became fellow, and, in 1555, warden of that College ; in 1557 he was appointed dean of Worcester, and chaplain to Cardinal Pole : he died in prison in 1561 : Bridgewater, 404 ; *DNB* ; Wood, i, 675, 691 ; *VisMonEccl.*, 666.

⁸⁾ *L & P. H. VIII.*, xvi, 119, 129, 140, 258.

Possibly that protestation in its verbosity was merely a lapping policy : for Seth Holland seems to have been about that time in England ¹⁾, and might have been made to pay the penalty. Or, which is equally possible, Helyar did not lose courage at a first rebuke : and perhaps it is owing to him that Pate changed opinions ; for a few months later, in 1541, by accepting the see of Worcester from Paul III., he burned his boats, and broke for good with Henry VIII ²⁾. For it is most likely that, especially in consideration of the direful cruelty with which his friends and the family of the Cardinal had been visited, Helyar tried to save at least those who were beyond the King's arm. His strenuous life of study, and his linguistic and theological accomplishments must have stood in good stead, for it is evident that the office of penitentiary had not been granted to him merely as a consolation in his misery, but rather on account of his erudition and his staunch character. Unfortunately he did not fill that place very long ; like his predecessor, also an Englishman, he died very soon after his appointment, probably in the first days of December 1541. Indeed on December 23 following, Cardinal Pole wrote from Viterbo to Cardinal Contarini to express his agreement with the candidate he proposed for the office, 'logo', of the penitentiary void by the death of 'Mr. John' ; he himself had asked the Pope to appoint a countryman, well learned in both laws, who was then at the Hospital — maybe Thomas Goldwell ; the latter, however, had declined, possibly fearing that the place was an *equus Sejanus* ³⁾ to the English, as two worthy and learned men had died there in quick succession ⁴⁾.

The *equus Sejanus* was rather the inhuman tyranny of the English monarch, who, for the mere crime of not flattering his whims, cruelly destroyed a kindred family with the only exception of Geoffrey, who survived to regret it bitterly, and

¹⁾ L & P, H. VIII., xvi, 129.

²⁾ Pate attended the Council of Trent from 1547 to 1551, and lived in banishment until the accession of Mary : he was consecrated bishop in 1554, but was deprived and imprisoned in 1559. He died in exile in Louvain 1565 : *Dormer*, 96 ; *VisMon Eccl.*, 664 ; *supra*, pp. 4, 8, 11, 16, 36.

³⁾ EOO, II, 395, F.

⁴⁾ L & P, H. VIII., xvi, 1473.

the innocent cause of the disaster, Reginald Pole, who had sacrificed all to truth and conscience. It was the same tyranny that made an exile of the generous Pate, who seems to have enjoyed life for the sake of the good he could do about him. It undermined the health and strength of the zealous scholar John Helyar, who might have enriched his country and humanity by his literary achievements, and who died long before his time. Happily he, like his friends, had availed himself of the lessons of the great Humanist, who, not only taught them the love and the method of work, but also imparted to them by word and example the real science of life. He, too, was a victim of the same *Equus Sejanus*, that made three of his disciples sad, but proud, exiles from the well-beloved country, where, in the venerable halls of Corpus Christi College, and in the scented groves of dreamy Oxford, they had learned from their dear Master the wisdom that builds up great lives : *Veritas premitur, non opprimitur*; with the endless comfort that, in oppression as in prosperity, wells up from a pure conscience : *Præsidium in innocentia* ¹).

¹) Vives' *Satellitium*, 84, 92 : VO, II, 101-2.

LIST OF

CORRIGENDA & ADDENDA

Pages

- 123, l. 13, read Bommel instead of Kampen (cp. p. 461)
- 141, note 8 : the same correction of the date has been afterwards accepted by Allen, III, 967, 72.
- 172, note 1 : read Burer instead of Bürer
- 174, l. 1 : & note 1 : read Longicampianus instead of -campanus
- 197, note 7 : read 952 instead of 752
- 244, note 4 : read 29 instead of 27 (cp. p. 385)
- 284, l. 3 : read 1522 instead of 1526 (cp. p. 464)
- 403, l. 31 : read possibly instead of possibly,
- 405, l. 28 : read affection, upon instead of affection upon,
- 461, note 2 (l. 2) : read 123 instead of 121
- 486, l. 20 & note 7 : von is perhaps more likely than van
- 487, note 1 : cp. *ColBusPrim.* for information about William de Hor-
rion's son Michael, who studied in the *Trilingue* from 1530
to 1532, and was John van Campen's domestic disciple :
Cran., 95, e.
- 576, note to l. 36, l. 12 : read Jules III. instead of Jules II.
- 588, note 3 : read 184-186 instead of 77
- 631, note 1 : add : The narration of the Siege in Willem Boonen's
Geschiedenis van Leuven geschreven in de jaren 1593 en
1594 (ed. by Ed. van Even) : Louvain, 1880 : 81-82, is evi-
dently based on tradition, and hardly reliable for the
explanation of the liberation. In his *Obituarium Ecclesiae*
Sti Quintini, the Rector of that parish from 1536 to 1565,
Henry Damen, of Mierlo, noted on August 2 : ' Hoc die
aº 1542 venit martinus Rossemius nomine Regis Francie,
ex Julia et gelria per brabantiam ante Louanium ex latere
montis Caluarie, sed captis interlocutoribus nostris pretore
cum D. Damiano goes, gratia Dei, altera die ab obsidione
liberatum est quasi miraculose '. The two last words of this
apparently authentic report are written in red ink : they
show Damen's opinion, which corroborates Goes' statement
about his share in that deliverance (cp. pp. 660, sq, 678,
682) : Archives of St Quentin's, Louvain.
- 679, note to l. 573 : add : Cp. *infra*, p. 698
- 682, note 4 : add : The account of the *Receptor Universitatis* for June-
December 1542 has an item, stating that he paid to the
newly appointed Promotor, Joh. Simonis, ' viij Rf. ix ft ' on
the Rector's order ' pro vino propinato mgro. seuerino &
christophoro ' : FUL, 273 : 348 v
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DAMIÃO DE GOES
AND HIS *ORATIO POSTLIMINIO*
AD UNIVERSITATEM

DAMIÃO DE GOES

AND HIS *ORATIO POSTLIMINIO*

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Goes and his Friends.

Damião de Goes was born from a noble family at Alemquer, Portugal, in 1501 ; he was educated in the service and at the Court of King Emmanuel (1495-1521) from 1510 to 1522. In 1523 he was sent to Antwerp to share the direction of the *Feitoria de Flandres* ¹⁾, and see to the business connections of his nation with the Netherlands and the neighbouring countries. To further the Portuguese interests he often journeyed through our provinces, and by 1531 he had even gone as far as Sweden and the regions managed by the Teutonic Order, returning by Vilna, Poland, and Cracow ²⁾. He made several acquaintances on those travels. At Danzig he met the exiled Archbishop of Uppsala ³⁾, John Magnus, as well as his

¹⁾ *ZeitaltFugg*, II, 30, sq ; Goris, 623 ; he had as colleague Ruy Fernandez d'Almada : *BatECP*, 9-13, 18-9, 25-34 ; cp. *infra*, p. 616.

²⁾ On his return he was celebrated with verses by his friends Andr. Resendius and Grapheus : ' Cornelius Grapheus Clarissimo Damiano Goi Lusitano, nomine Regio ex Scythis redeunti ' : *GoesOp*, k 4 v-1 1 r.

³⁾ Goes translated at John Magnus' request the documents sent to his King by Presbyter Johannes, the ruler of Ethiopia : cp. *infra*, p. 613 ; it was re-edited in 1539, together with a sketch suggested by him, the *Deploratio Lappianae Gentis* : *GoesOp*, N 1 r, sq ; that book was sent from Louvain with a letter dated October 24, 1540, and reached the Archbishop in Rome, from where he wrote most affectionately in reply to his ' frater ' Goes, on April 1, 1541, and again on May 21, 1543 : *GoesOp*, i 2 r, *1 1 v.

brother the erudite Olaus ¹⁾; also Tideman Giese ²⁾, who wrote to him after he had been appointed to the see of Culm ³⁾, and Paul Speratus ⁴⁾, who had been promoted bishop of

¹⁾ Johann Store, *Magnus*, had studied in Louvain where Adrian VI. had known him; he consequently chose him as legate to Gustav Wasa in March 1523. The King of Sweden proposed him as Archbishop of Uppsala in Sept. 10, 1523, instead of the pro-Danish Gustav Trolle; as, however, Adrian insisted on Trolle being recognized, Wasa dropped all connection with the Pope. Magnus, then bishop of Vesterås, was appointed first as administrator, and finally as archbishop, of Uppsala by Clement VII., but Wasa had already consummated the breach with Rome in 1527; so, instead of taking possession of his diocese, he had to leave the country for Danzig with the venerable Bishop of Linköping, John Brask. Having been consecrated in Rome on July 28, 1533, he had settled in Danzig, when Paul III. invited him to Italy about 1538 in view of the Council; he died in Rome on March 22, 1544. His brother Olaus, who was an erudite like himself, had followed him into exile; he became canon in Frauenburg, and was appointed as his brother's successor on October 16, 1544. He took an effective part in the Council of Trent, and died in Rome on August 1, 1557: *BbUpps*, H, 154-5; *ArchEpWarm.*, D 3, D 6; *ArchCapWarm.*, 5; *BbCzart.*, 54, 240, 247, 1366, 1596; *BbKorn.*, 230; *Coppern.*, I, ii, 549; Pastor, II, 103-4, 519-22; *PastPäpste*, v, 535, 693; *CatCzart.*, I, 38, II, 269; MasE, 89, 112, 191, 298; Spahn, 295; Schulte, I, 153.

²⁾ Tideman Giese, *Gysius*, was born on May 31, 1480 from a patrician family of Danzig; he studied at Leipzig, and after promoting Master of Arts, he was for a time secretary to the King of Poland Sigismund, on account of his familiarity with Latin. He was appointed canon at Frauenburg, 1502 or -04, where he lived in close friendship with Copernicus. He succeeded John Dantiscus first as Bishop of Culm in 1538, and then as Bishop of Ermeland in 1548, but died already in 1549. Although he had written an *Antilogicon*, 1525, against Lutheranism, he advocated a policy of reconciliation, on Erasmus' example, and even tried to win over Melancthon: *Coppern.*, I, ii, 26, 170-187, &c., II, 372, sq; *ArchEpWarm.*, D 6; *CatCzart.*, II, 254, 257-8, 262-3, 288, 298, 302, 305.

³⁾ Giese wrote on Nov. 16, 1539, recalling how they met some years before at Danzig; he knew of Goes' entering the service of the Muses from his writings and his correspondence with Erasmus: he congratulated him on his marriage and his *Obsidio Diensis*; on October 22, 1542, he wrote again from Löbau, rejoicing in Goes' two sons and his third child, the *Libellus de rebus Æthiopicis*: GoesOp, g 1 r, *1 1 r.

⁴⁾ Paul Spret, *Speratus*, born at Roetlen near Elwangen, on December 13, 1484, studied Arts, Theology and Canon Law in a Rhineland University, and afterwards in Paris and in Italy. In 1519 he became preacher at Würzburg, where he married Anna Fuchs, which caused his dismission. He then became vicar of Iglau, 1522, but having been proscribed, he resorted to Wittenberg, where he started composing his German religious hymns. In 1524 he became court-preacher of the Great-Master of the Teutonic Order, and Bishop of Pomesanien in 1530; he died at Marienwerder on August 12, 1551: Tschackert, I, 49-369, II, III, 277, &c.

Pomesanien ¹). Still the most important person he met was Erasmus, to whom, with an introduction from Rutger Rescius, he paid a visit at Freiburg ²), late in 1532 or early in 1533, offering a copy of *Legatio ... Presbyteri Ioannis ... Anno MDXIII.*, which had appeared in the preceding year in Louvain ³). The great Humanist was suffering and preoccupied, and afterwards regretted having dismissed him rather curtly ⁴). That journey, on which he went at least as far as Basle, and studied the architecture of the buildings along the Rhine, was the last he undertook as Royal Factor.

Indeed Goes felt far more inclined to erudition than to business or politics. He had become acquainted in Antwerp with the Town Clerk Cornelius Grapheus ⁵), who initiated him in Latin poetry and versification ⁶); after the autumn of 1531, he often met Resendius, who having left the Dominicans

¹) Sept. 12, 1531 : having seen Goes on the preceding evening, he praises him for his humanity, and regrets his leaving : GoesOp, c v.

²) BatECP, 25. Goes cannot have met Erasmus in Brussels at the house of the Portuguese ambassador Mascarenhas in 1532 : *PortHist.*, 35.

³) That book, printed by Rescius, contained a report on the realm, the government and the religion of King John the Precious, called Priest John, which was written by his ambassador Matthew to the King of Portugal : it was communicated by the Secretary Antonio Carneiro to the Antwerp *Feitor* Roderigo Fernandez, and translated into Latin by Goes at the request of John Magnus, Archbishop of Uppsala, to whom it was dedicated by a letter dated from the 'comyn house of the realme of Portyngale', December 1, 1531. That booklet was translated into English by John More, probably Thomas's son, and printed by his cousin W. Rastell : 1533 : Maitland, 194-5, 377. It was reproduced (ff 117-21) by Francis Titelmans, of Hasselt, in his edition of F. Amandus Zierixensis' *Chronica Compendiosissima* : Antwerp, S. Cock, May 1534 ; that version, which reposes on Goes' translation, was often reprinted : A. Paquay, *Frans Tittelmans* : Hasselt, 1906, 81-83 ; *NedBib.*, 680, 108, 1336.

⁴) Letter of July 25, 1533 : EE, 1471, c, sq.

⁵) *Cran.*, 179, b-d. Grapheus dedicated to him, July 1, 1529, his *Ex Terentii Comediis Flosculi* (Antwerp, Hillen, 1532), and wrote in his honour *Xenia Saturnalia*, Dec. 20, 1530, *Distichon*, *Pictura*, and *Tetradistichon* : GoesOp, k 1 v-k 3 v ; there a poem is added by Berthramus Damus Brunsvicanus, who dedicated to Goes, Antwerp, June 27, 1533, his *Epistola Pauli ad Titum carmine ... paraphrasticōs* (Louvain, Gravivius, 1533) ; RabeE, I, 49, 52, II, 33.

⁶) GoesOp, k 3 r. It has been said (*PortHist.*, 35) that Goes started learning Latin at 28. It is hardly conceivable that, amidst the work of his office, he should have practised that language so much from 1529 to 1532 that in the latter year he could publish a book ! Grapheus clearly states that he introduced Goes to the *Pierides Pimplæi Montis*.

in Louvain as they prohibited reading Erasmus' works ¹), was instructing the Portuguese Orator in Brussels, in Latin and Greek literature. Goes also was deeply interested in music, as results from some of the poems which he afterwards edited in his *Aliquot Opuscula* ²).

He soon went to reside in Louvain, and he made the acquaintance of several of the foremost literators and humanists : amongst others the professors of Busleyden College Goclenius, Rescius and Barlandus ³) ; also the venerable poet Cornelius Musius ⁴). He was also known to Vives, who had been royally rewarded by the King of Portugal for his dedication of his *De Disciplinis*, 1531 ⁵) ; and even John Driedoens, of Turnhout ⁶), mentions him in dedicating *De Ecclesiasticis Scripturis et Dogmatibus*, 1533, to John III. ⁷)

¹) FG, 193, 16-22, 409. Andrew de Resende — also called Angelus, Lucius, was a Portuguese monk, who studied a good while in Louvain under Goclenius ; he knew Janus Secundus, who wrote in his honour a few poems : JSecOp., 137, 141, 283 ; also John Dantiscus, who in 1532, prevented him from picking up a quarrel with Vives : ArchEpWarm., D 3 : 65 ; BbCzart., 1595 : 361. He did not teach Goes, but probably the Orator Mascarenhas : FG, 193 ; PortHist., 35.

²) Grapheus mentions in his *Pictura Gois*, that he even composed music : GoesOp, k 2 v ; GlenE, 69, 81. — Joannes Ottingerus, a teacher, composed a poem in which he praises Goes for his nobility, his generosity, and especially for the fair guest in his house, *Musica* : GoesOp, l 4 r, v. Andrew Resendius also wrote a poem *Ad Damianum Gouium Musicum* (GoesOp, k 3 v). Of the two last poems in his *Aliquot Opuscula*, GoesOp, n 3 r, v, one is entitled : 'Gerardi Auidij, in Iosquinum a Pratis Musicorum principem Nænia' : it celebrates the famous compositor Josquin des Prez, Josse van den Bemdem, of Berchem, called the 'idol of Europe' in his time ; the last is an : 'Epitaphium Ioannis Okegem Musici sua tempestate summi, per Polyhistorem Philomusum' — possibly Goes himself — evidently J. van Ockeghem, of Termonde, the father of modern counterpoint : Henne, v, 101 ; BN ; Goovaerts, 188-9, &c. A *Tractado da Theoria da Musica* is ascribed to Goes : BibPort., II, 123.

³) They are often mentioned in the letters sent to Goes by his friends : GoesOp, c 4 v, d 1 r (also Francis de Houwer *supra*, p. 413), i v.

⁴) Goes brought him an Ethiopian cup from the King of Portugal, after he had settled in Delft : OpmHistMart., 75, 96.

⁵) BatECP, 26-7, 31-36.

⁶) Cp. *supra*, pp. 344-5.

⁷) Louvain, Gravius, 1533 ; *dedic.* : 'Sic enim narrare apud nos solet generosus vir, ac literarum cultor fautorque, candidissimus Damianus Goes, puer olim in aula regia diu sub patre versatus, ac nuper ad eandem a tua etiam celsitudine revocatus, amplissimo functurus apud te munere : Cp. GlenE, 165 ; CarvMurça, 22, 29 ; BatECP, 31-3.

When Driedoens made that reference, Damião had been recalled to Portugal, having resided hardly seven months in Louvain. In June 1533 he was informed that his King had appointed him *Quæstor Indiarum Orientalium* ¹⁾, a kind of Royal Treasurer for the Colonies ²⁾. He left the Netherlands in obedience to his Sovereign's wish, but did not find much contentment in the new employ, in so far that hardly half a year had gone when he resigned his function, — as Erasmus announced to Cornelius Grapheus on March 13, 1534 ³⁾.

Goes' Stay with Erasmus.

Goes landed in Antwerp probably in March 1534 and at once requested to be allowed to come and stay for some time with Erasmus, who, on April 11, gave him a most eager invitation in reply ⁴⁾. The great Humanist, for whom he had the deepest veneration ⁵⁾, helped him probably with his erudition and his experience, and may have composed on that occasion the treatise on Rhetorics which Rutger Rescius printed in 1544 as *Erasmi Compendium Rhetorices* ⁶⁾. To Erasmus the presence of the young Portuguese in his house was most welcome, for since a few years he had struggled in

¹⁾ Goes announces that appointment to Erasmus in a letter dated from Antwerp (where he had already gone to start on his voyage), June 20, 1533 : FG, 223, 5-14 ; he had written another letter to Erasmus since his visit ; he also requested him to provide him with an answer to the slander spreading in Louvain, that he was favourable to the divorce of Henry VIII. : FG, 223, 18-27. Erasmus replied on July 25, 1533 : EE, 1472, A, sq, 1474, A. On June 17, 1533, Vives congratulated Goes on the appointment : VO, II, 977 ; GoesOp, c 1 v ; EE, 1471, A.

²⁾ On July 26, 1533, Goclenius wrote to Erasmus that Damianus had just been appointed royal treasurer, and would soon dispatch him a present : GoclE, 10 r. That present was a fine drinking cup in silver gilt, which was sent through Erasmus Schets, and which, on April 11, 1534, Erasmus said he would use when Goes came to board with him (EE, 1492, c). Cp. Cerejeira², 16, 29, &c.

³⁾ EE, 1492, B.

⁴⁾ EE, 1492, B, c.

⁵⁾ GoesOp, Y, 4 v.

⁶⁾ The booklet contains, it seems, a letter from William Bernatius Tiletanus to Goes, dated from the Castle, Louvain, August 8, 1544.

vain to make his *Chrysostomus* reach John III. ; it had been intercepted, no doubt on account of his dedicatory letter, in which he had spoken so frankly about the excessive monopolies of the Portuguese Factory in Antwerp, that Ruy Fernandez could hardly have allowed it to be handed to his Royal Master ¹⁾. When Goes was leaving for home, Erasmus requested him to apologize for that dedicatory letter, the result of wrong information ²⁾. It naturally must have been a joy to learn that the King contemplated transforming the monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra into a University, and offering Erasmus a prominent place. Goes, who had been taken into the King's confidence on account of being a friend, with a view to induce the erudite to enter his service, had answered what he thought of it : 'ao que lhe respondi o que me disso parecia' ³⁾. Buoyant as his character was, and full of zeal for his country, it is most probable that he considered the King's project as the most ideal solution for Erasmus himself : the scholar, to be true, was old and suffering, but was still marvellously active, and a removal from cold and damp Freiburg, which was never thought of as a final residence, to the warm and sunny South could not but have been beneficial. It was most probably on that account, that he could not resign himself to act very long as Royal Treasurer, and, hastened back to Antwerp ; hardly had he set foot on land, when he rushed to Freiburg ; there his young enthusiasm foundered on the helplessness of the old Humanist, who, however, felt grateful to his new protector, whom he calls 'patronus & amicus incomparabilis', and, on his departure, thanks effusively : 'Scio, quid tibi debeam' ⁴⁾ : evidently recalling the royal presents which Goes must have brought, and contemplating the future marks of generosity of which he had been allowed to give the promise. Unfortunately they

¹⁾ Letter of Erasmus (Basle, March, 24, 1527), dedicating *S. Chrysostomi Lucubrationes* to John III. : Allen, vi, 1800, 34-40. Cp. *BatECP*, 19-29 ; Goris, 565.

²⁾ Letter dated from Freiburg, July 25, 1533 : EE, 1474, A.

³⁾ Henriques, II, 74 ; *BatECP*, 29-30.

⁴⁾ Letter dated from Freiburg, Aug. 25, 1534, seven days after Goes had left : EE, 1493, c.

only remained promises : on March 21, 1535, he despondently wrote to Goes : ' E Lusitania nihil ad te redire valde miror ! ' ¹⁾).

Goes in Italy.

Goes left Erasmus and Freiburg on August 18, 1534 ²⁾ bound for Padua where he intended studying. On his way he called on several friends ³⁾, such as Boniface Amerbach, of Basle, whom he visited on his preceding journey ⁴⁾. Pietro Bembo, to whom he had been recommended, refers to him as having arrived, in his letter to Erasmus of Nov. 11, 1534 ⁵⁾. Still the young nobleman himself kept his great friend fully informed about his movements, and the letters to him constitute a considerable part of the correspondence of the last years ⁶⁾. He lived on very intimate terms with some of the

¹⁾ EE, 1500, F; BatECP, 29-30.

²⁾ EE, 1493, C-E : Erasmus wrote a letter to Goes on August 25, 1534, which was to overtake him on his journey : it refers to a servant who was ailing, and who wanted to return to Freiburg. He was brought by a Savoyard, who took back letters sent by Melanchton, and had hardly left when Goes himself came to see how his servant was, as Erasmus related to Melanchton on Oct. 6, 1534 : EE, 1494, c. Goes had taken a message from Louis Ber, to Aleander in Venice, Aug. 16, 1534 : Friedensburg, 4.

³⁾ Probably during his stay with Erasmus Goes was painted by Dürer : F. Lippmann, *Zeichnungen von Albr. Dürer*, 1905 (n° 573).

⁴⁾ There are three letters of 1532, one of May 18, 1533 (Louvain), of July 4 and 21, 1534 (Freiburg), three of 1535 (Padua) and one of Aug. 31, 1536, written by Goes to Amerbach : Basle University Library, *Manuscr.*, G, II, 17 : 317-20, 322-4, 326-7, 329. Letters from Amerbach to Goes repose in the same Library : 1534 : D, IV, 18, 177 v, 216 v, 321 ; *id.*, G², II, 80, 199 ; two are printed in GoesOp, c 2 r, v, c 4 r, v : Basle, Sept. 1, 1533, and July 31, 1535. With all that Goes, who liked travelling, may have made an occasional trip to Basle : GoesOp, e v.

⁵⁾ EE, 1479, E, sq (the date 1533 is a mistake for 1534) : GoesOp, c 3 v.

⁶⁾ There are letters of Erasmus to Goes dated from Freiburg, January 11, 1535 : EE, 1820, E ; and May 21, 1535 : EE, 1500, E, sq ; from Basle, Aug. 18, and December 15, 1535 : EE, 1506, A, 1515, c ; FG, 272, 25 ; on the first days of January 1536, Erasmus wrote about his sad plight, and Goes answered from Padua on January 26, 1536 : EE, 1821, A, 1771, F ; Ent., 167. A last time he is mentioned by Erasmus, recommending him as master to Gilbert Cousin on March 11, 1536 ; he himself had wished to have him as convictor : ' Vtinam in rem tuam esset ', he wrote from Freiburg on May 21, 1535, ' his ædibus vel nunc tuo uti arbitrio. Nunquam mihi visæ sunt neque tutiores, neque ornatiores, quam te hospite ' : EE, 1500, E. Goes did not meet Erasmus again : at least there is no reference to a visit ; nor seems there to be any evidence of his having been present at his death : *PortHist.*, 37 ; EE, 1506, c, 1519, E.

greatest men in Italy : first, with Pietro Bembo, who was then studying in the neighbourhood of Padua ¹⁾; next, the zealous bishop of Carpentras, Cardinal Jacopo Sadoletto ²⁾, to whom he may have communicated not only his intention, but also the wish to try and win back to orthodoxy some of the leading Protestants, especially Melanchthon, whom he did hope, for a time, to convince of error ³⁾.

Goes found a trusty friend in the Latin professor of the University, Lazzaro Buonamici ⁴⁾, also in Reginald Pole and in his companion Richard Morison ⁵⁾; and he enjoyed at least the temporary stay there of Polites, and of the late professor of Hebrew of the Louvain Trilingue, John Campensis ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ Goes dedicated to him the *Diensis Oppugnatio* in Sept. 1539 : GoesOp, O 1 r, sq, in which he refers to his life in Padua (*ibid.*, O 1 v). He published a letter of Bembo to Bernardinus Sandrius about the *Treviri* : Padua, June 12, 1529 : GoesOp, *l 4 r, and others to himself : April 5, 1539, Dec. 31, 1540, Jan. 11, 1541 (GoesOp, f 1 r, h 1 r, i 1 v), fitting in with Goes' two letters to him, Louvain, Sept. 13, 1539 and Oct. 14, 1540 : Vatican MSS. : *BarbLat.*, 2158, ff 151 & 153; *infra*, pp. 692-5.

²⁾ There are letters from him to Goes dated from Rome, June 17, and July 1, 1537, December 30, 1538, and December 24 <1539> : GoesOp, d 1 v, d 2 r, e 2 v, g 4 r; Cp. Schulte, I, 61, 63, &c.

³⁾ Already whilst he was Erasmus' host, Goes had corresponded with Melanchthon in the hope of bringing him back to obedience; when he left, the Humanist counselled him to be very careful in Italy, as the very connection might cause some trouble : EE, 1493, E, 1494, c. Possibly on that account Goes took Sadoletto into his confidence; at any rate he, too, earnestly tried to convert Melanchthon, and even, at the request of the Cardinal-Archbishop of Paris, John Sturm; he refers to it in his correspondence with Goes, December 30, 1538 and December 24, 1539, when he mentions that his efforts cause more obloquy to himself — viz., from Cochläus (Spahn, 263, 267), Aleander, Nausea, John Faber Heigerlin, and others — than resipiscence to his opponents : GoesOp, d 3 r, e 2 v, g 4 r; *MelaVers.*, 34-50; *Melanch.*, 362, sq, 598.

⁴⁾ Allen, vi, 1720, 53 : three letters from him to Goes dated from Padua April 17, July 9, August 29, 1536, when he had recently arrived in Brabant, are printed in the *Epistolæ Clarorum Virorum* : Lyons, Gryphius, 1561 : 249, 250, 251, and in GoesOp, e 3 v, e 4 r, f 1 v. They offer congratulations for his marriage and his work, and express thanks for maps and globe made in Louvain, and presented for friendship's sake.

⁵⁾ Pole (cp. *supra*, p. 576) returned to Padua in 1534; on October 12, 1540, Goes sent him from Louvain his book about *Æthiopia* and a letter in which he regretted the defection of Richard Morison (*DNB*). Pole wrote an affectionate answer, and informs Goes about his book *Pro Ecclesiasticæ Unitatis Defensione*, in answer to his inquiry : Quirini, *Reg. Poli Epistolæ* : Brie, 1748 : III, 37, sq; Marcel Bataillon, *Damião de Goes et Reginald Pole* (in *O Instituto*, vol. 79, n° 1) : Coimbra, 1930.

⁶⁾ Clen., 73 : Campensis, on his way to Contarini in Rome, stayed at Padua during 11 days, as Clenardus inferred from Goes' and Polites' letters : April 22, <1536>.

He evidently saw with pleasure that most of his acquaintances sent him an occasional message during his residence in Italy, and it was not without pride that he received letters from the Louvain professor Conrad Goclenius ¹⁾, and the Basle erudite Sigismond Gelenius ²⁾; also poems from his countryman Andreas Resendius ³⁾, some from the native of Goes in Zeeland, Joachim Polites ⁴⁾, and one ⁵⁾ from George Sabinus, Melanchthon's son-in-law, afterwards the first rector of Königsberg University ⁶⁾. Meanwhile he did not lose

¹⁾ Dated from Louvain June 10, 1534 and July 12, 1536 : GoesOp, c 2 v, c 4 v.

²⁾ Sigismond Gelensky, born at Prague about 1498, was sent to study in Italy. He arrived in Basle, where he settled and worked for Froben's firm, and was honoured with Erasmus' high esteem, and even with some legacies in his will. He died after a life of work in 1554 : ADB ; Sandys, III, 263-5 ; Allen, VI, 1702, 8, &c. Gelenius dedicated to Goes his edition of Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*, Basle, Froben, Febr. 1535, by a letter of January 1, 1535 ; he afterwards wrote to Goes on June 23, 1539 : GoesOp, f 2 v : in that letter he refers to Francis van der Dilt and to Charles Uutenhoven, whom he supposes to be known to Goes : GoesOp, f 3 r ; Cran., xx, 139, b-h, 110, g-h ; EE, 1501, A, 1506, D, &c. Cp. AmerMs., 94.

³⁾ He sent Goes some verses dated October 27, 1535 : GoesOp, l 1 v ; he had composed before several other poems in his honour, one mentioning his musical abilities : GoesOp., k 3 v, sq. Cp. *infra*, p. 690.

⁴⁾ Joachim Burgher, Polites, born at Ter-Goes, studied and tutored at Louvain, and after 1532 in Paris ; for a time he worked at Bordeaux with John de Tartas, Andrew Gouvea and others. He left the 'Collège de Guyenne', travelled to Italy, and finally settled as Town Secretary in Antwerp, where he married Margaret Coppier van Calslagen and died in 1569 : JSecOp., 177 ; JSecIt., 18 ; GlenE., 67-93, 130, 139 ; Sweerts, 386 ; BibBelg., 446 ; Paquot, VII, 192 ; J. Nève, in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 1930 : 1x ; Polites sent to Goes a *Figmentum : Mercurius Deus immortalis Damiano suo mortali S. D.*, dated 'ex cælo Empyreo, 12 Aprilis Anno 1538 : GoesOp, m v, sq. Later he wrote a poem to him from Padua, Dec. 1, 1539, after Goes had returned to Louvain : GoesOp, m 2 v, sq.

⁵⁾ The poem is dated 'ex Arce Hallensi', Jan. 1, 1537 : GoesOp, l 3 v.

⁶⁾ George Schuler, *Sabinus*, born April 23, 1508 at Brandenburg, studied in Wittenberg, boarded ten years in Melanchthon's house, and left in 1533 for a visit in Italy. He was Bembo's student at Padua, and afterwards wrote to him an elegy ; most probably he met Goes there. He returned to Germany already in 1534, and married Melanchthon's daughter Anna. In 1538 he became professor of eloquence in Frankfurt on the Oder, and in 1544 head of the Königsberg *Studium Particulare*, which Albert of Brandenburg changed on his advice into a University, appointing him as the first Rector. He was not only a poet, but an excellent Latinist, who did honour to his teaching. He resigned the

sight of his old acquaintances. To his friend the wandering scholar Nicolas Beken Clenard, he announced Erasmus' death ¹⁾, and repeatedly sent messages ²⁾, of which one is extant, an affectionate letter praising him for refusing a canonry in Portugal on account of his ignorance of the language, and mentioning the pleasure in reading 'de studijs institutis cum Nigritis' ³⁾. In return Clenard sent him letter on letter ⁴⁾, and composed in his honour an *Elogium* in verse ⁵⁾.

Goes in Louvain.

Goes returned from Italy very early in 1539 : his friend Joachim Polites, poet and musician, celebrated that event by a poem signed December 11, 1539 ⁶⁾ He took up his abode in Louvain, where he was immatriculated as 'Lusitanus, Nobilis', on June 4, 1539 ⁷⁾. In the month of March 1539 he married Jane van Hargen, of the Hague ⁸⁾, and settled in a house in St. Quentin Street, near the church of that name ⁹⁾. A son was born in 1540, called Emmanuel, whom Peter Nannius welcomed into the world by a *Genethliacum* ¹⁰⁾; in 1541 was

rectorate in 1547 : in that year died his wife, who had not been very happy with him. In 1549 he brought to Königsberg Hans, Martin Luther's eldest son, which caused a breach with his Frauenburg friends ; afterwards he married Anna Cramer, and died Dec. 2, 1560 : *Melanch.*, 354, 362, 573, 603 ; *Tschackert*, I, 256, sq, III, 275, &c. ; *EE*, 1494, n ; *Voigt*, 90, 95, 122-5, 133-5, 337, 343-5, 376, 380, 439, 443, 521, 605 ; *CorrMel.*, 223, 326, 329 ; *PastReun.*, 13 ; *ADB* ; *NeuLatPo.*, 74-80, 129, sq, 146 ; *Baumgartner*, 617.

¹⁾ ClenE, 56, 76.

²⁾ ClenE, 73, 90, 92, 93.

³⁾ It is dated from Padua, July 19, 1537 : *GoesOp*, d 4 r, sq.

⁴⁾ In one of them, he recommended Polites : April <1536> : and he often refers to his friend Campensis : ClenE, 69, 78, 81, &c.

⁵⁾ ClenE, 57.

⁶⁾ *GoesOp*, m 4 v.

⁷⁾ *LibIntlV.*, 122 r.

⁸⁾ *Infra*, pp. 688-9 ; on April 5, 1539, Bembo wrote to him : 'gratulor te uxorem duxisse' : *GoesOp*, f 1 v.

⁹⁾ The street is now called Namur Street : *Louvain*, 59. In the *Liber Computuum particularium inter Jacobum du Bay presidentem & Rodolphum Mertens Receptorem Collegii Sabaudie 1590-1604*, is mentioned a rent, having belonged to 'Damiaen de Goes, portugalensis, super Antuerpiam' : *FUL*, 2889.

¹⁰⁾ 'In Clarissimi & Ornatissimi Equitis Damiani a Goes filium Emanuele Petri Nannij Genethliacum' : *GoesOp*, m 3 v,

born a second son Ambrosius, to whom his friends frequently refer in their correspondence.

In the calm of the University town, Goes worked at his historical sketches, and brought out *Commentarii Rerum Gestarum in India citra Gangem a Lusitanis anno 1538* ¹⁾, also a reedition of his book about Ethiopia : *Fides, Religio, Moresque Æthiopum sub imperio Pretiosi Joannis*, to which were added some letters of the Ethiopian royal family to the Pope and the Kings of Portugal, translated by Paolo Giovio and Goes, as well as the *Deploratio Lappianae Gentis* ²⁾; then, finally, *Hispania* ³⁾. These works were joined together, and with the addition of a series of letters and a *Farrago Carminum* sent to, or written for Goes, as well as some controversial matter against Paolo Giovio about Portugal ⁴⁾, and against Sebastian Münster about Spain ⁵⁾, were printed several times by Rescius under the general title of : DAMIANI / A GOES EQVITIS LV-/SITANI ALIQUOT OPVSCVLA. ⁶⁾

¹⁾ Louvain, R. Rescius, September 1539. Cp. *NedBib.*, 678.

²⁾ Louvain, R. Rescius, September 1540. The approbation of the Faculty of Divinity of Louvain for the *Fides ... Æthiopum* is dated July 12, 1541 : possibly it refers to the *Opuscula* : GoesOp, A v. Cp. *NedBib.*, 679.

³⁾ Louvain, R. Rescius, 1542.

⁴⁾ 'De rebus, & imperio Lusitanorum ad Paulum Iouium Damiani a Goes disceptatiuncula' : GoesOp, S 2 r. Goes probably had asked Buonamici's opinion on the controversy, who replied on Aug. 29, 1539 that he had not read Giovio's writings : GoesOp, e 4 v.

⁵⁾ 'Pro Hispania adversus Munsterum defensio' : GoesOp, a 1 r, sq. The Munster referred to here is Sebastian Münster, born in 1489 at Ingelheim, who died on May 23, 1552, as professor of Divinity at Basle. He wrote a well-known book about geography, 'Cosmographia', 1544 : ADB. That Münster had written disparagingly of the Spanish in his *Ptolemæus* on the authority of Michael de Villanova, so that, notwithstanding their acquaintance, Goes vindicates the honour of Spain. John James Fugger of Augsburg seems to have been offended at that attack, so that Goes sent him an explanatory letter from Louvain, April 11, 1542, to which Fugger replied from Augsburg, on May 8, 1542, apologizing as he had not read Münster's criticism : GoesOp, *k 2 v-4 r.

⁶⁾ The edition used for the notes of this paper, is printed in December 1540 : it is a small 4° : sign. A⁴-R⁴ S⁶ T⁴-Z⁴ a⁴-j⁴ *k⁴ *l⁴ k⁴-n⁴. — A r, title ; A v, approbation of Louvain Faculty of Divinity, July 12, 1541 : A 2 r, letter to Paul III. ; A 4 r, *Fides ... Æthiopum* ; N r, *Deploratio Lappianae Gentis* ; N 3 v, *Lappiae Descriptio* ; O r, *Diensis ... Oppugnatio* ; S 2 r, *De rebus, & imperio Lusitanorum ad Paulum Iouium disceptatiuncula* ; T r, *Hispania* ; a r, *Pro Hispania adversus Munsterum defensio* ; c r, *Epistolæ* ; *l 4, blank ; k r, *Farrago Carminum* ; on n 3 v, FINIS ; n 4, blank. The register is on *l 3 v.

In Louvain Goes found most of the friends of his preceding stay ; Goclenius had died during his absence, but his successor Peter Nannius amply filled the gap left by the great professor. To him was dedicated *Hispania* on November 20, 1541 ¹⁾, and both that dedication and Nannius' full-hearted approbation show the friendship of these two men, to which also testify the two letters which Goes wrote to Bembo for Nannius' benefit ²⁾, as well as Nannius' *Elegiacum* on *de Gestis in Dia*, and the *Genethliacum* on the birth of the author's son Emmanuel ³⁾. Some of his friends, to whom he had sent copies of his publications, returned thanks and recalled the memories of former days : thus Erasmus' great friend Beatus Rhenanus praised him for his writings ⁴⁾ ; Henry Glareanus ⁵⁾, thanking him on Nov. 6, 1539 for a copy of his pamphlet about Dia, announces the decease of his wife, which has delayed his edition of Livius and the publishing of a voluminous book about music ⁶⁾. For the sending of the same booklet and the announcement of his settling in Louvain and his marriage, Goes was thanked by Christoforo Madruzzi, mentioning his recent appointment as bishop of Trent ⁷⁾. From his own native country came congratula-

¹⁾ GoesOp, T v-T 3 r, b 4 v.

²⁾ These letters, dated Louvain, Sept. 13, 1539, and Oct. 14, 1540, are reprinted here from the Vatican mss. Barb. Lat. 2158, ff 151-153 : *infra*, pp. 692-5.

³⁾ GoesOp, S 5 v, m 3 v. Nannius is further mentioned in various letters addressed to Goes : GoesOp, h 1 v, i 1 v, *l 2 v.

⁴⁾ Goes wrote to Rhenanus on Oct. 21, 1540 as he had not received any reply to his letter, to which was joined a Tertullianus and the *Diensis Oppugnatio* ; he wrote again on June 1, 1542 to thank him for the praise and encouragement imparted by Beatus' letters of March 21, and May 21, 1542 : RE, 467, 485 ; GoesOp, *k 2 r, 4 r.

⁵⁾ Cp. *supra*, p. 57.

⁶⁾ GoesOp, f 3 r, sq.

⁷⁾ Christof. Madruzzi, a great protector of art and erudition, appointed bishop of Trent Aug. 5, 1539, and Cardinal July 3, 1542, took a great part in the Council. Glareanus dedicated to him his book on music : *PastPäpste*, v, 144, &c. Madruzzi wrote to Goes from Trent on Nov. 5, 1539, and again on May 21, 1541 : the second time to state that he had not received all the letters sent to him, and that his friendship will be undiminished whatever the volume of their correspondence may be : GoesOp, e 4 v, i 3 r.

tions from the Royal Councillor Georgius Cœlius ¹⁾, who communicated the excellent impression made by his book about Dia on the King and Prince Henry ²⁾; also from his friend John Rod, who referred to Damianus' brother, and to some of the orations he delivered about his journey to the Baltic countries ³⁾; finally from Clenardus' friend and companion to the Iberic Peninsula, John Vasæus ⁴⁾, who declares that he had not written to so great a man if his old fellow-student John Paludanus had not incited him ⁵⁾. From 'Nova

¹⁾ Jorge Coelho, *Georgius Cœlius*, was councillor in the service of the Infante D. Henrique, Archbishop of Braga : *BatECP*, 36. He was well versed in Latin and Greek, and was an enthusiastic admirer of Erasmus, as Clenardus found out with great pleasure : *ClenE*, 78. He was well acquainted with Vasæus, for whom he procured some manuscripts for his historical researches. Clenardus occasionally wrote some poetry for him, praising his eloquence and his literary qualities : *EE*, 1506, B, 1515, D ; *ClenE*, 147, 185-7, 192, 244-5 ; *Cerejeira*², 118, &c.

²⁾ His letter is dated from Lisbon, August 26, 1540 ; another, from the same town, Dec. 13, 1541, announces the pleasure derived by the King from his writings, which he will make known in his country : *GoesOp*, h 1 v, *k 1 v. He wishes Goes to protect his writings 'ipsiusque dignitatem in ista clarissima Louaniensi academia tueri : *ibid.*, h 3 r.

³⁾ His missive is dated 'ex Portu Galliæ', January 13, 1541 : *GoesOp*, g 2 v.

⁴⁾ John Was, Vasæus, a native of Bruges, matriculated in the University of Louvain on Aug. 31, 1527, as poor student of the Castle : *Joannes was de Brugis* : *LibIntIII.*, 343 v ; *SanBru.*, 53. His being 'pauper' makes it difficult to find any information about his parents : there was then at Bruges the family of John van Waes, who had married Clara, daughter of John Huyghens, and is mentioned as deceased in 1536 in the record of the foundation of an anniversary in Our Lady's : *BrugInscr.*, II, xxxiii. Was applied himself to languages, and having promoted M. A. in 1530 or 1531, he accepted in 1531, together with his beloved tutor Nicolas Beken, the offer of Fernand Colomb, and accompanied him to Spain (H. HARRISSE, *Fernand Colomb* : Paris, 1872 : 197, &c. ; H. HARRISSE, *Excerpta Colombiniana* : Paris, 1887 : 13-32). He remained three years in the service of the viceroy of India, after which he went as tutor to Salamanca, where he married ; in 1537 Clenard caused him to be appointed as teacher of literature at Braga, from where he passed to Evora in 1541 ; from 1550 to his death, October 21, 1561, he was professor of Salamanca University, making his name illustrious by his lectures and by a History of his adopted Country : *Mol.*, 609 ; *ClenE*, *passim* ; *Paquot*, XVII, 419 ; *Cerejeira*², 41, &c. ; *RoerschHuB.*, II, 79-96.

⁵⁾ His letter is dated from Evora, October 18, 1541 : *GoesOp*, i 4 r. The fellow-student mentioned by Vasæus may be the 'Joannes paludanus de calisia, cantebergensis dioces.' : who matriculated on June 30, 1525, and possibly studied laws, which Vasæus also had started : *LibIntIII.*, 325 r. He may have remained in connection with the Evora teacher.

Austria' came to him the congratulations of Adam Carolus, who had known him in Louvain, and who, on October 28, 1540, in the midst of the political trouble in Hungary, thinks of the University, of Nannius, of Rescius and Corn. Grapheus : whilst Claud Cantiuncula ¹⁾ and all those who had read the *Æthiopia*, which he sent, highly praise it for its style, its thoughts and its erudition ²⁾).

To this long list of acquaintances and friends have to be added the name of the famous Hungarian humanist Nicolas Olah ³⁾, that of the German poet John Ottinger ⁴⁾, as well as that of William Zenosarus Agrippa ⁵⁾, who joins to his felicitation that of Lord Louis de Praet ⁶⁾ and of John Stratius ⁷⁾, and many more, — considering we only know those referred to in letters or documents that have reached us. It results from that list that Goes was known and appreciated by most of the leading personages of his time in most of the countries, including Pope Paul III., to whom his *Opuscula* were dedicated ⁸⁾ in 1541. No doubt he imparted the lustre of his fame to the Brabant University, of which he had decided to become and to remain part and parcel. Indeed, when on June 1, 1542, he wrote to Beatus Rhenanus, he closed his letter by the statement, which his correspondent seemed to ignore, that he had settled for good in Louvain : 'scire te volo ... me sedem Lovanii propter otium litterarum fixisse, ubi Deo volente vitam degere constitui ⁹⁾).

¹⁾ He was then at the Court of Ferdinand of Austria : cp. *supra*, pp. 54-55, 206, &c., and CantE, 16, sq.

²⁾ GoesOp, h 4 r.

³⁾ Already in May 1538 Goes tried to get a personal interview with Olah, to whom he was recommended by Nannius by letters of May 6 and May 12, 1538 : OE, 616-8 ; *Cran.*, 275, a.

⁴⁾ JSecOp., 82-3 ; GoesOp, l 4 r.

⁵⁾ On July 12, 1542 he wrote to Goes, when leaving Brussels for England : GoesOp, *k 4 v.

⁶⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 150 a-d.

⁷⁾ To him, maybe, John Second wrote a poem when in Dec. 1534 he left Madrid for Belgium : JSecOp., 72. Possibly he is the John van der Straten, *Stratius*, who belonged to a patrician family of Bruges, where he obtained the 2nd prebend in St. Donatian's in 1548 : he died in 1552 : *BrugSDon.*, 110 ; Schrevel, I, 42 ; *Cran.*, 212, 91. Cp. *ZeitaltFugg.*, I, 363, sq, II, 39, sq.

⁸⁾ Cp. GoesOp, A 2 r, sq.

⁹⁾ RE, 485.

Siege of Louvain.

When Goes wrote those words to Rhenanus, he hardly did suspect that, only a few months later, quiet Louvain was going to be thoroughly upset as by an unexpected drama, of which he was to be one of the chief actors and victims. It was an incident of the hostile inroad of some Gelderland and French troops, coming from Cleves and Juliers, and making their way through Brabant to join the French army under the Duke of Orleans in Luxemburg territory. The absence of Charles V., who with most of his troops had tried the siege of Algiers, provided an excellent occasion : notwithstanding the alliance, they invaded the Netherlands ¹⁾. Happily Mary of Hungary had, some time before, set to nought some plots in the chief towns, which were to surrender to the enemy ²⁾. Her attention was mainly directed against an entrance of hostile armies from the South ³⁾; she thus left the way open to the famous Martin van Rossem ⁴⁾, who, with Nicolas of Boussu, Lord of Longueval ⁵⁾, was at the head of a very composite army of Gelderland, French and Danish soldiers, and of men who had been compelled to leave the country for their crimes or for their religious opinions ⁶⁾. Passing through North Brabant, the territory of Ryen and Brabant, they hardly attempted besieging Hertogenbosch and Antwerp, and avoided Mechlin and Brussels, which were too well defended ; but they took their revenge on smaller places, which were mercilessly sacked and burned down ⁷⁾.

That ruthless treatment terrified the greater number of the inhabitants of Louvain, which was said to be on the way of the wild bands ⁸⁾. Many families and students left in all haste, whereas Damião de Goes, who, with his family was on his way to Holland, returned from Antwerp to Louvain on hear-

¹⁾ Henne, VII, 345, 346, sq.

²⁾ Henne, VII, 349, sq.

³⁾ Henne, VII, 347, sq, 373, sq.

⁴⁾ *Goes Oratio*, 270 n.

⁵⁾ *Goes Oratio*, 269 n.

⁶⁾ Henne, VII, 361, sq.

⁷⁾ Henne, VII, 365, sq. Some bands found their way to Hesbaye and made Martin Lips look for a shelter in Huy : *supra*, p. 535. Cp. Coppens, III, 127, 136 ; *AntwAnn*, II, 234, sq ; *Diercxsens*, IV, 90-3.

⁸⁾ Henne, VII, 381, sq.

ing of the approaching danger. His presence inspired some courage to the Town Council ; and on his advice, those who had remained in Louvain were prohibited to leave the place. He organized the resistance and, probably with Peter Lopez de Haro ¹⁾, he helped to put the town in as good a state of defence as circumstances allowed.

Meanwhile the Rector and the Deputies of the University, advised by the Town, ordered on July 21 that those of their *subjecti* who had a *domum vel domicilium*, were to take part in the watch, either personally or by a *locum tenens* ²⁾ ; on July 22, they were even enjoined to participate in the digging of the moats and the repairing of walls ; whilst all the *scholares* over sixteen, natives of Cleves, Juliers, Berghen, Marck or Ravensberg, were told to leave the town and the Emperor's territory within two days, according to Mary of Hungary's orders ³⁾. On Thursday, July 27, the Alma Mater decided on celebrating a solemn Mass in honour of Our Lady for the safety of the Town, considering that prayers and tears are the proper weapons of the 'clerici'. It was done on Friday, July 28, when, amongst other questions, the University also debated whether it would not be advisable to hide somewhere her 'cepra'. As to the defense of Louvain, after due consultation with the Town authorities, who had full confidence in the help promised by Queen Mary, the Rector and the Deputies, seeing that there was not one single man amongst the citizens able to lead them to battle, or to make use of the abundance of cannon, resolved to send the students home whenever the parents requested them to return : for there seemed hardly any security in the measures taken by the Council, nor in the Queen's promises either. Moreover they found it advisable to appoint a special commander for those of the students who wished to take up arms, instead of making them serve along with the citizens, provided the Town would accept one ⁴⁾.

On Sunday 30, the enlarged Deputation of the University decided at a meeting, that students who had no domicile, were

¹⁾ Cp. *infra*, p. 682.

²⁾ So Gemma Phrysius stood four days on the walls : *BbUpps.*, 155 : 70 v.

³⁾ *LibActUnIX.*, 8 v, 9 r.

⁴⁾ *LibActUnIX.*, 9 v-10 r ; *Mol.*, 842.

not to be compelled to serve ; but for those who were bound to do the military service, and those who freely wanted to take up arms, was appointed as 'capitaneus' 'Dñs Damianus de goes, eques auratus, scholaris et suppositum Vniuersitatis', and as *eius vicegerens siue subcapitaneus*, 'magr Seuerinus Feyten' ¹⁾). To that proposal Damianus, who was present, agreed; and replied : 'contentus foret dictis scholaribus et suppositis preesse vt capitaneus, modo esset jllorum honestus et justus numerus ; et quod extunc haberet classicum siue tympanum et vexillum ; et pro experimento capiando, an esset futurus honestus numerus, quod hij quj paratj erunt militare, describerentur et prestarent iuramentum'. Consequently it was decreed to request the students willing to serve to apply to the lieutenant Feyten, and to write down their names : they were then to be told what to do, always provided Goes accepted to be their captain ²⁾).

The siege itself passed like a bad dream. The enemy came under the walls on August 2, and camped at Ter Banck ³⁾). The Brabant Bailliff, Philip Dorlay, as well as the captains of the auxiliary forces sent in relief, the Lord of Aimeries and the Count of Vernenberg ⁴⁾), evidently were convinced of the complete absence of all resisting power : they left the town, and probably advised trying to free Louvain by offering a pecuniary compensation. The terrorized town authorities needed no encouragement in that direction : a herald from the enemy was admitted within the walls, and one sent in return to ask for a parley, before Goes had even heard of it ; although as captain of the students — no doubt the least demoralized element amongst the defenders, — he had a right to express his opinion on the subject. By a mere accident he happened to be one of the four Louvain representatives who went to discuss the conditions of the surrender with de Longueval and van Rossem, and when, after a first parley, the French commander heard from his herald the utter helplessness of the town and the complete dejection of the authorities, he at once made the stipulations very much heavier when the four

¹⁾ Cp. *GoesOratio*, 103 n.

²⁾ *LibActUnIX.*, 10 r, v ; *GoesOratio*, 60 n.

³⁾ Cp. *GoesOratio*, 269 n.

⁴⁾ Cp. *GoesOratio*, 67 n, 69 n, 74 n.

deputies returned to him from the meeting of the Town Council. When a second time the representatives were sent back to the Council, and were to bring the reply after half an hour, Goes, to whom the French leader showed more civility on account of his belonging to a friendly nation, and their having several mutual friends, stayed out of the town to talk with him, hoping to get more amenable conditions, or, at least, to prevent that they should be made more vexatious again. During that interval the enemies, certain as they were that Louvain had as good as surrendered, were flocking about Brussels Gate and about the moat and the walls, which were manned mostly by students. It was during the time granted as truce for the parley that those unsuspecting enemies near the walls were all of a sudden fired on most ruthlessly by the defenders. The legend connecting that sudden attack with the drawing near of a brewer's dray ¹⁾, is certainly to be discarded : a contemporary poem mentions it vaguely, and even doubtfully ²⁾;

¹⁾ It is said that a brewer's dray took beer, or even wine to the enemy, a device by which a traitor, called Busse or Buysse, wished to allow the enemy to enter by a gate which would have been kept open by the cart wrecked on purpose : the people, it is said, took the alarm, cut ropes and straps to free the horses, and, dreading treason, fired away from the walls : *LocObsDiest*, [b 4] r ; *DivRerLov.*, 112 ; Henne, vii, 382 ; *Louvain*, 60. To be true it had been suggested at the Town hall to offer drink to the enemy as part of the ransom ; still that stipulation was not to be executed before it had been accepted and agreed upon : *GoesOratio*, 300-4. With all that, the trick of keeping a gate open by a brewer's dray, or a postern by an ale-keg, is related for nearly all strong places that were forced open in that century (*AntvAnn.*, ii, 289). Evidently the presence of a beer-cart near the walls, where hundreds of young men were keeping guard on a hot summer's day, is quite natural : it may even have been handed roughly, if it was there, when, the alarm being given, the defenders made for their stations, and the onlookers rushed to shelter. That popular fancy should have connected the incident of the generous brewer with treason and ruin, is also very natural, the more so as it happened in a moment of utter confusion. Moreover there is certainly an inconsistency in the relation that makes Buysse or Busse responsible for the wine-transport, for Goes asserts that, when the attack happened, that man was well outside the walls and the gate : *GoesOratio*, 375.

²⁾ The poem mentions two versions about the beer and wine carried near the gate : one asserts that some of the Louvain people disapproved of offering them as a spontaneous, conciliatory present to the enemy, and stopped the cart before it reached the gate ; the other considers the appearing of the cart in the gate as the preconcerted signal on which van Rossem's men were to try and enter the town, which was prevented : *LocObsDiest*, [b 4] r.

but, whereas that poem has no historic value ¹⁾, the more authoritative witnesses ²⁾, and Goes, who was directly interested, do not as much as refer to it ³⁾.

It is much more probable that the alarm was given at the sight of the increasing number of enemies, who, under the protection of the truce, came nearer the walls, and, as Goes relates, were dispersed about the moat and Brussels Gate. It needed no more than one defender to be alarmed or provoked by a too forward foe, for a gun to be fired, which would be necessarily the signal of a general attack ⁴⁾.

¹⁾ There are many inconsistencies in that poem : it relates, *e. g.*, that the enemies during the parleys had shot cannon-balls from outside the walls, which damaged a convent, and also killed a little child in the Biest : *LovObsDiest*, [b 3] r, v ; no doubt the poet who imitated in several parts Nannius' *Oratio*, misunderstood a passage in which are depicted the dreadful events of a ruthless siege : Nannius represented those fancies as haunting the minds of the terrified population, possibly as engrossing already popular rumour : the translator seems to have taken them as facts : *LovObsNan.*, B ij r ; such facts would have justified any retaliation, and made devoid of sense passages like *GoesOratio*, 388-90, 461-78, 483-5, &c.

²⁾ There is no reference to it in the poem by one of the defenders, Lævinus Torrentius : *LovObsTorr.*, A iij r ; nor does Nannius mention it at all, though he addressed the students who had taken part in the event a few weeks before : *LovObsNan.*, B ij r.

³⁾ That Goes does not mention the incident, seems conclusive : when he drew up his memoir, he cannot have helped inquiring into what was for him the puzzle of puzzles ; friends and witnesses like Feyten or Garchie, must have minutely informed him about an event, which had been of capital importance for his fate, and on which still depended his justification for having remained outside the walls.

⁴⁾ That explanation is implied by Nannius writing that, during the parley, the enemy ' paulatim ... portas subire, & quasi furto urbem surripere, iam ad moenia, quinimo iam in limine constiterat, apertis nostris ob colloquia denuo iteranda & repagulis & portis. Ibi scholasticus nullius imperio, nullius mandato expectato, hostem inuadit ', &c. : *LovObsNan.*, B ij r, v. Even more decisive is the evidence given by his student Lævinus Torrentius, who was amongst the defenders : he quotes the speech made by the *prætor* to the enemy at Ter Banck, and mentions that he returns to the town to consult the Council about the conditions of the surrender (*LovObsTorr.*, A iij r) :

Vix tamen in primis faucibus vrbis erat,
Vndique paulatim subrepsit perfidus hostis,
Explorans si qua parte nocere queat :
Non secus atque lupus, recubans in vertice montis,
Respicit errantes insidiosus oues.
Quam nihil ingenuum, quam nil sine fraude doloque,
Galle ! vel infanda proditio facis !

Whatever may have been the cause, the sudden attack was so unexpectedly valiant and courageous, that Goes, who can hardly have had any illusion about the real state of the town and its defenders, apparently attributed it to the arrival of the long-promised help from Queen Mary, which explains the sudden breaking off of the parley. He was even so deeply convinced, that he also managed to convince de Longueval. For in the rout he had been unwillingly driven into the enemy's camp, where he was kept a prisoner, and even made responsible for the treacherous violation of the truce. Still a man like de Longueval must have been able to judge the truth of Goes' assertions, and it looks quite consistent with circumstances, that the French leader, persuaded by Goes' conviction that Louvain must have received some considerable relief, proposed to his fellow-commanders to desist from every intended assault, and carried the decision to break up the camp and continue the way southwards to meet the troops of the Duke of Orleans; the two armies indeed joined under the walls of Yvoy ¹⁾. Afterwards de Longueval himself testified to the fact that the abandoning of the plan of attacking and storming Louvain, was entirely due to Goes' intervention ²⁾.

That it was not due to the Louvain defenders overawing their assailants, hardly needs a proof ³⁾ : it would look almost as if those dreaded warriors, trained by years of warfare, and led by one of the shrewdest and wisest captains of his time, should have been undone by a group of students who had been just two or three days under arms ⁴⁾ ! So little

Fortunately the indignant Pallas rouses the students, and makes them prevent that the robbers should lay their hands on her city :

Pro scelus ! an patimur vinci sine pulvere muros ?

An nihil omnino dextera nostra valet ?...

Nec mora : fit clamor, redduntque tonitrua sua

Bombardæ ; credas intonuisse louem.

Heu ! quis tunc luctus fuerat planctusque per urbem ?

¹⁾ Henne, VII, 382-385.

²⁾ *LovObsGoes, E ii j r.*

³⁾ Goes relates that the fear of the Louvain people and their utter lack of skill as marksmen, was the object of bitter jests amongst the enemies : *LovObsGoes, E ii j r.* Charles V. is said to have remarked on being informed : ' Mei boni cives Lovanienses non sunt milites : Mol., 438.

⁴⁾ The great feat was accomplished on Wednesday, August 2, whereas Goes, appointed captain on Sunday, July 30, had mustered his small army for the first time on Monday, July 31 !

was the Louvain mayor, the Lord of Blehen, impressed with their valour, that, dreading the revenge for the undue attack, which would have been terrible, he at once rode out of the town, ordering from the outside that all firing should cease ; as nobody obeyed, he galloped to the enemy's camp to prevent by his humble apologies that through the breaking of the truce the parleying should be stopped, or the conditions of the surrender made much more burdensome ¹⁾).

A considerable time after the enemy had left the vicinity of Louvain, the town was still kept in state of defence : on August 5, the authorities, whose number had been constantly dwindling, requested and were granted the help of the University. On August 12, measures were taken to prevent that amongst the students arriving, there should be any traitors. Until August 22 the *scholares* were under arms, and the question was put and debated, whether there still was any necessity : the advice of the town-pensionary Arnold van der Halvermylen prevailed on Aug. 23, and the service continued ²⁾). Several times the City authorities had implored in vain some pecuniary help ³⁾); it was only when Charles V. insisted on the towns of Brabant being well protected and provided, that the University, after some discussion, consented in paying her share of the expenses necessitated by the peril — which was now well past — and by the reconstruction and the repairing of the ramparts ⁴⁾).

On August 5, Queen Mary sent the President of her Privy Council, Louvain's former student and Professor, Louis de Schore, to thank the City Council for the courageous and active defence of the town, and for continuing the watches night and day : Burgomaster van der Tommen replied that if the *scholares* of the University had not helped so faithfully and so effectively, the enemy should certainly have taken the town : for which reason thanks should be rendered to God,

¹⁾ *DivRerLov.*, 112 a. Relations or mentions of the Siege, besides those *infra*, pp. 638-687, occur in *RE*, 490 ; *BbUpps.*, H 155 : 70 v ; *Weinsberg*, I, 170-1 ; *VigIE*, 39 ; *Gabbema*, 555-6 ; *Mol.*, 436-8 ; *Vern.*, 330-2 ; (chiefly inspired by *GoesOratio*) ; *VAnd.*, 360-1 ; *DivRerLov.*, 111-2 ; *Paquot*, xiv, 67-8 ; *Henne*, vii, 381-3 ; *Louvain*, 59-60 ; *Pelayo*, II, 141 ; &c.

²⁾ *LibActUnVI.*, 230 r, 231 r ; *LibActUnIX.*, 10 v-11 v.

³⁾ On Aug. 13 and 22, 1542 ; *LibActUnIX.*, 11 v, 12 v.

⁴⁾ From October 19, 1542 on : *LibActUnIX.*, 14 r, sq ; *Louvain*, 132.

who had deigned to look at them with eyes of pity ¹⁾. A solemn procession in thanksgiving for the favour granted through the intercession of Our Lady was organized by the Town on Sunday, August 20, at 8 a. m., and the University members took part in it with torches and candles ²⁾.

Goes in Captivity.

Unfortunately not all those who had contributed to that victory, were able to enjoy it. Already on Aug. 6, the Rector announced to the Deputies that letters had come to the Senate from the *prætor* or *villicus* Adrian de Blehen ³⁾ and also from Damian de Goes : both captives requested the City and the University to liberate them by sending to Martin van Rossem 'lxx. milia coronatorum aureorum' ; they decided to have that demand examined by the Town Council and the deputies whom the University had appointed the day before ⁴⁾. It came most importunately, for, although under the pressure of the impending danger the authorities of City and University had been ready to give within five days the sum now requested ⁵⁾, their paying capacity seemed to diminish as the danger was receding. On Aug. 20, the University declared to the Town that her *erarium* was *exiguum & quamvis nullum*, and explained her straitened circumstances ⁶⁾. It was almost generosity on her part to acknowledge the debt made by Goes during the defence of the town *de rubeo cerico siue sayeto, distributo et dato* — probably the *vexilla* of his small army ; possibly a kind of badge worn by the students : he

¹⁾ *LibActUnIX.*, 11 r ; *BbUpps.*, H 155 : 70 v ; Henne, 383, sq.

²⁾ *LibActUnVI.*, 230 r ; *LibActUnIX.*, 12 r, 22 r ; that procession has taken place every year ever since 1542 : Louvain, 60 ; Henne, VII, 383.

³⁾ Cp. *GoesOratio*, 90 n.

⁴⁾ *LibActUnIX.*, 10 v-11 r.

⁵⁾ The Micawber-like improvidence of Louvain appears almost ludicrous when compared with the opinion of de Longueval and van Rossem, who gave as pretext of their abandoning the siege, the enormous wealth of the town, which they feared would have ruined their armies, as, replete with spoils and riches, the soldiers would have refused to follow them to France, and rather have returned disbanded to their homes : *LoeObsGoes*, Eijj r-v.

⁶⁾ *LibActUnVI.*, 230 r ; *LibActUnIX.*, 12 r.

had warranted the payment of the fabric, amounting to five Rhine florins and five or six stivers : which the University decided to pay on August 22 ¹⁾. The Town Council, on the other hand, pretended to be in as bad circumstances, and far from trying to help the two captives, they most probably were eager to follow Mary of Hungary's instructions, who advised Gembloux and Argenton not to discharge their fines or ransoms to the enemy ²⁾. It seems as if the request of that pecuniary assistance had at once cut short all appreciation of the efforts of those two men, who had paid for the safety of the community by their own liberty. It was as if the possibility of a claim on their help, caused a complete revulsion in the judgment of the majority of those in power. Rather than owning any indebtedness, they clutched at the apparent lack of success of Goes' and Blehen's efforts, proclaiming that their present misfortune was a just return for their unwarranted improvidence. What business had they outside the town wall ? In fact Damian de Goes was all but held for a coward and even a traitor ³⁾.

Meanwhile the life of the prisoner was far from being comfortable. Being considered as a decoy to facilitate the attack, the enemies, running like mad animals round him, wanted to make him repay for the loss of so many of their comrades, and for that of the town into the bargain. It seems that they had already tied his hands behind his back, ready to kill him by lance or sword, if the hope of recovering the greater part, if not all, of Louvain's ransom as the price of his liberty, had not made the chiefs prevent the raging soldiers from taking their revenge ⁴⁾. Whereas de Blehen got off with the payment of 2000 crowns, and was already in freedom about the end of the year ⁵⁾, Goes was kept a prisoner in Picardy until Septem-

¹⁾ *LibActUnIX.*, 12 v.

²⁾ Henne, VII, 383.

³⁾ Cp. e. g., Nannius' testimony, *infra*, p. 639.

⁴⁾ *LocObsGoes*, [E 4] r.

⁵⁾ He had returned to Louvain in January 1543, when, on the 13th, the Rector proposed the University meeting to offer to him with their congratulations *pro jucondo aduentu*, an *ama* of Rhine wine, or its value, 12 Rhine florins : *LibActUnVIII.*, 1 r, v.

ber or October 1543, and was only released against a most exorbitant ransom ¹⁾).

Without doubt the bitterest sorrow for Goes in his captivity was the knowledge that, on his account, his wife was visited by ill-will and vexation in her abandonment. Yet if there might have been a cause of complaint about him, there certainly was none about her. With all her dejectedness and anxiety she had to bear the evident enmity of the town, whose officials announced that, as to taxes and rates, she could not plead any longer the exemption granted by privilege to the University *subditi* : it was declared that she was not any longer a member of the Alma Mater ²⁾), although the custom existed by which widows were left to enjoy their advantages at least one year after their husband's decease ; and although there was no question of depriving any captives of their rights ³⁾). Nor did the University make it a point of honour or generosity to stand by the afflicted woman, who was mercilessly left to her fate, and not encouraged at all in her efforts to procure the liberation of her husband.

Feeling the utter lack of sympathy in the Louvain authorities, Goes' friends decided acting on their own account. One of his intimate acquaintances, Gabriel Garchie, 'scolaris', took as a prisoner in Damianus' name with a view to obtain his ransom, another *scolaris*, Joannes a Ripa <, de (la) Rive>, of Toulouse ⁴⁾). He informed the University Deputies of the fact on August 10 ; they inquired into the matter, and were told by Garchie that he acted as Goes' procurator, with instructions given verbally by his wife ; also, that he would willingly take the case in his own hands, having been treated in a similar way by the French ; he urged that 'a Ripa' should be kept a prisoner in the name of Goes and of his wife, until the latter should be heard, and he requested the Rector and the Deputies to take charge of the Frenchman at his cost and peril,

¹⁾ *GoesOratio*, 535, sq.

²⁾ *GoesOratio*, 525, sq.

³⁾ *LocObsGoes*, E v : captiuis iura postliminij in perpetuum incolumia ac salua seruantur.

⁴⁾ Cp. *GoesOratio*, 563 n.

since he himself had not the right to keep him, unless the Rector and the Deputies gave it him. The prisoner was consequently taken over and guarded under Garchie's warrant until the sentence should decide whether he had a right to keep him or not; and meanwhile the advice of Mary of Hungary, or that of Louis de Schore, was asked on the question ¹⁾. The former's reply was already in the Rector's hands on August 13 ²⁾, and the matter having been thoroughly examined again ³⁾, a request was drawn up to the Queen in her Privy Council, with an apostil: on August 21, the Rector and the Deputies approved of it, and agreed to show it to Garchie, who was to be brought by kindness and persuasion, and, if that did not help, by severity and threats, to make an agreement with the captive ⁴⁾. No further reference is made in the University records to that question; but from Goes' complaints one year later, we learn that although his friends merely hoped to obtain his liberation in exchange of that young nobleman's ⁵⁾, the University prevented that permutation. Under colour of maintaining her Privileges ⁶⁾, she sacrificed a friend to a foe: she called Goes' family into action, and had them condemned to liberate the student, and to pay the expenses ⁷⁾. Goes afterwards argued that, if it was a breach of the Privileges to imprison a student, those very Privileges had also been infringed in his case; after all it was merely treating a Frenchman as the French had treated the Emperor's subjects under similar circumstances ⁸⁾. Maybe the University

¹⁾ *LibActUnIX.*, 11 r, v.

²⁾ *LibActUnIX.*, 11 v.

³⁾ On Aug. 16 the Rector asked and obtained leave from the University to take some documents out of the chest of the Archives to find out what was right or wrong in Garchie's case: *LibActUnVI.*, 240 r.

⁴⁾ *LibActUnIX.*, 12 r.

⁵⁾ He was said to be the nephew of the first President of the French Privy Council: *GoesOratio*, 565.

⁶⁾ *FUL.*, 32-39; *VAnd.*, 16, sq; *PrivilCon.*, 19, sq.

⁷⁾ Goes ironically reported on that sentence: 'Statim pia mater nostra se opposuit, fulminibus immensis minitans meis, tanquam hoc maxime Academiæ priuilegijs aduersaretur, ac demum ei causæ patrono adhibito, hunc liberat, meque meosque in expensas damnat: *LocObsGoes*, [D 4] r.

⁸⁾ *Lutetiæ parisiorum quidam Cæsariani de bibliotheca sua in ergastula & latumias abrepti sunt: LocObsGoes*, D iij v, [D 4] r.

did not want to imitate the others in their wrongs; still there was no need of a hurry : a little less rashness would have brought the enemy to liberate both Goes and others : now all advantage, which prudent delay was soon to have gained, was irremediably lost. Nor would it have been a breach of the Privileges if one captive scholar was exchanged against another, especially since the latter was as the victim of University and Town ¹⁾. But — thus Goes sadly concludes his complaint, — the chief University authorities had other views just then ²⁾.

Once more a great share of the disappointment fell to his wife's lot : the sentence which obliged the family to liberate the French student and to pay the expenses of the lawsuit was evidently pronounced against her ³⁾. Under the circumstances life became unbearable in Louvain : she wanted to return to her own family, which strangely was refused to her by the Town authorities. On Sept. 1, the University, to whom she had applied for help, decided to assist her 'via amicitia et conferentia' ⁴⁾ : it was done so amiably for the woman's oppressors, that it was only on her recourse to Queen Mary of Hungary that she was finally allowed to leave for The Hague ⁵⁾ — where she would have lived safe and secure from war and oppression, had it not been for her husband's generous impulse ⁶⁾.

Goes and Public Opinion.

That lack of appreciation of the friendship shown in a moment of great need, was callously spoken out at the following Rectoral election. When Charles Goswins, or Goesens, of Bruges ⁷⁾, who was in charge at the time of the Siege ⁸⁾,

¹⁾ *LovObsGoes*, [D 4] r.

²⁾ Sed alio tendebant principes Vniuersitatis, idque suo tempore detegam : *LovObsGoes*, [D 4] v.

³⁾ *LovObsGoes*, E v-E ij r.

⁴⁾ *LibActVI.*, 232 v.

⁵⁾ *GoesOratio*, 527.

⁶⁾ *GoesOratio*, 25-51.

⁷⁾ *LovObsGoes*, [D 4] v : 'Carolus Brugensis' : P. de Corte's nephew, Charles Goswinus or Goossins, of Bruges, had been professor of medicine since June 29, 1536 : cp. his biography in *Cran.*, 109, a.

⁸⁾ Goswins was elected Rector on the last of February 1542 : *ReusDoc.*, 1, 266 ; *Vern.*, 151.

resigned his dignity on August 31, he according to custom ¹⁾ requested the University to attest that he had filled his office, his *magistratus*, according to the Academic prescriptions : some members ²⁾ protested and contested before God and men that anything had been validly ordered or enjoined by the University at the time of the siege either to Damian de Goes or to Adrian de Blehen, the mayor, whose ransom had just been fixed at 2000 crowns by Martin van Rossem. They argued that the Faculties were not answerable for what had not been asked from them for the safety of the Town, as they had not been present, or had no knowledge of such requests. The fact was that the Rector and the Deputies, who stood for the whole University, had assisted at the decisive meeting of the Town Council, whereas several of the professors, who were now complaining, had not had the courage to appear at the meeting at which Goes had been appointed, having either hidden or fled ³⁾. Moreover the matter had required a speedy solution, in which case the Rector decides with the Deputies. It was evidently pressing the point too far, as in their desire to ostracize Goes, they called in question the validity of the decrees taken by the Rector and the Deputies in the days when it was not possible to convene the Academic Senate. The greater part of the assistance must have felt that incongruity : and no word is mentioned of it in the Registers of the *Acta* ; still Damião de Goes afterwards probably learned all what had happened from his supporters, and turned it as a complaint against the University ⁴⁾. The official report mentions that thanks were returned to the late Rector, as also to all those who had assisted him in the days of trouble, and had led the *scholares* against the enemy. On that account it was decreed to offer to 'Magister Seuerinus' half an *ama* of Rhine wine ⁵⁾, with the apology that if the *erarium Vniuersitatis*

¹⁾ *ULStat.*, 13-4 ; *ULAct.*, II, xiii, xiv.

²⁾ *LovObsGoes*, [D 4] v : quidam quorum nomina honoris causa prætereo.

³⁾ Of others *LovObsGoes*, E r, says : <alius> Deum in templis ad pulvinaria omnia adorabat, alius per plateas exanimis errabat.

⁴⁾ *LovObsGoes*, [D 4] v-E v.

⁵⁾ Cp. *infra*, pp. 667-9.

were not so poor ¹⁾, he would have been treated more liberally and more magnificently. To the German Christopher Pfliegel it was decreed to send a letter returning thanks for the service rendered, and to offer six *gelle* of Rhine wine ²⁾.

The complete absence of all mention of Goes' interference certainly is not suggestive of a high opinion amongst the University members. They were hardly less outspoken on October 2 following, when the Rector announced to the assembled Academic Senate that Damianus de Goes had sent a letter stating his hard fate, from which there seemed no escaping except by the payment of 12 thousand crowns; in his calamity he implored help from those, in whose service he had come into his misery. The Faculties deliberated, and the Rector concluded that their *ærarium* was very insignificant, and, moreover, burdened with rents; besides the *Domini Universitatis* declared that they had not been in fault, nor had they given cause for Goes to fall into the hands of his enemies. Still they would try to make his lot better if they could, and would therefore use their influence with, or send requests to, the Queen or other powerful people ³⁾.

Almost about the time that this icy answer was given to a man who had been ready to lay down his life for the general welfare, public mention was made of him in a document on the siege of Louvain which is quite characteristic of the general feeling then prevailing.

That document, was an ornate, literary oration delivered by Goes' most intimate friend, the professor of Latin of Busleyden College, Nannius. He explains in it how his students, on the *nudiustertius* ⁴⁾, when he was going to start reading and commenting the second book of Tit. Lucretius, asked him to lay that author aside, at least for some time, asserting that it was the desire of the entire audience. Not being able to refuse

¹⁾ A proof of the restricted means of the University is provided by the complaint of the resigning Rector, that hardly any payments had been made lately for promotions, nor for other University acts: *LibActUnVI.*, 231 v.

²⁾ *LibActUnVI.*, 231 v, 232 r; *GoesOratio*, 94.

³⁾ *LibActUnVI.*, 233 r.

⁴⁾ Probably on one of the first days of October 1543, at the opening of the Academic year.

anything to those who had saved the country, he granted their wish for Cicero's *pro Lege Manilia*, and as introduction he prepared in one day the *Oratio*. He compares in it the invading army to those of the Goths and the Vandals — and the students' courage to that of Hercules; he pronounced them certainly more worthy of glory than those who fought for their own *aris & focis*: they sacrificed themselves for an *aliena republica*. Nannius declares that their task had become more difficult since their leader had been taken a prisoner; he avails himself of that mention to express his protestation against the slander of which evidently his absent friend had been the unmerited object: 'dux Damianus' he asserts, 'in manibus hostium erat, qui uobis, quantumcumque oblatrent calumniatores ¹⁾, impetrauerat ab hoste, ut si pax conueniret, uel tuto in urbe remaneretis, uel impune abiretis. Id se egisse etiam tum cum de pace optima spes erat, ad Seuerinum & Christophorum ²⁾, qui absentis ducis partes optime administrare, renunciauit. Hos testes allego, ne quis me aduersus odium gratiosa ista comminisci arbitraretur' ³⁾). The rest of the oration is in praise of the students who wisely abstained from pursuing the foe, and stayed within the walls; obeying chiefs without any authority of their own, Feyten, Pfflegel and Peter Lopez ⁴⁾, they kept close watch for several days, helped by women and girls, showing worthy successors of Leonidas' Spartans and Miltiades' Athenians ⁵⁾. — You saved Louvain from the fate of Duffel and Waelhem, he exclaims, you rejoiced the trembling Queen, you made safe the Emperor's dominions; therefore, — as he concludes rhetorically, — 'Florebit...uestra laus, quandiu ullum uestigium Louaniensis ciuitatis superfuturum est, & in perpetuum omnes ordines, ætates, sexus, uobis suam salutem et urbis incolumitatem acceptum ferent' ⁶⁾!

¹⁾ What Cicero did for Pompeius in *Pro Lege Manilia*, Nannius does, at least transiently, for Goes. His *Enarrationes in Manilianam Ciceronis, seu Orationem pro Lege Manilia*, were long kept in manuscript in the Trilingue, but had been lost in Paquot's time: Paquot, xiv, 78.

²⁾ Feyten and Pfflegel; cp. *infra*, pp. 667-9.



³⁾ *LocObsNan.*, [B 4] r, v.

⁴⁾ Cp. *GoesOratio*, 94 n, 103 n; pp. 682-3.

⁵⁾ *LocObsNan.*, C i r-C iii v.

⁶⁾ *LocObsNan.*, [C 3] v-[C 4] v.

That oration was published in Louvain in 1543 : joined to a dialogue about native or foreign soldiers, it was dedicated to an old student of Louvain, under Vives, possibly also Nannius, the English 'Orator' Nicolas Wotton ¹⁾). The title reads ²⁾:

 PETRI  / NANNII ALCMARIANI / ORATIO DE
OBSIDIONE / Louanienfi. // Adiunctus est dialogus de milite
peregrino, / eodem autore. /// Excudebat Seruatius Zaffe-
nus Louanij / Anno M. D. XLIII. / Menfe Septembri.

If Nanning did not do full justice to his friend, he, no doubt, was far less hesitating in a letter — probably now lost — to the parent of one of his students, Nicolas Micault, Knight, Lord of Indevelde : it started with the words : ' Tibi & Nicolao meas nugas placere ', and was kept at Tournai in the Micault family with other writings of Nanning ³⁾).

Amongst the latter's audience was a native of Ghent, Livinus van der Beken, *Lævinus Torrentius* ⁴⁾), who had taken part in Louvain's defence, and, possibly induced by his master's example, celebrated the event in a poem of 136 verses, — of which some sound as an echo of his master's *Oratio*. The poem was printed in Antwerp by Antony Dumæus, and joined by him to John Knaep's (or Joannes Servilius') *Geldro-gallica Conivratio in totius Belgicæ clarissimam Ciuitatem*


¹⁾ Cp. *supra*, pp. 3, 4, 16.

²⁾ In 4°; sign. A⁴-F⁴G⁶. On A v starts a dedicatory letter to D. Nicolas Wotton, dean of Canterbury, Henry VIII.'s ambassador to the Emperor, who was present when the discussion about *de Externo et Domestico Milite*, commented on in the book (D 1 r-G 5 v), took place : it is dated Sept. 13, 1543, Louvain, where Wotton studied 10 years. — The *Oratio de Obsidione* takes up [A 3] r to [C 4] v; f [G 6] is blank.

³⁾ The letter is indicated in Paquot, xiv, 77 : *Epistola de Obsidione Lovaniensi per Rossemium, ad Micaultium patrem*. Though generally accurate, Paquot must be mistaken here : if the student was Nicolas Micault at all, the letter cannot have been written to his father John, Lord of Oistersteyn, treasurer-general, who died in September 1539, but to his mother, Livina Cats van Welle, or to a grand-father, or to another relative : *BruxBas.*, i, 75-7, 93; Walther, 54, 62, 79; Hoyneck, i, ii, 592, 747, iii, ii, 313; Henne, vii, 302; *Cran.*, 18, a; &c.

⁴⁾ He was then seventeen : afterwards he became famous as humanist and erudite, and died, as Bishop of Antwerp, on April 26, 1595 : *BibBelg.*, 159-60. Although the poem is anonymous, there seems hardly any doubt possible about the author. Cp. Paquot, ii, 92-8.

Antverpiam, Duce Martino Rosheymio ¹⁾. The pamphlet, printed with different signatures ²⁾, has as title :

Gelrogallorum / graffatio in Louanienfes, per Martinū / à Roshem : ab eximiæ spei adulescentulo Flandro poste/ritati prodita. / 1542. //  /

The poem begins 'Iam modo complerat dignas carbone Calendas'; it mentions the great courage of the Louvain inhabitants before the fight, and pictures in a poetic strain, the enemy frightening and attacking the town, and Pallas rousing the students to defend it; it refers to Latin models for the description of sadness and terror, and closes with this advice to the citizens :

Ferte Dijs memori suauiâ thura manu :

Seu, quod odorifero thure est acceptius omni,

Viuite, vt iratus non quæat esse Deus. ³⁾

Torrentius merely imparts what he saw and heard and felt during the event, and consequently ignores the story of his ill-fated captain; nor are there any more details in the Flemish relation in verses which was published as a chap-book by a Louvain printer without naming an author: it describes van Rossem's march through Brabant, mentions the burning of Haecht, Thildonck and Wespelaer, of Herent and Winxele, and his camping between the Vineyard Gate and Brussels Gate, near *Calvaria* and Ter Banck ⁴⁾. The narration about the Louvain siege also seems influenced by Nanning's *Oratio*; it mentions that the mayor and Goes went out of the town to parley, and got taken; for the gate then was closed and the firing began ⁵⁾. Several inconsistencies characterize the report

¹⁾ Antwerp, Antony Dumæus, 1542; in-8°; sign. a⁸A⁸B⁸C⁴D⁴E⁸F⁴G⁴H⁸. That book, dedicated to the Antwerp Consules Ladislas van Ursele (who matriculated in Louvain, March 21, 1515: *LibIntIII.*, 212 v), and Nicolas de Schermere (*AntvAnn.*, II, 232, 233), relates Antwerp's resistance to Rossem's attack.

²⁾ It contains four leaves in-8° of which the first, [A] r, has the title, the reverse being blank; the poem occupies ff A ii r to [A 4] r; it finishes on that page with the mention *Antuërp. apud Dumeum*. The reverse is blank.

³⁾ [A 4] r. There follows an *Aliud in eosdem*, eight verses against Bourbon and the French, Gelderland and Danish soldiers: *SweMonSep.*, 263.

⁴⁾ *LocObsDiest*, b 2 r-v; *Calvaria*, hill between the Vineyard and Brussels Gates: FUL, 2313. ⁵⁾ *LocObsDiest*, [b 4] v. 41

of the deliverance : van Rossem had ordered an assault, but his soldiers refused ; during the following night Louvain took courage : women and girls acted as voluntary police ; many prayers were said, and the people made such an enormous din that the enemy thought there were thousands of defenders. A herald came to the gate on Thursday, August 3, but he was refused entrance : as consequence van Rossem left Ter Banck — after causing a lot of harm to the Convent, — and burned his way down through ' Raesborch ', Corbeke ¹⁾, and Neeryssche, towards Sart and Longueville. That pamphlet was published under the title ²⁾ :

die Warachtige gesciedeneffe , oft historie , / cortelijck
in dichte gestelt , vander verra / derlycke inuasie ende
ouertreckinge , gedaen by / Merten van Rossem , begin-
nende van Cleue oft / daerontrent , alzoecomende ouer
Maze inde Kē / pen , verby Antwerpen , Liere , Duffel ,
Walem , en / befondere louen , ende anderffins doer Bra-
bant / ende eenfdeels verby Namen tot Mafieris toe , / met
vele scoone vermaningen ende doctrynen , / met oeck
gemeyn prouerbien ende fluytregelen / in elcke claufule ,
dwelck al gebuert es int / iaer ons heeren duſent vijf
hondert / twee ende viertich , in Julio / ende Auguſto. ///
woodcut representing bust of 'Merten vā Rossem' ///
Gedruckt by my Reynier van Diest / Tot Louen in die
Legeſtrate.

The pamphlet was reprinted, with a *Ballade* or poem about the necessity of God's guard for the protection of a town, by ' Wouter van Desschel aen dmuelen gat op onser vrouwen kerchof, Thantwerpen ', under the title ³⁾ :

Een eewighe me- / morie van dat verradelijck stuck
door Merten vā / Rossem en zijn adherenten , volbracht

¹⁾ Raesborre, Raesborne or Rospoel (fee of Winckel College : FUL, 2195-2217), under Eegenhoven, between Heverlee and Corbeke, evidently on the Dyle.

²⁾ It forms an in-4^o, printed in black-letter ; sign. a⁴ b⁴ c⁴ — in the copy of Brussels Royal Library, leaf [c 4] is missing : there seem to be only four stanzas wanting.

³⁾ In-8^o ; sign. A⁴-C⁴ D³ (the last page, probably blank, is missing) ; the poem starts on A v, and goes to D ii r, providing the four last stanzas missing in the Brussels copy of *LoeObsDiest*.

int iaer ons / Heeren. M.CCCCC en xlij. in Junio ende Au /
 gusto : in Brabant ende bifonder voor Antwerpen/Louen :
 Namen : ende meer andere diuerfche plaet- / fen tot Ma-
 sieris toe : claerlijc in dichte ghe- / ftelt met veel goede
 vermaninghen / ende doctrinen. // &c.

Goes' Oratio.

When finally Damião de Goes, after an absence of fourteen months, returned in October to Louvain with the smell of the French *latumiae* still about him ¹⁾, and tried to be repaid for what he spent on his ransom, he evidently must have felt the lack of sympathy amongst several of the authorities of Town and University, and was certainly aware of the slanderous comments on his conduct and his captivity. He therefore resolved to lay open the truth, and appeal to the University and the Town Council, recalling all the benevolence and even the affection lavished on him in the past. He composed a *commentariolum in modum libelli supplicis* for the University, and one for the Town Council. At his request a meeting of the Deputies was convened on October 25, at 9 a. m. in the upper Chapter room of St. Peter's : he appeared personally and showed his 'supplicationem jn multis folijs, jnstar codicis, colligatis descriptam, quæ jbidem lecta fuit'. Goes then handed over, besides his *supplicatio*, four other copies, so that each Faculty should have one. Moreover there was read a letter on parchment signed and sealed by a captain of the French King, — evidently de Longueval ²⁾, — with which he did not part. The Rector concluded from the deliberation of the Deputies that the copies were to be handed to the various Deans, who with their Faculties were to deliberate on the subject, and report on the conclusion at the next-coming University meeting ³⁾.

The copy read by Goes to the Rector and the Deputies is

¹⁾ Redeo ad Louanienses adhuc pedorem carceris obolens : *LovObsGoes*, *Fij* v.

²⁾ For the name a space is left open in the register : Goes without doubt showed and read the testimony about his being the cause of Louvain's delivery.

³⁾ *LibActUnIX.*, 24 r, v.

still extant ¹⁾). It is written out on a quire of fourteen folio leaves ²⁾ stitched together : the obverse of the first leaf has the title and beginning of the *Oratio* ; it ends nearly at foot of the obverse of the thirteenth : the reverse of it is blank, as well as the fourteenth, except for the title written on one half of the document folded lengthwise : ‘Damiani a Goes / postliminio reuersi ad / Vniuersitatem oratio’ / — and underneath the figure ‘38’, most probably the number by which it went in the archives of the Old University. It now belongs to the General Archives of the Realm, Brussels : *Fonds de l’Université de Louvain*, n° 327. — It has been slightly damaged by a waterstain at the top, which has nearly obliterated two words of the title, and discoloured part of the first line of each page.

The document is written in a fine clear hand, apparently that of an amanuensis, who, judging from the writing and the weak russet tint of the ink used, made a few corrections indicated in the textual notes as A. Damião de Goes signed it in a much darker, almost black-tinted, ink, and added some words in the margin ; in two instances, where A wrote some lengthier passages in the margin — which probably were dictated afterwards, — he made a cross (×) over and under those passages : in the textual notes those alterations are indicated by D ³⁾. Afterwards a third hand corrected a few proper names, in an irregular and careless writing, quite

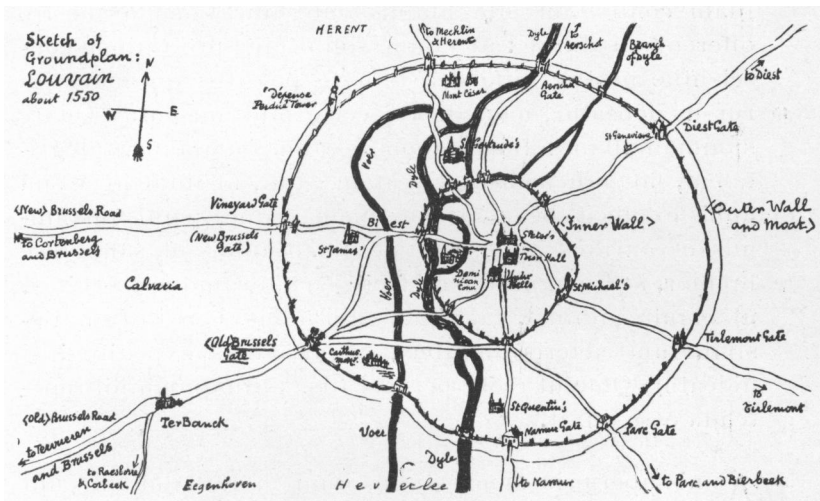
¹⁾ It is of course possible that the document in question is one of the copies handed to the Faculties ; still as not for one Faculty any loose documents of that period have reached us, and as moreover figures similar to that on f 14 v appear on documents which certainly belonged to the central archives of the University, it looks almost certain that this *Oratio* is the one which was read and handed to the Rector, and was kept amongst his records. The particular care with which it is corrected, fully corroborates that statement ; moreover the addition of two lengthy passages in the wide margins (ll. 206, *sq.*, 563, *sq.*) shows that this was the original text of the author — with the alterations brought about immediately after its composition.

²⁾ The watermark of the paper used represents an open hand rising from a kind of bracelet, and holding a four-petalled flower between the index and middle finger.

³⁾ D adds several marks of punctuation (*e. g.*, 143 plenus, 428 esset, 506 uerbis, 509 referres. 545 appareat,); dots some *i*'s (186 Damianus), or makes a sign over an *u* (585 iudicatura) : these additions have not been marked in the Textual Notes.

different from the painstaking and exact tracing of *A* and *D*; he evidently was not on the side of those who had to produce the best impression possible: he looks rather to be one of the judges, and his marks, indicated by *R* (*Reader* or *Rector*), chiefly rectify the orthography of proper names, which to a foreigner like Goes (and probably his amanuensis), were necessarily puzzling. The same hand underlined or marked some passages in a light-brown ink; most of them and some others are also underlined by a style or ... its substitute ¹⁾.

The text of the document is reproduced as exactly as possible, the only exceptions being the regularizing of the use of capitals and punctuation-marks, the division into alineas, and the resolution of the ordinary abbreviations. Like for the other texts in this volume, the orthography of the writer is meticulously adhered to (*æ* representing besides *æ* also *e* with cedilla), whereas the textual notes report on what is out of the ordinary, or might have some interest ²⁾.



¹⁾ Such underlining is not indicated in the textual notes; neither are marks made by means of a style in the margin.

²⁾ A often writes only one *p* in words like *oporior* (99, 341) *oportunitatem* (457); — instead of *m* he writes *n* in *veruntamen* (404), *eandem* (200, 235), *solenne* (27), *Luxenburg*; such particularities, however, are not pointed out in the Textual Notes.

The Text.

AD AMPLISSIMUM ALMÆ VNI-
 UERSITATIS LOUANIENSIS COLLE-
 GIUM.

Cum non ignoretis, Uiri Amplissimi Eruditissimique,
 quam infoeliciter Damiano a Goes cesserit illa præfec-
 tura sua, quam uobis demandantibus, nomine Academiae,
 ad ipsius Academiae, ciuitatis, uestrumque defensionem
 5 omnium accepit anno superiore, cum hostis ille teterri-
 mus, qui formidolosus omnibus tum omnia uastabat, huc
 ad moenia aduentaret. Tum illud utique uobis constare
 etiam credit Damianus, quam male passim a plerisque
 audiat, adeo ut foedissimum prodicionis crimen quidam
 10 ei impingere clanculo non uereantur. Ergo quo nota esse
 uobis possint consilia ipsius, factaque omnia, historiam
 illam contextam sibi amplissimo huic Concilio uestro
 offerendam duxit : ut etiam simul hinc pro ratione con-
 scientiæ uestræ dilucide statuere possitis, quidnam illi
 15 rursus debeatur, nam deberi certe multum putat. Quare
 summam illam humanitatem uestram Damianus, integri-
 tatem, fidem uehementer oratam cupit, ut dum acta sua
 uobis explicat, beneuole ad finem usque, æquisque ani-
 mis et auribus agnoscere uelit. Cupiuisset sane esse
 20 breuior, sed magnitudo rei fecit, euentorumque acerbitas,
 ut omnia minima, maxima, cum uobis, Uiri Præstantis-
 simi, tum cæteris omnibus, cognita esse expedire ipsi
 uideatur. Quæ ut recte pernoscatis, altius nonnihil repe-
 tenda esse duxit.

25 ANNI superioris mense Iulio, dum in Hollandiam cum
 Auxore proficiscitur, ut eius cognatos, amicosque inui-
 seret, quod illi singulis annis solenne fuit : in itinere dum
 Antuerpiam uenit, fama increbrescit de aduentu hostium,
 quorum duces, ut inter omnes ferebatur, et certum erat,

TEXTUAL NOTES. TITLE &c.] on p 1. — (ampl)issimum ... Vni-, on
 first line hardly visible through waterstain 2. Goes] ms G^{oes}
 21. -ma, maxima &c.] on p 2 22. expedire] D corr from -diri (A)

30 hanc nobilissimam Louaniensem urbem expugnare decre-
uerant : qui insuper (ut postea dum in castris hostilibus
detineretur, intellexit) in uotis habebant, eodem in loco
sedem figere, inibique Aureliensium Ducem expectare,
qui tunc temporis Luxenburgensium fines euastabat, uti
35 sic coniunctim Brabantiam depopularentur. Sed imprimis
Louanienses, præter reliquam sæuitiem, ludibrijs exagi-
tarent, in quos infestiores ob Lutheranismum erant, quo
plerique illorum laborabant. Statuerant enim in audi-
torijs publicis quasi profiteri, personasque doctorum, et
40 Magistrorum Nostrorum assumere, in quorum locum post
ipsorum cædem se successisse uideri uellent : ut sic reli-
gionem, doctrinam, authoritatem nostrorum hominum
omni contumelia et ignominia uexarent. Qua re intellecta,
iter ab Hollandia, uxore lachrymis reluctantæ, auertit, ac
45 omni contentione ad uos reuertitur. Postridie ubi redijs-
set, a senatu ipse Damianus uocatur : in curiam uenienti,
a senatoribus imperatur, ut certis hominibus coniunctus,
oppidum intus et foris circumspiciat, quæ defensionis eius
desint, indicet. Idque munus cum ea sola de causa re-
disset, ut ciuitati, Academiaeque prodesset, lubentissime
50 suscepit.

Quibus omnibus accurate consyderatis, quid sibi ad
muniendam, confirmandamque ciuitatem necessarium
uidebatur, cuncto senatui, uerbis scriptisque obtulit, atque
55 indicauit. His autem peractis nunquam post illud destitit,
omnibus curis, uigilijs, negotijs, excubijsque ciuitati
necessarijs prodesse, ut uobis et ciuibus omnibus, necnon
ipsi magistratui compertum est. Quæ dum perpetuo, et
sine intermissione agit, a Domino Rectore, atque a tota
60 Alma nostra Vniuersitate in Concilium accersitur : quem
iussistis in ea calamitate, qua iam tunc ciuitas opprime-
batur, curam scholasticorum gubernandorum ut ducem
suscipere. Quibus imperatis, ut ad defendendam ciuitatem
erat affectus, plane obtemperauit, cupiens omnibus modis

44. Hollandia &c.] on p 3 46. a ... uocatur] R underl 50.
ut ciuitati] R underl 59. a tota Alma] R underl 60. quem
iussistis in ea] R underl. ; D adds mark in margin to l. 63... susci-
pere 62. ut ducem] D adds in left margin

65 ciuitati et Academiae, necnon toti reipublicae, pro uirili
 prodesse. Eo demum tempore a Serenissima Hungariae
 Regina, Philippus a Dorlyn, Brabantiae Bailiuus, huc
 mittitur, ut negotijs omnibus praeeset; ac deinde Con-
 70 radus Comes a Vernenberch, trecentis ferme tyronibus
 comitatus; postremo Georgius Rolyn, dominus ab Em-
 merijs, qui centum plus minus equites, secum ea die, qua
 hostes ad moenia castrametari coeperunt, in oppidum
 inuexit. Eodem tempore Damianus magistri ciuium,
 Iohannis de Tombe iussu, domino ab Emmerijs, ciuitatem
 75 sub diei auroram ingredienti, iuit obuiam, eumque ad
 hospitium, cui intersigne est Gladius, comitatus est. Inde
 solus ad moenia contendit, ut quid uigiles agerent, explo-
 raret: nam praeterierant iam noctes tres, quas ipse inter
 ipsos uigiles, insomnes consumpserat.

80 Eo dum uenit, animos omnium, qui uigilijs incum-
 bebant, hostibus appropinquantibus, atque incendijs
 omnia euasantibus terrore concussos animaduertit, quos
 quantum potuit, hac illac ad horam diei ferme octauam,
 moenia omnia lustrans animauit, indicans hostes homines
 85 esse, non daemones, neque leones. Quamobrem bonum
 animum sibi arriperent, orat. Post istam cohortationem,
 pauorisque mitigationem, in curiam se contulit, quo in
 loco, reperit Comitem a Vernenberch, Bailium Braban-
 tia, ac dominum ab Emmerijs (si bene meminit) et ciuitatis
 90 ferme omnes consules, senatores, Praetorem, atque alios
 probos ac nobiles uiros. Quibus cum ea quae in moenibus
 perspexisset, recitauerat, expectans quid consilij inter se
 inituri essent, Comiti a Vernenberch assedit. Cum quo
 uaria commentanti, a quodam Christophoro Pheegel,
 95 Germano, nobili iuvene ac probo, citato et repentino
 nuncio, nomine Magnificentissimi Domini Rectoris, ac
 totius Almæ Vniuersitatis indicatur, ut omni celeritate se

67. Dorlyn] A; R *er and corr in right margin* Dorlaj, Gallicae
 68. -esset; ac &c.] *on p 4* 70. Emmerijs] A; R *corr* Emmerie
 74. Tombe] A; R *crosses off and corr in right margin first* Tomme,
then over it Tommen 74. Emmerijs] A; R *corr* Emmerie 89.
 Emmerijs] A; R *er ijs and corr ie* 93. -berch assedit &c.] *on p 5*
 94. a quodam ... Pheegel] R *underl.* 96. Magnificentissimi ... Rec-
 toris] R *underl.*

domum suam conferret, quia omnis Academiæ iuuentus
 ipsum ibi operiebatur, et pro ratione temporis, ut eorum
 100 dux eis quid facturi essent, imperaret. Quibus mandatis
 obtemperans confestim senatu relicto, ad suas ædes pro-
 perat, plateasque circum circa scholasticis refertas inspi-
 cit. Quos subito cum magistro Seuerino, eius legato, a
 uestris Amplitudinibus ad id munus merito electo, in
 105 forum deduxit, ibidemque ne sine autoritate liberæ iuuen-
 tuti præpositus uideretur, instar militaris disciplinæ, om-
 nium fidem poposcit, qua ipsos imperata impigre facturos
 pollicerentur. Quibus peractis, eos ad moenia quinos in
 singulis iugis per ordinem deduxit, stationemque eam
 110 delegit, quæ ferme omnium periculosissima erat, nimi-
 rum quidquid spacij est a porta Bruxellensi ad fluuiolum,
 quem uulgo 'de Vuer' appellant; ex quo loco omnes
 ciues amoueri iussit, atque abscedere ad alias urbis
 partes defendendas. Nationes, ne quid, earum admixtu,
 115 rixæ inter scholasticos oriretur, disiungit.

Hæc dum agit, renunciatur misisse hostes foecialem,
 qui cum oppidanis colloquium exposceret, eumque intra
 moenia iam receptum. Quare muneris sui non immemor
 Damianus summa celeritate in curiam licet non accersitus
 120 reuertitur. Ibi dum omnia plena perturbationis reperit,
 circumactis huc illuc oculis, cum Comitem a Vernenberch,
 dominum ab Emmerijs, et Brabantiae Bailium (nam hos,
 cum autoritate Domini Rectoris euocatus ad scholasticos
 abiret, in curia reliquerat) a concessu illo abesse uideret,
 125 existimans, id quod res erat, de nulla re disponendum
 esse, sine consilio, autoritateque eorum, quorum curæ
 atque fidei, custodia ciuitatis, defensioque ciuium a Sere-
 nissima Hungariæ Regina demandata erat, rogat ergo
 ubinam illi essent, ut ab eis intelligeret, an eorum auto-
 130 ritate uel consensu foecialis esset intrōmissus : respon-
 detur ab uniuersis eos iam e ciuitate omnes profugisse.
 Commouit sane responsum hoc (ut par erat) Damianum
 non mediocriter; nihilominus quid foecialis uellet, rogat :

118. non immemor &c.] on p 6
 Emmerie 124. concessu] A

122. Emmerijs] A ; R corr

aiunt Regis Francorum nomine eum deditionem urbis
 135 expostulare; proinde se contra emisisse tubicinem, quo
 colloquia cum hoste impetrent; interea autem foecialem
 iussum in oppido commorari.

Ibi mire perturbatur Damianus, cum uideret tantam
 rem agi, se ne semel quidem consulto; cuius hac in parte
 140 sententia nonnihil requiri debuit, cum dux scholasticorum
 creatus esset. Porro autem dum tubicinis emissi reditus
 expectatur, interea sane stupore et ægritudine ob teme-
 ritatem commissam plenus, recurrendum sibi ad suos
 statuit, partim quod iam fere exploratum se habere cre-
 145 debat eius consilium, etiamsi se absente uel præsentem
 tubicen reuertisset, in senatu non admodum desyderatum
 iri, quippe cum sine ipso adhibito de summa reipublicæ
 non optima consilia agitari coepta depræhenderet : partim
 etiam, quo iuuentutis, quod non ignorabat, quam anxiam
 150 eam, consternatamque dudum reliquisset, animos eri-
 geret, eamque in officio, quam posset maxime retineret.
 At huc cum peruentum fuit, ecce nihilo saniora, quam ea
 unde abierat, inuenit omnia. Jam enim plenius etiam
 certiores erant reddituri de illa præcipiti tristisque ducum
 155 fuga, de intromisso intra moenia hostium foeciale, de
 consternatione senatus, consiliorumque ejus inopia, de
 tubicine contra in castra emisso, atque de desperatione
 denique conseruandæ ciuitatis. Quare aduenientem num
 hæc ita sese habeant plerique efflagitant. Noluit dissimu-
 160 lare, nec potuit Damianus, præcipue cum res comper-
 tissima apud omnes habebatur : itaque illis annuit, ac
 mox eorum animos confirmare cupienti oratio adimitur :
 audit contra aliam, cuius etsi uerborum seriem hactenus
 exacte non meminerit, ordine sententia tamen ad hunc
 165 modum residet (quam uix ulla unquam deleuerit obliuio)
 nam erat illa eiusmodi : ‘ Ita ne ergo tu nos huc produxisti,
 ut te duce omnes trucidemur, uel in discrimen omnium
 fortunarum ueniamus hodie ? cur rebus adhuc integris
 non incolumes abire dimisistis nos, cum pro se quisque id
 170 a uobis precibus contenderit ? An uero ideo retenti inuiti

sumus, quo facilior uobis foret cum hostibus transactio ?
 nam quorsum hoc a uobis petitum est colloquium, nisi
 ut si alia forte ratione pax coire nequeat, nos in eorum
 potestatem tradatis, ac deditione nostra, qui hic peregrini
 175 sumus, salutem uobis et urbi comparetis' ?

Hæc et alia cum iuuentus plane iam territa, et furore
 incredibili obducta eructasset, Damiani animum adeo
 uulnerauerunt, ut nihil unquam in vita ipsi uel acciderit
 indignius, uel tulerit acerbius. Enimuero, Humanissimi,
 180 Prudentissimique Uiri, tanta indignatio homini oblata
 fecit, parum ut abfuerit, quin affectus et prudentiam et
 consilium superarit. Raræ enim cuiusdam patientiæ om-
 nino fuerit, ut non exardeat dolore penitus, cum suam
 innocentiam tam immerito lacerari, indigneque proscindi
 185 audiat præsens. Itaque tanta indignitate rei concitatus
 Damianus, regendæque pro eius ministerio iuuentutis
 desperatione quadam oppressus, abstinere non potuit,
 quin remittere se diceret illis datam sibi fidem, quando
 ita secum nunc comparatum uideat, ut neque suum offi-
 190 cium, nec item industriam, ne studiosis quidem probare
 queat : neque enim gratum adeo sibi soli ducis nomen,
 cum cæteri iam abijssent, præsertim in ea ciuitate, quæ
 cum hostibus pacisci conabatur, quin ex eo tempore longe
 potius maluerit commilito appellari, ac fortunæ omnis
 195 bellicæ inter eos socius, particepsque existimari, quem et
 fore se perpetuo inibi sanctissime omnibus confirmabat.
 Tametsi hoc scholasticis dixerit iratus, nihilominus tamen
 postea non aliter se quam ducem decuit, ubique et sem-
 per gerebat. Nam cum exacta a scholasticis fides minime
 200 eum ducem fecerat, certum erat eandem remissam,
 ipsum a ducis officio exautorare non posse. Dixit quidem
 sibi non placere ducis nomen amplius ? dixit, sed quibus ?
 scholasticis, quorum expostulatio ei bilem concitauerat.
 Nam uobis, Prudentissimi Uiri, unde acceperat et ius et
 205 nomen istud ducis, renunciatum oportuit, si eximi eo et

187. abstinere ... (188) illis] *R underl* 192. præsertim] *D adds*
in right margin 193. hostibus &c.] *on p 9* 193. quin ... (194)
ac] R underl 195. inter ... particepsque] *R underl* 200. remis-
sam] A adds in right margin

solui debuisset. Præterea putat uobis Damianus satis cognitum esse quod fides, seu iuramentum, quod a scholastis poposcit, sociale solummodo fuit, quippe ipse nec Cæsari, nec ciuitati, nec uobis, iuramento, sacramento
 210 militari, uel stipendio aliquo addictus erat.

Quid multis ? aderant ibi aliquot (ut fere fit in multitudine) æquiores et consilij sanioris, qui Damianum aggrediuntur, ab eoque postulant, ut quando eo uentum sit, ut senatus omnino decreuerit cum hoste colloquendum, etiam atque etiam uideat, uti scholasticorum habeatur ratio, nec de ijs grauius quid, quam de ciuibus statuatur. Idque uero, etsi ab initio adhibitus non fuerat, nec consultus antea cum de summa rerum consilium capi coeptum est, ne alicubi studiosis sua opera denegata
 220 uideretur, sedulo se facturum pollicetur, aditurumque extemplo senatum ut omnis Academiæ causæ coram patrocinetur. Quibus ita ultro citroque in uallo habitis, statione primum perlustrata, magistroque Seuerino custodijs deinde demandatis : quem ut habuit tunc in communibus totius ciuitatis negotijs, et in tanta rerum perturbatione sedulum et fidum collegam, ita nunc istarum rerum omnium testem inter cæteros, qui plurimi esse possunt, locupletissimum uobis exhibet ; magistro ergo Seuerino (ut dictum est) custodijs deinde demandatis, in curiam
 230 regreditur. Quo in itinere offendit iuxta Carthusianorum stagnum, obuium Johannem a Rauenschot, a quo fit certior, senatum ad portam Bruxellensem iam adesse, ut colloquium cum hoste ineat. Quæ res ut antea ipsi dum statueretur, ita nunc cum perficeretur, nouo rursus dolori, ægritudinique esse coepit, nihilominus eandem portam
 235 petere decreuit. Quo ubi uentum esset, cognouit hostium duces quatuor oppidanos fide publica ad colloquium admittere.

Tum uero Damianus sollicitus de prouincia sua, idque
 240 etiam acrius eo, quod necdum eius animo exciderant ea quæ dicta illi paulo antea, promissaque in uallo erant :

206. Præterea ... (210) erat.] *A adds in right margin ; over & under it D makes* × 207. scholastis] *prob r -ticis* 221. ut &c.] *on p 10*

interrogat statim de nominibus eorum, qui ad id muneris delegati essent ; respondetur primum esse Adrianum Blehemum, Prætozem ; secundum Iohannem de Tombe,
 245 magistrum ciuium ; tercium Applesinum quendam, qui absente domino ab Emmerijs eius uices gerebat ; quartum uero ut erat tum omnium rerum confusio et perturbatio, ignorari. Confestim Prætor Damianum rogat, ne se suamque operam in rebus tam afflictis et miserrimo illo tem-
 250 pore, ciuitati quasi alienum subtrahat, sed ut se quantum illum faciat, qui autoritate publica destinatus colloquio, hostium terrore forte percussus se subduxisset. Ibi coniectis simul multorum in Damianum oculis, ac consensu quodam tacito, huc etiam inuitantibus, dubius primum
 255 ille constitit, quod statim subibant animo, quæ illum, uel ut maneret, uel ad colloquium exiret, adhortari poterant. Nihilominus cum crederet id sibi a ciuitate imperari, quod a Prætoze rogabatur, quoniam is personam ciuitatis et uicem tum gerebat : itaque fecit Damianus id, quod uos eum facere singuli atque adeo uniuersi,
 260 etiamsi consulti fuissetis (nam et consulisset quoque uos, si res tum deliberationis uel cunctationis fuisset capax), non uoluissetis solum, uerum etiam innixissime ab eo (interrogate conscientias uestras) contendissetis precibus,
 265 ut in castra cum tribus illis ad colloquia egrederetur.

Egressus ergo Damianus cum tribus illis, quos supra retulit, in castra hostium deducitur per foecialem illum, qui temere dudum in oppido receptus fuerat. Cum autem uentum est ad Baccensem Abbatiam, seorsum Nicolaum a Boussut, Dominum a Longueual, Martinumque a
 270 Rossem, et quendam alium nomine Iuersel Gallum offenderunt. Inter quos Longouallius, ut exercitus princeps, se colloquio offerens, minas promissaque magnifica iactabat,

244. Iohannem &c.] on p 11 244. Tombe] A ; R *er* & *wr* Tommen
 246. Emmerijs] A ; R *corr* Emmerie 248. Prætor ... (249)
 operam] R *underl* 250. ciuitati] R *underl* 250. sed ... (251)
 faciat] R *underl* 257. sibi ... (258) imperari] R *underl* 266. quos
 supra &c.] on p 12 268. qui temere dudum] R *underl* 268.
 receptus] A *corr* -p- 269. Baccensem] A 269. Abbatiam] A ;
 R *er*, and *wr* Leprosariam in right margin 271. Iuersel] A ;
 might be Tu-

hinc libertatem, omniumque tributorum immunitatem,
 275 illinc mortem, incendia, aliasque belli calamitates, nisi
 sibi Gallorum nomine urbs dederetur. Proinde secum
 expenderent, præmia an supplicia expectare mallent; se
 quidem iamiam oppidum expugnaturum, cuius expu-
 gnatio omni ordini, ætati, sexui perniciem allatura esset.
 280 Hoc in colloquio cum a nobis deditio repudiata esset,
 proposita est ab hoste conditio redemptionis, ut trimestre
 stipendium hostili exercitui lueremus, quod in singulos
 menses erat septuaginta millium coronatorum aureorum :
 his additum erat, ut omnia tormenta, machinasque belli-
 285 cas, globos, pulueresque et quicquid ad eorum instructum
 pertinet, traderemus : commeatum quoque et annonam
 exercitui præberemus, sed iusto precio. Quod si uero in
 has leges conuenisset, uolebat etiam ut quatuor ex pro-
 ceribus oppidi sibi pro obsidibus traderentur, quibus ipsi
 290 caueatur oppidanos promissa facturos. Tandem cum nulla
 uariaque ultro citroque uerba habita essent, cum alij tres
 deputati ac Damianus non uideri sibi ostenderunt tantam
 atrocitatem conditionum ab oppidanis impetrari posse,
 eo descendit hostis, ut septuaginta coronatorum millibus
 295 contentum se fore diceret : de cæteris autem se nihil
 remissurum.

Itaque cum postulatis huiusmodi, ut ad senatum ea
 referantur, cum Damiano, cæterisque, Prætor inde in
 oppidum, ac mox in curiam redijt, in quam conuocati
 300 primores Vniuersitatis ilico fuere. Ibi omnium suffragijs
 uisum, et pecuniam illam et obsides dandos esse. Vltorius
 Prætori in mandatis dedere, uti centum amas cereuisiæ,
 quadraginta uini castrorum ducibus offerret, si a petendis
 pulueribus tormentarijs, bombardisque desisterent : sin
 305 minus pulueres tormentarios daret, bombardas saltem reti-
 neret, commeatum quoque precio legitimo hostibus polli-
 ceretur. Id quoque omnium ore decretum est, ut si hostis
 nihil ex postulatis remitteret, omnia potius tradenda esse,

284. ut... machinasque] *R underl* 289. traderentur &c.] *on p 13*
 300. primores Vniuersitatis] *R underl* 300. omnium ... (301) uisum]
R underl 305. pulueres ... bombardas] *id* 308. omnia ... esse] *id*

quæ hostis exigeret, quam in eius manus incidere. Nec,
 310 Amplissimi Uiri, Damianus uos immemores esse putat,
 tunc cum uobis (ut decebat) fideliter atque cuncto senatui
 retulisset, partim quæ in castris ipse animaduverterat, par-
 tim etiam ea quæ ex ore domini iunioris de Bredenroede,
 qui in castris hostium uersabatur, didicerat, tum uos
 315 communi consensu, omnibus audientibus, ipsi Damiano
 dixisse : ‘ Imo fiat, fiat ; ea quæ petunt rata habebimus, et
 sancte seruabimus omnia ’ ; ac multa item alia eiusmodi.

Quare facile quis iudicabit, Uiri Præstantissimi, uos
 sciuisse Damianum primo cum alijs tribus deputatis ad
 320 colloquium cum hostibus ineundum exiuisse. Quod si a
 uobis prima illa egressio non probabatur, non erat ut
 secundo eum exire permetteretis, sed potius clare aper-
 teque ei inhibendum fuit. Vnde luce clarius apparet,
 Damianum antea a Prætore rogatum, cui Prætori totius
 325 reipublicæ negotia a magistratu commissa tunc erant,
 nunc demum a uobis, necnon ab ipso senatu talia refe-
 rentem confirmatum, publicis sane negotijs et non priuatis
 functum esse.

Quæ, ut unde digressa est oratio reuertatur, cum satis
 330 confuse, et tumultuose, turbideque consilijs, animisque
 per summum terrorem confusis, anxijque acta essent, ut
 norunt omnes qui tum Louanij fuere, Prætor et Apple-
 sinus ac Damianus egressi sunt cum obsidibus designatis :
 qui fuere Iohannes de Tombe, ciuium magister, is qui
 335 prius colloquio fuerat destinatus, et Gregorius a Dieuen,
 Bertholomæus Heetveldius, et M. Iacobus Velinius, iuris
 licentiatius : addiderant se his multi comites tum scholas-
 ticorum, tum ciuium, ut qui sibi certi de pace ac inducijs
 essent.

340 Vbi ad hostem uentum est, qui ipsos iuxta Bruxellen-
 sem portam operiebatur, Prætor ut erat ei demandatum,
 præfatione aliqua usus, pro eius postulatis obsides obtu-

311. -ter atque &c.] on p 14 314. tum ... (315) consensu] *R underl*
 315. audientibus ... (316) dixisse] *id* 332. Prætor ... (334 : 1^a) qui]
R underl 334. Tombe] *A ; R er and wr Tommen under it* 335.
 colloquio &c.] on p 15 336. Velinius] *A ; R er & wr in left margin*
Welius 337. addiderant ... scholasticorum] *R underl*

lit. At Longouallius, qui exacte a suo foeciale iam intel-
 lexerat, quid animi, quid militum, quidque confusionis in
 345 oppido esset, Prætoris orationem interpellat, aiens se cum
 tot militibus, quot ipsi bonum uideretur, ingredi oppi-
 dum uelle. Quo scelere uerborum omnibus stupefactis,
 Prætor respondit se, præter ea, quæ in mandatis habebat,
 nihil offerre posse : quod si ea non placeant satis, non
 350 habere sese quod polliceatur aliud. Ad hæc Longouallius
 (ut eius uerba referantur) : 'Si modo oppidum mihi nomine
 Regis Gallorum non tradideritis', inquit, 'scio equidem
 iam quid mihi sit faciendum'. Tandem cum utrinque uaria
 tractarentur, ut de oppidi deditione cum ciuibus et magi-
 355 stratu intus communicaret, Prætori ad mediam tantum
 horæ partem regressum concessit. Tanta enim erat expu-
 gnandi oppidi hostium libido, ut in re tanti momenti,
 plus temporis deliberationi concedere noluerint.

Prætor ergo in ciuitatem reuertitur, sequentibus autem
 360 multis, qui una prius exiuerant. Damianus uero temporis
 quod dabatur, breuitatem contemplans, cum interea non
 tam in Senatu se quam foris apud hostem, communi
 saluti omnium profuturum iudicabat, manendum sibi
 foris, colloquendumque de conditionibus dictis, interea
 365 dum Prætor ad se redeat, statuit. Metuebat enim ne,
 quemadmodum hostis semel, ita quoque iterum pari
 improbitate usus, dirissima adhuc appendice alia condi-
 tiones pristinas ciuitati cumulare tristius : hæc autem ne
 acciderent, præsentia sua utcunque et continuo colloquio
 370 fieri posse iudicabat. Illud quidem certe interea obtinuit,
 ut si deditio talis forte intus placuisset, ne magnum nu-
 merum militum in oppidum introduceret hostis, namque
 hoc Longouallius sanctissime iureiurando Damiano con-
 firmabat.

345. aiens ... (347) uelle] *R underl* 350. Ad ... (353) faciendum] *id*
 353. Tandem &c. to l. 357] *D marks out in margin* 354. ut ...
 (357) in] *R underl* 357. re tanti &c.] *on p 16* 359. Prætor ...
 (360) multis] *R underl ; D marks out in left margin* 359. sequen-
 tibus ... (360) multis] *two lines in black ink added to R's under-*
lining 360. Damianus ... (361) dabatur] *R underl & marks out*
in margin 361. cum ... (365) ne] *R underl* 370. Illud ... (371)
 magnnm] *D marks out in right & left margins* 371. ut ... ne]
R underl

375 Manserunt inibi et alij quoque, ut Applesinus et Buijsius quidam, familiaris domini a Buren. At quæ causa illis manendi fuerit, non facile certe dixerit Damianus. Suum autem consilium atque acta omnia cum uobis, Uiri Præstantissimi, tum omnibus nota esse desyderat, ut hinc
 380 statuatur, quid ipsi rursus a uobis, pro præstita pietate, debeatur. At hæc illo ita agente foris, expectanteque Prætoris reditum (uix dum enim temporis quod ad consultandum exiguum concesserat hostis, dimidium sane effluxerat) dum induciarum fiducia securo prorsus animo
 385 hostes iuxta fossam et portam Bruxellensem dispersi uersabantur, ecce autem subito præter omnium expectationem, bombardarum sonitu, et iaculis omnia compleri coeptum. A quibus autem initium factum, hic sibi disputandum non sumpsit Damianus : hostes certe eius rei
 390 oppidanos constanter incusant.

Qua quidem re inopinata perculsi, ut natura fert, consternatique hostes, alij in partes alias effusi fuga se periculo exemerunt. At hic Damiano quid animi fuisse creditis ? nam fugam, in qua hostes spem collocauerant,
 395 eam sibi exitialem, siue urbem, siue castra peteret, intellegebat. Nam quò se coniecisset, aut in quod asylum confugisset potissimum ? In ciuitatem ne, unde scilicet uenerat ? at eius portam non clausam solum, sed et tormentis bellicis atrocissime fulminantem, ex equo suo
 400 prospiciebat. Cum hostibus ne se subduxisset in castra ? at non ignorabat, in certissimam se illuc tendere mortem, aut captiuitatem. A latere ne excurrisset aliquo ? at impediebant obiecti hinc illinc impedimentorum aggeres. Veruntamen his tantis difficultatibus subito circumuentus,
 405 dum se equi celeri cursu recipere ad urbem nititur, aufertur una cum agmine fugientium, ac circumfusorum impetu, cum equo simul abreptus in castra, una Damianus prouoluitur.

Nunc uero non ueretur Damianus, ne quod uobis tum

381. ita agente &c.] on p 17 388. A ... autem] R underl 388.
 sibi] after it non is er 392. effusi] D ; corr from effuso A 403.
 -iecti hinc &c.] on p 18 406. aufertur ... (403) prouoluitur] R
 underl

410 placere omnibus significabatis, id modo improbatu-
 ritis omnes. Illud subueretur potius, et timet magis, ne quod
 non redierit cum Præto- re in urbem, idcirco illum dignum
 calamitate iudicetis. Quamquam si hic æqui iudices esse
 ei uolueritis, quales, procul dubio, fore uos pro uestra inte-
 415 gritate ualde sane confidit, non dubitat profecto, quin
 declaraturi omnes sitis, eum et recte et pie fecisse, quod
 remanserit in colloquio, atque ex ærario publico, necnon
 ex communibus omnium facultatibus, legitimo munere
 illi compensandum, quod in communi illa tempestate,
 420 omnium ex uobis solus, fecerit naufragium calamito-
 sissimum.

Nam reuocate, per Deum immortalem, uobis in memo-
 riam, ac quæ tum fortuna fuerit, faciesque reipublicæ
 paulisper cogitate : nonne tanta erat tum ob circumstans
 425 ciuitatem malum, omnium confusio, ut omnibus data
 facultas et credita sit, quod cuique uidebatur pro repu-
 blica faciendi ? Cum, præmente ui aquarum, cataracta
 minor elisa forte esset, de consilio quorundam clericorum
 delectæ sunt uicinæ arbores, quibus aquæ fluxus siste-
 430 batur : num de scissis arboribus cum illis agi hodie pote-
 rit ? Quam multi ut speculatores hostium tunc, uel pro-
 ditores, quam multi ut incendiarij aut latrones etiam a
 militibus fuerunt in hac urbe compræhensi, atque in
 custodiam et carceres publicos deducti, quorum tamen
 435 omnium uix tres aut quatuor sunt reperti sotes, num
 reliquis iam dimissis, actio aliqua competat, qua expe-
 riantur contra eos, qui temere ipsos ceperant ? Occisus
 est postea pro hoste socius, pro oppugnatore ciuitatis,
 is qui defensor ei, propugnatorque uenerat. Neque is solus
 440 unus fuit, sed duo una nocte, quorum quidem alter,
 quod per ebrietatem timore ad arma clamaret, alter uero
 quod terrore correptus summo, (ut fertur) deciderit de
 muro, confossus est et periit. An lege Cornelia nunc
 teneantur ij, qui ista perpetrarunt ? certe nullo modo :
 445 quid ita ? Quoniam is tunc status reipublicæ fuit ut expe-
 dire uisum sit, a quouis eam adiuuari.

416. eum ... (418) munere] *R* underl
 444. certe] *D* adds in left margin

426. facultas &c.] on p 19

Itaque consensu quodam tacito legum edictum, creditumque uidebatur, ut quod quisque in rempublicam conferre emolumenti possit, id ut conferret, et rempublicam
 450 habituram ratum et gratum. Vnde etiam nunc talium rerum impunitas autoribus integra conseruatur. Atque hanc potestatem cum omnibus attributam, tum sibi Damianus etiam, maxime quod persona publica esset, a uobis imperatam credit. Itaque fiducia eius remansit foris, reuertente Præto-
 455 re in oppidum, ut si quid forte melius breui illo tempore, quod solum ciuitati iam restare uidebatur, prodesse posset apud hostem, eius oportunitatem ne amitteret. Atque hoc consilio ipsius, si aliquid fuisset effectum boni, ut fructus eius totius fuisset reipublicæ: ita contra
 460 incommodum certe, quod infoeliciter accidit, in ipsam quoque æquum est ut redundet: id eo æquius etiam, quod hoc quidquid est infortunij, non Damiani culpa, sed aliorum maxime superuenit. Nam si fuisset seruata fides, expectatusque induciarum exitus, priusquam eæ finirentur,
 465 potuisset se in tutum recipere Damianus, atque eandem cum uobis omnibus subisset fortunæ aleam. Nunc uero uix dimidio illo decurso tempore, quo tuto foris abesse licuit, dum adhuc securus colloquitur cum hostibus, subito rupta pactio, et ualide iaculari coeptum
 470 est.

Itaque per uiolatas bellicas leges in atrocem illam fortunam incidit. Quas si hostis uiolauit prior, nullo Damiani uitio contractum est infortunium. Nam quem prudentem
 475 istoc modo decipi non contingeret? Sin autem oppidani inconstantiores fuerunt, atque ab ipsis initium iaculandi factum, etiam atque etiam uidete, Uiri Integerrimi, num etiam maiore studio, ac ratione æquiore Damianus a uobis subleuandus uideatur.

Demum, ut ad historiam reuertatur, Damianus hoc modo
 480 in hostium castris interceptus, ac miseræ captiuitati iam cum cæteris, qui extra portam remanserant, adiudicatus, sub terciam noctis horam, ab ipso Longouallio accersitur,

449. et rempublicam &c.] on p 20 450. habituram ... gratum] R under l
 454. Itaque ... (456) uidebatur] id 462. non ... culpa] id
 474. -ret? Sin'&c.] on p 21

qui seorsum cum eo in hunc modum loqui coepit : ‘ Non te
 latet Louaniensium in me modo perpetrata proditio, pro
 485 quorum indigno facinore, tibi mortis periculum iam im-
 minet, ut ei qui reuera conscius huius criminis haberis.
 Nihilominus si per te liceat ueritatem cognoscere, nec cap-
 tiuitatis nec necis pericula subibis : idque fidei meæ credas
 uolo, nec quicquam falsi reperies. Quare cum hæc sic se
 490 habeant, et natus sis Lusitanus, Lusitanorumque Regi
 familiaris, nec ignores tui atque mei Regis sanctissima
 foedera et amicitiam, age, aperto pectore causam expo-
 nito, ob quam Louanienses, dum ab eis responsum, eorum
 fide publica, ante oppidi portas expecto, nondum perfinito
 495 induciarum tempore, contra omne ius belli, in me meos-
 que, iacula emittere coeperunt. Quæ si uere mihi aper-
 ueris, et oppidum a me (uti puto) expugnabitur, in eo
 quam uolueris obtinebis dignitatem et ministerium ; uxor,
 filij, bona, atque tota familia tua tibi salua erunt. At
 500 enimuero si posthac reperiā me a te falsum esse, pro ijs
 muneribus, mortem adipisceris’. Quæ sane uerba, etsi
 animum fortissimi cuiusque uiri flectere possent, nihilomi-
 nus omnibus saluti ciuium, ciuitatisque postpositis, uultu
 orationeque constanti, sine ulla hæsitatione ea adduxit,
 505 quæ hostem deterruere ab oppugnatione ; certe ex Da-
 miani uerbis, tristis anxiusque, et capiendæ urbis spe
 abreptus hostis : ‘ Uide’, inquit, ‘ quid agis : ego adiuraui
 tuam salutem, ut uel uera cum præmio, uel falsa cum per-
 nicie referres ; si fallas, ipse tuæ calamitatis author fueris’.
 510 Responsum est a Damiano : ‘ Nihil deprecor, si falsi con-
 uincar’. Quibus auditis aliquamdiu intra silentium cogita-
 bundus, suos duces qui non procul aberant, Damiano cus-
 todibus tradito, conuenit. Ibi consilio capto, quamquam
 iam omnia tormenta bellica, machinæ, schalæ dispositæ
 515 ad oppugnationem erant, castra tamen de tertia uigilia
 (quo tempore oppidum capere decreuerant) præter om-
 nium expectationem, amouere iubent, Damianum tan-
 quam ciuitatis obsidem in Galliam captiuum ducentes, a

495. omne] *D in right margin*
 515. uigilia] *D in right margin*

498. obtinebis &c.] *on p 22*

quo extorquere nitebantur septuagies illos mille coronatos, a uobis et a ciuibus promissos.

Hæc sunt Damiani acta, factaque, Amplissimi Uiri, ob quæ illi a Louaniensi plæbe perfidiæ crimen imponitur, proditioque a tergo obijcitur. Hæc sunt quæ tempore illius captiuitatis et carceris, (quæ communi reipublicæ salutis causa perferebat) emeruere, ut uxori eius ius priuilegiorum Almæ nostræ Uniuersitatis a ciuibus adimeretur : quæ acerbitas iniuriæ eam ad transmigrationem coegit, non sine magno bonorum suorum damno. Hæc sunt quæ ut Damiano afflictissimam fortunam, ita ciuitati et uobis salutem peperere : quæ tum demum salua futura uidebatur, si non oppugnaretur, quod etiam num sapientissimus quisque sentit. Nam qui putant hosti uel bombardas, uel puluerem defuisse, ualde errant : quod satis indicat arx illa Conroy, quam per uim tormentorum, digressi a Louanio in itinere ceperunt. Quod si mediocri malo affectus esset Damianus, facile ab huiusmodi quærelis abstineret. Nunc cum damnum quod accepit, summam nouem millium coronatorum aureorum æquat, uel etiam superat, ratio, resque ipsa postulat, ut tam ingens iactura ab eo ne sileatur, sed exprimatur, et a uobis, in quorum gratiam eam passus est, eadem sibi resarciatur. Quam quidem pecuniam Damianus hoc tempore sibi benigne per uos renumeratum iri orat. Insuper ut laborum, iniuriarumque quas ipse passus est, sic habeatur ratio, ut ex uestra gratitudine appareat, eum tempore illo calamitosissimo, huic uniuersæ uestræ reipublicæ omni seruata fide et sedulitate inseruisse, profuisseque.

Ac etiam imprimis, uobis intercedentibus, ut ij puniantur, quorum tetra uersutia, perfidiaque, eo pro uobis captiuo, uxori eius mulieri tunc marito orbatæ, consilio

520. et a ciuibus] *D adds in left margin* 523. sunt quæ &c.]
on p 23 537. summam ... (538) æquat] *R underl* 540. a uobis ...
(544) passus] *id* 542. Quam] *before this word A made a mark*
indicating that he wished to insert a few words : he wrote in the
right margin A (probably the addition to l. 563, which he began
here by mistake) 548. Ac etiam &c.] *on p 24*

desertæ, rationibusque rerum suarum omnium turbatæ,
 Almæ Uniuersitatis priuilegia rescissa sunt, quibus etsi
 Damianus uita functus esset, ipsa perpetuo frui, uti om-
 nibus uobis constat, potuisset. Præterea ut legibus corri-
 555 gantur ij, qui ei proditiōis onus imponunt, talionemque
 ut æquum est patiantur. Quæ iniuriæ longe acriores tri-
 stioresque ei sunt, quam omne immensæ eius redemp-
 tionis dispendium. Quam uero immensam redemptionem
 Longouallius, et eius gener Iacobus de Monchy, dominus
 560 Dingnessem, Damiano carceris miserijs, squaloreque con-
 fecto, ac propemodum moribundo, ideo extorserunt, quia
 ille præcipua causa fuit, cur ipsi Louanium non expugna-
 uerunt. A quo dispendio fuisset immunis, si Gallus ille
 nuper hic per suos detentus, uobis authoribus non
 565 fuisset dimissus. Cuius patruus primus Præses Priuati
 Consilij Regis Gallorum est : qui Gallus antequam sic
 dimitteretur, sponte iam uxori atque eius amicis mille
 florenos aureos pro sua redemptione promiserat.

Quibus autem omnibus consyderatis, Damianus uester,
 570 Uiri Amplissimi, uos oratos uellet, ut in mentem redigatis,
 in quo statu ea die, qua ciuitas obsessa fuit, uestra uita,
 corpora, ac bona uersabantur, in qua non dubium est,
 quin unusquisque uestrum, pro uita redimenda, omnia
 sua bona ultro hostibus tradidisset. Nunc cum Damiani
 575 opera effectum sit, ut integri, incolumesque sitis, con-
 scientias uestras consulite, utrum optatius fuerit hosti
 septuaginta millia coronatorum pernumerare, quæ, tum
 uobis, tum ciuibus, in promptu tunc erant, et omnia tor-
 menta bellica in eorum potestatem transferre, et præter
 580 hæc omnia in eorum manus, tyrannidemque incidere,
 admisso in urbem hoste : an Damiano, homini de tota hac

558. Quam ... immensam] *R underl* 560. Dingnessem] *A ; possibly -guesseni* 561. ideo ... (562) expugnauerunt] *R underl* 563. A quo ... (570) Amplissimi] *A adds in left and lower margin ; D makes X above and below it* 567. dimitteretur] *A writes over detineretur, which he er* 569. Quibus ... Amplissimi] *instead of this last sentence in the addition, A had written in the text : Quamobrem amplissimi uiri, Damianus uester, which he er* 474. cum ... (575) conscientias] *R underl* 577. -merare, quæ &c.] *on p 25*

uestra Republica bene merito, totiusque ciuitatis uictimæ,
 ea rependere, quæ uestrum omnium salutis gratia coactus
 est exponere. Non dubium est, quin si hæc omnia recte
 585 perpenderitis, conscientia uestra iudicatura sit, æquis-
 simam esse Damiani petitionem, eumque qui uos, ues-
 trasque fortunas incolumes, indiminutasque seruauit,
 digna compensatione subleuandum esse; idque cum præ-
 stiteritis, tum conscientijs uestris, ad id forte uos ultro ex
 590 æqui ratione urgentibus, satisfacietis : et uestrum omnium
 ordinis præclaram apud omnes dignitatem, hac gratitu-
 dine multo præclariorem reddideritis : patriæque, et urbis,
 Academiæque inclytæ nostræ gloriam, decus, honorem
 (turpissima foedissimaque abiecta procul ingrati-
 595 nota), cum apud recentiores, tum etiam apud posteros,
 hac uestra humanitate, undequaue gratiorem, illustrio-
 remque feceritis : ipsumque Damianum uestrum, uobis
 semper alioqui (ut omnes nostis) mirifice deuinctum,
 multo fortius, arctiusque deuinxeritis.

600

Damianus de Goes.

Notes to Goes' Oratio.

25 Anni &c.] *LovObsGoes*, Aij, v.

28 aduento hostium] ' nulla denunciatione belli facta, instar prædonum ' : *LovObsGoes*, Aij v ; cp. Henne, vii, 346.

30 Louaniensem urbem] ' quo tanquam ad domicilium mar-
 tis, utrinque e Gelria & e Gallia exercitus tuto commea-
 rent ' : *LovObsGoes*, Aij v.

33 Aureliensium Ducem] Charles, Duke of Orleans, second

600. Damianus de Goes] in D's hand : below it he made a mark
 and wrote Finis.

and favourite son of Francis I., formerly Duke of Angoulême, was a lively but vicious and weak man ; he assisted in September 1544 at the celebrations of the peace signed at Crespy, and plans were made to marry him to a daughter, or niece, of Charles V., with Milan, Burgundy or the Netherlands as dowry. Fortunately for her and those countries the worthless prince died of the plague at Abbeville in his 25th year in September 1545 : Cartwright, 178, 293, 304 ; Jourda, I, 244, 252, 266-7, 271-2, 300, 308, II, 668, &c.

- 34 Luxenburgensium fines] *LovObsGoes*, A*ii* v, mentions that his army was stationed 'non ita procul apud Iuodinium', viz., Yvoy or Ivoy, on the Chiers, near Sedan : that place was defended by a thousand armed men from the provostry, and Peter of Werchin was levying two troops to help them ; it was before the walls of Ivoy that the army of Rossem and Longueval rejoined in August that of the versatile Charles, Duke of Orleans, who, as the chronicles have it, 'amused himself' by besieging strongholds in Luxemburg : Henne, VII, 348, 364, 366, 384.
- 40 Magistrorum Nostrorum] that title of the Doctors of Divinity, which had formerly been unduly extolled, had become the butt of many a pamphlet and the subject of many a jest, especially after they had started the series of condemnations of Luther's doctrines : cp. *supra*, p. 213.
- 44 uxore ... reluctante] *LovObsGoes*, A*ii* v, adds 'multum dissuadentibus amicis, & tanquam diuina quadam præ-sensione, cunctis infausta ominantibus'. As his wife could not hold him back from Louvain, she followed him : *ibid.*, [A 4] r. That he had not returned for anything else except helping and protecting Town and University, is emphatically expressed in *GoesOratio*, 49-50 ; and *LovObsGoes*, [A 4] r, F *ij* v.
- 45 reuertitur] he says in *LovObsGoes*, [A 4] r, that he reached Louvain on the day 'quo plærrique illam <urbem> ciues & municipes, relictis aris, focis, coniuge, liberis, per summum dedecus deserebant'.
- 45 Postridie] in *LovObsGoes*, [A 4] v, he relates, as a proof of how welcome his arrival was, that as soon as his return was known, he was called to the Senate.

- 46 curiam] evidently the *domus civica*, the famous town hall built on the plans and under the direction of Matthew de Layens from 1448 to 1459, and subsequently adorned with paintings and carvings by artists like Thierry Bouts and Rombaut Keldermans : *Louvain*, 260-274; E. Poulet, *Louis Pynnock* : Louvain, 1864 : 352, *sq.*
- 59 Rectore] from the end of February to the last of August, Charles Goswins, Goessins, was Rector : *supra*, p. 636.
- 60 in Concilium] *LovObsGoes*, [A 4] v, mentions that he was invited by the Rector himself, dressed in the robes of his dignity, to join at once the meeting 'in ædem Diui Petri'. To the 'frequens Academia' he communicated the state of the defence of the town, and took part in the subsequent discussion; he accepted to take the lead of the students that were still in the town, although he was aware of the difficulties arising from the free and wild ways of youth, and the variety of nations, whereas, since his arrival, he had made the town authorities decree that, under pain of death, nobody was allowed to leave the town, nor to pass the watches that guarded the gates : *cp. ibid.*, [B 4] r. A report of that meeting, which took place in the upper Chapter room of St. Peter's on Sunday, July 30, and gathered besides the Rector and Deputies a considerable number of University members, is given in *LibActUnIX.*, 10, r, v, and summarized *supra*, p. 627.
- 67 Philippus a Dorlyn] *LovObsGoes*, Br, calls him 'Philippus Dorlay, gallicæ <southern> Brabantiae prætor', viz., Philippe d'Orley, Knight, Lord of Seneffe, Tubize and la-Follie; like his father Bernard, he became bailiff of Nivelles and of the 'roman pays de Brabant'; some of his accounts, from 1515 to 1555, repose in the *ArchRoy.*; he took part in the campaigns against Francis I. in 1521, 1537 and 1542; against Charles of Gelderland in 1528, when he was wounded at the siege of Hattem; and against Henry II. in 1554. He had been appointed military inspector for Luxemburg in July 1542, and became governor of that territory in 1554. — The painter Bernard d'Orley was a relation : Henne, II, 376, III, 368, IV, 184, VI, 191, VII, 317, X, 97, 108; *NobPB.*, II, 1459; *ArchRoy.*, *Et. & Aud.*, 1176°.
- 69 Vernenberch] Conrad Count of Vernenburch, Lord of Som-

breffe : *LovObsLang.*, [E₃] v. His sons William and John matriculated in Louvain, April 13, 1515 : *LibIntIII.*, 213 r. Cp. *LibIntIV.*, 85 v : 'Joannes de Vernenborch, trevir. dioc.' : May 15, 1536 ; *NobPB.*, II, 1959-60.

- 74 Iohannis de Tombe] *LovObsGoes*, B r : 'Ioannes Tommen <as corrected by R> tunc temporis consul'. John van der Tommen, Knight, son of Goloinus, and Mary Roelants, belonged to a patrician family of Louvain ; he had married Anna van Udekem, daughter of Leo, and fulfilled very often, from 1518 to 1562, the functions of senator, alderman, dean and consul, or *sub-villicus*, in his native town : he was consul for the first time in 1542 : *DivRer-Lov.*, 44, a, 13 b, 112 a ; *Mol.*, 372, 382, 764-5.
- 74 domino ab Emmerijs] *LovObsGoes*, B r : Georgius Rolyn dominus Emmeriensis', — viz., George de Rollin, Lord of Aimeries and Raismes, who was at the head of a troop of 150 horsemen, 'gendarmes', from February 1542 ; with his men he destroyed the bridge of Duffel to cut the way to van Rossem's army ; in July 1543 the castle of Aimeries was taken by the French, as the Lord of Aimeries was at the war in Gelderland : Henne, VII, 326, 379, VIII, 110. George de Rollin was the son of Francis, Lord of Beauchamps, and of Jane de Bourbon, Lady of Duisans (Artois) and Robersart (Hainaut) ; he married Anne de Hamal, daughter of the Lord of Manceaux, and had several children : *NobPB.*, I, 628, II, 1332 ; *LovObsLang.*, [E₃] v.
- 76 Gladius] the inn called *tZweert*, was situated in the 'Prevoti strata', now Namur Street : it formed the right-hand corner of a *vronde*, an alley, leading to Standonck College or *Domus Pauperum*, and which about 1800 became Standonck Street : the *Gladius* is mentioned in deeds from about 1500 : *FUL*, 1003, 1006, 2026, 2029-30.
- 81 incendijs] Herent and Winxele were burned down.
- 83 horam diei ferme octauam] in *LovObsGoes*, B v, Goes says, referring to that tour of inspection : 'cæterisque procuratis, quæ ad horam ferme diei tertiam quaquaversus equitando desiderari animaduerti'.
- 84 animauit] *LovObsGoes*, B r, mentions that Goes could encourage his men mentioning Mary of Hungary's letter which promised more help.

- 90 Prætozem] the first dignity in Louvain was that of the *prætor*, or *villicus*, mayor, who represented the Duke of Brabant's authority, and ranked first amongst the six chief officials of Brabant. He was helped in his office by two *consules*, burgomasters, also called *sub-villici*, one being elected by the patricians, the other, by the people ; also seven *scabini* or aldermen, and twenty-one councillors : *DivRerLov.*, 9-10 ; *Mol.*, 371-5. The prætor in function at that time was Adrian de Blehen, Lord of Schaesbroeck, dubbed knight by Charles V. in St. Peters in 1531. He was the son of Antony, and of Adriana of Schoonvorst, who afterwards married James of Duffle, knight, also mayor of Louvain (1518-1530). Adrian succeeded his step-father in 1530, and was replaced in 1542 by Francis de Mol, *Talpa*, probably his brother-in-law, for he had married Barbara de Mol ; at their death in 1557, he, on Sept. 19, she on April 21, their daughter Anna, wife of James de Quarré, Knight, founded an anniversary for them in St. Quentin's, where they were buried : *Mol.*, 694, 864 ; *LibIntIII.*, 148 r, 294 v ; *NobPB.*, II, 1602-3, 1861, C 1, 119, &c.
- 91 ea quæ in moenibus &c.] in *LovObsGoes*, B v, Goes severely warns the Town authorities ' de raritate, trepidationeque eorum qui excubarent, pro salute civitatis ... stomachans non arctiore disciplina in tanto periculo ciuitatis uigilias coerceri '. Cp. note to l. 60, and *LovObsGoes* [B 4] r, in which Goes owns that he caused the Town to prevent that anybody should leave.
- 94 Christophoro Pheegel] this student, whom *LovObsGoes*, B v, calls ' inuenem fortem et impigrum ', matriculated as ' Cristophorus pflegel, diocesis salsburgensis ', June 21, 1536 : *LibIntIV.*, 86 v. He was offered a present, Aug. 31, 1542 : *LibActUnVI.*, 232 r ; *supra*, p. 638.
- 98 iuuentus] *LovObsGoes*, B v, describes them as gathered ' autoritate academica uoceque præconis cum armis ', having no doubt been drilled since two days : pp. 630, 632.
- 103 Seuerino] *LovObsGoes*, B v : ' magistro Seuerino Feiten Frisio, ... viro strenuo ', who had been elected his lieutenant ' merito ' (l. 104 ; *LovObsGoes*, B v : prudenter). —

Severinus Feyten, a native of Harlingen, in Friesland, had settled to study in Louvain long before 1525, when James Volcaerd came to live in his house : Paquot, xv, 129 ; *supra*, p. 505 ¹). He was appointed lieutenant under Goes by the University Council on July 30, 1542, and at once entered on his function, taking the names of the volunteers, and instructing them in their duties : *LibActUnIX*, 10, r, v. In her meeting of Aug. 31, 1542 the University decided to offer him half an *ama* of Rhine wine, apologizing for her limited means : *LibActUnVI*., 232 r. It proves that he was not taken a prisoner along with Goes or with Blehen, which seems implied in VAnd., 361, and is reported by Paquot, xiv, 68. Most probably he wished for a promotion about that time, and on Sept. 29, the Rector informed the Deputies that Feyten requested the University to recommend him to Queen Mary of Hungary, in consideration of the good service he had rendered by taking the command of the students during the siege ; from the deliberation of the Deputies the Rector concluded that Feyten was to be asked whether there were an occasion or a case requiring such a letter, by which the University could help him ; and the matter was to be examined. On October 19, no satisfaction had been given yet, and the Rector related that Feyten had insisted on being granted a general recommendation by the University on account of his care for the welfare of the city, and of his good management of the students whilst the enemy was at the gate. Time was requested to ask the advice of the larger Senate about that demand ; on Oct. 20, it was decided to invite him to draw up the letter of recommendation, 'jactum litterarum commendaticiarum', so that the Rector and the Deputies might examine it and see what was to be done about it : *LibActUnIX*., 14 r-15 r. If the University was rather slow in granting the testimonials which Feyten desired, they reached, however, fully their aim : for Feyten was, it

¹) Dionys. Feyten, of Louvain, a son or grandson, entered St. Michael's Abbey, Antwerp, became successively provost of Zoetendael, rector of Minderhout, and abbot of St. Michael's ; he died there at 75 in 1612 : *AntEpisc.*, 149 ; *SweMonSep.*, 142-3 ; *Mol.*, 711.

seems, ennobled by Charles V., in acknowledgment of his services, — together with another student Hugo (or Huo) Heltilius, Heltelus, a native of Groningen, who was trained in Greek and Latin in Louvain, and worked especially at translations from Greek at Salamanca, where he died. He is said to have led the students to the attack, possibly firing the first shot : *BibBelg.*, 399 ; *LovObsLang.*, [E 5] r. Still he is not recorded in the oldest relations : as Feyten's assistants Nannius mentions only Pflögel (cp. l. 94) and Peter Lupus : *LovObsNan.*, C i r ; that 'Lupus' is certainly not the Petrus Wolffs, *Lupus*, of Goedsenhoven, Carmelite prior and provincial, who became Doctor of Divinity on February 6, 1569 (Vand., 119-120), but the Spanish Knight Peter Lopez de Haro, who then resided in Louvain, and took command of the artillery : cp. *infra*, p. 682 ; *supra*, p. 491.

- 109 stationemque &c.] *LovObsGoes*, B v-B ij r, has 'eos ad mœnia deduxi, qua parte hostis potissimum expectabatur, qui locus medius erat inter portam Bruxellensem & fluuiolum, quem uulgo Vuram appellant'. Brussels Gate of 1542 had become *Old Brussels Gate* by 1700, and is now *Tervueren Gate* : *LovObsLang.*, F i v : cp. sketch of ground, *supra*, p. 645 ; *Louvain*, 147-9.
- 112 de Vuer] *LovObsGoes*, B ij r 'Vuram' : the Voer has its head at Ter Voeren, Tervueren, passes by Leefdael, Berthem, Eegenhoven, and enters Louvain, where it empties itself into the Dyle past the 'Mont César'.
- 114 Nationes ... disiungit] *LovObsGoes*, B ij r : 'Nationes ... certis locis distinxi'. The distinction between the four 'nationes : Brabantica, Flandrica, Gallica et Hollandica' was officially consecrated by the Faculty of Arts : their four 'procuratores' formed, with the Dean, the receiver and the 'Regentes' of the Pedagogies, the Council of that Faculty : Vand., 240 ; Vern., 113.
- 117 intra moenia] *LovObsGoes*, Bij r, has : 'porro in senatum' ; it blames 'stultam temeritatem eorum, qui hostem intra portas recepissent, eiusque oculis raritatem propugnatorum, solitudinem urbis, trepidationem non solum fœminarum, puerorumque, sed etiam uirorum, ac rem denique omnem contemplantam subiecissent'. Cp. ll. 154-5, n.

- 131 eos ... profugisse] *LovObsGoes*, *Bij* v, [B₄] r; cp. ll. 154, 169, where the students reproach Goes with having kept them by force in Louvain, whereas the regular army-leaders leave the town : *DivRerLov.*, 112, a, b.
- 146 non admodum desyderatum] *LovObsGoes*, *Bij* v, explains : 'Sed quid facerem ? Iacta iam erat alea, nec abhorrire animos a deditione, et, ut in re deplorata, omnia malle, quam uim hostium experiri palam erat'.
- 152 nihilo saniora] *LovObsGoes*, *Bij* v : 'omnes præter quam oppido paucos, anxie ac titubanter, inconstanterque loquentes inueni'.
- 154 tristique] *LovObsGoes*, *Bij* v : 'turpissima'.
- 155 de intromisso ... foeciale] *LovObsGoes*, *Bij* r : 'de flagitioso foecialis aduentu'.
- 159 Noluit dissimulare &c.] in *LovObsGoes*, *Bij* r, Goes owns : 'tristius respond<i>, multa et simulans inuitus, et dissimulans cum dolore'.
- 167 uel in discrimen &c.] *LovObsGoes*, *Bij* r, has : 'uel, quod iam minimum malorum est, captiui reddamur ?'.
- 169 pro se quisque id a uobis &c.] *LovObsGoes*, *Bij* r : 'cum pro se quisque id abs te precibus contenderet', — which refers to the prohibition of the Town authorities, chiefly inspired by Goes, (*ibid.*, [B₄] r) that nobody should be allowed to leave the town, so that the students were 'retenti inuiti' (l. 170), or, as *LovObsGoes*, *Bij* r, has it, 'per uim retenti'.
- 178 uulnerauerunt] *LovObsGoes*, *Bij* r, v : 'ita uultus oculique eorum perpulerunt me ... Talibus igitur uocibus mihi circum aures strepentibus, cum ea & turbulenta & temeraria & periculosa esse uiderem, multaque sæpe inopinantibus ducibus uim belli ac turbam moliri non nescirem'...
- 188 remittere ... fidem] more decisive is *LovObsGoes*, *Bij* v : 'remittere me illis fidem, datam mihi paulo antea respondi, neque enim congruere ipsis aut reipublicæ ut quem suspectum, infensumque putent, ad eius ductum omnes uires ciuitatis applicarent'.
- 193 pacisci conabatur] *LovObsGoes*, *Bij* v, adds : 'inconsulto duce'.

- 194 maluerit commilito appellari] in *LovObsGoes*, *Bij* v, Goes actually wishes to be considered merely as such : 'Itaque', he says, 'commilitonem me deinceps appellarent, & de fide mea pro experimentis statuerent : uelle equidem me omnes bellicos labores, omnes militares leges æque cum ipsis pati & subire ; alij, inquam, loquantur cum hoste, pro arbitrio paciscantur, transigantque : ego cum omnibus communem belli euentum expectabo'.
- 197 Tametsi &c.] it seems as if the resigning of his leadership did not give full satisfaction, neither to Goes, nor to his opponents. In this *Oratio* he represents it as a threat brought out in a moment of impatience, which neither he himself, nor the students took seriously, and which he proves to be devoid of value, since it was not offered to the University who had appointed him. In *LovObsGoes*, *Bij* v-[B 4] v, he gives the impression as how his opponents had not been satisfied at all with that explanation, and had charged him with shirking his duty ; to which he answers : 'non est cur calumnientur æmuli, perperam illos <viz., iuuenes> a nobis relaxatos, cum præsertim nulli stipendio addicti, nulla stipulatione alligati, nollent sine ulla spe ad interitum ruere uoluntarium'. He explains that, having accepted freely from the University a free authority on free students, he resorted on account of circumstances to 'simulatam hanc relaxationem, ... ut eo ardentius atque acrius iuuentutem ad urbis defensionem excitare<t>' : he therefore told them that he did not wish at all to be their leader ; moreover, seeing the other captains take to flight, and many 'ciues' follow them ('eorum pedes fugaces & uestigia odorantes persequerentur similem uiam'), he wanted to free the students from their promise of obedience, so as to send away the timid, or render them eager and courageous by a stratagem taught by the ancients : thus the Spartan youths were ordered back to the Ephoros with letters, and Cæsar kept his soldiers to their duty by entrusting them with an ignominious mission to Vesuntium (Besançon). Goes, recalling what great captains had done before him, decided, not on what was best in itself, but on the best

- that could be obtained under the circumstances. That his way of acting was not bad, results, he argues, from the request of the intelligent ones amongst the students : they were most touched by the move devised for the 'impe-ritos' — his resigning as leader, — and consequently implored him 'ne propter quorundam temeritatem, uni-versos deserere<t>' : *LovObsGoes*, [B₄] v.
- 211 Quid multis ?] *LovObsGoes*, [B₄] v, adds : 'In eum iam res erat progressa locum, ut exitum honestum nemo prospiceret. Ita omnes dubitabant, hæsitabant, circumspectabant omnia, quicquid increpuerat pertimescebant, diffidebant rebus suis'.
- 227 testem &c.] this appeal of Goes to the testimony, not only of Feyten, but of the 'cæteros, qui plurimi esse possunt', is a peremptory argument in favour of the veracity and authenticity of his report ; the University and the Town would have gladly availed themselves of the least flaw in his defence to justify their refusal of any indemnity.
- 230 Carthusianorum stagnum] a pond in connection with the Voer ; *LovObsGoes*, [B₄] v, adds : 'non longe a mœnibus' ; cp. sketch of ground, p. 645.
- 231 Johannem a Rauenschot] *LovObsGoes*, C r : 'Ioannes Rauenschot patritius Louaniensis'. John van Raveschot, married to Mary Vranckx, is not mentioned amongst those who exercised some public function, but his son Charles, who married Margaret van der Noot, was frequently senator, dean or alderman from 1565 to 1583 : *DivRerLov.*, 57 ; a Henry Raveschot, probably John's brother, was prior of the Augustine Convent for a few months, and died in 1546 : *Mol.*, 272, 751.
- 244 Iohannem de Tombe, magistrum ciuium] *LovObsGoes*, Cr : 'Ioannem Tommen ... consulem'.
- 246 quantum] *DivRerLov.*, 112 a, mentions, amongst those sent by the Town Council to parley with the enemy, 'Theodericus Custos', or de Costere, Pensionary, son of Henry, and Catherine van Langerode, daughter of Theodericus, and Elizabeth van den Berghe : *LovObsLang.*, [F₄] r ; he may have been the truant. Cp. *supra*, p. 578.
- 260 uniuersi, etiamsi consulti fuissetis] in *LovObsGoes*, C v,

Goes changed that part of the sentence into : 'uniuersi ciues atque etiam studiosi si consulti fuissent'.

- 269 Bancensem Abbatiam] *LovObsGoes*, C v : 'Leprosariam Bancensem, quæ non multum distat a mœnibus'. The convent of Ter Banck, at one 'teli iactu' outside the Old Brussels Gate, on the territory of Heverlee, was founded in 1197, especially for the care to be taken of lepers. The community of Augustinian nuns was at the time under the management of Elizabeth Oncle, who was elected prioress in 1530, and died April 18, 1554 : *Mol.*, 327, *sq* ; *Gestel*, I, 196-8 ; *LipsLov.*, 112 ; *Louvain*, 508-11 ; *Arch-EcclBrab.*, 14246-14586 ; *FUL*, 4316.
- 269 Nicolaum a Boussut, Dominum a Longueual] *LovObsGoes*, C v : 'Nicolaum Bossutium dominum Longueualis'. That Nicolas de Boussu, Lord of Longueval, appears to have been one of the confidential advisers and commanders of Charles Duke of Orleans, and of Francis I. He joined Martin van Rossem near Cleves with 600 horse and several French noblemen. When after the treaty of Crespy Charles V. and Mary of Hungary requested Francis I. to liberate the hostages taken in 1542, he replied that they belonged to Longueval, who refused to let them go without the payment of their ransoms, so that some were not released before the end of 1545 : *Henne*, VII, 361, VIII, 257. It was not the only dubious trick which he did for his masters : at the death of Francis of Lorraine the French refused to give up Stenay, an important place, unless his widow Christina of Denmark produced some deeds, and amongst them a letter from Duke Anthony of Lorraine : those papers had been maliciously concealed by the French governor, de Longueval ; they were found by chance and the town was finally evacuated at the end of August 1545 : *Cartwright*, 304 ; *Henne*, VII, 319-20.
- 270 Martinumque a Rossem] *LovObsGoes*, C v : 'Martinum Rossemium Gelriæ metatorem'. That famous captain, Lord of Poederoyen, born in 1478 at Rossem, near Bommel, waged a ruthless war against Charles V., to whom he surrendered in 1545 ; he served his new master with great zeal and ability, until his death in the campaign

- against France on June 7, 1555 : Henne, vii, 361-3, viii, 127, x, 97, *sq.*, 189-198 ; Coppens, iii, 36, 39, 72 ; NBW.
- 271 alium nomine Iuersel] *LovObsGoes*, C v : 'nobilem gallum, nomine Iuersellium' ; *LovObsLang.*, F₂ v : Iversellius.
- 302 amas] *LovObsGoes*, Cij r : 'congios (quos amas uocant)' ; the legend attributes the suggestion of offering wine and beer as a liberality, — *not* as an equivalent for the artillery and the ammunition, with which the Town did not like to part, — to Buysse, or Busse : cp. *supra*, p. 628, *infra*, p. 676 ; *DivRerLov.*, 112, a, b.
- 309 Nec ... (328) esse] this passage has no equivalent in *LovObsGoes*, Cij v, in which however, is depicted the utter despair of the town : 'Nam intra moenia nec animus nec uires erant quibus oppugnationi resisteretur, ac unusquisque iam latibulis occultorum locorum uitam fortunisque suas tegere conabatur'.
- 313 Bredenroede] probably a son of Renaud, Lord of Bredenrode, knight of the Golden Fleece, who was an able captain, but a disorderly man : Henne, vii, 335, 343.
- 333 egressi sunt] *LovObsGoes*, Bij v, adds : 'Senatus & Academiæ decreto'.
- 334 Iohannes de Tombe, ciuium magister] *LovObsGoes*, Cij v : 'Ioannes Tommen, Consul'.
- 335 Gregorius a Dieuen] he was the son of Gregory, and of Gertrude van der Braecken ; he became accountant for Brabant, and died on May 20, 1559 in Gelderland. He had married Barbara van den Heetvelde, who died about 1556. They had a son, Gregory, who at 21, wished to go to Rome for the jubilee, and made his will on Oct. 6, 1574, founding the *Collegium Divæi*, or of Brussels, if he should not leave any offspring ; on his return he fell ill, and died at Namur, on Jan. 29, 1576 : FUL, 3241-9, 3316 ; Mol., 627, 707 ; VAnd., 317 ; ReusDoc., iii, 356, *sq.*
- 336 Heetveldius] van Dieven's brother-in-law, Bartholomew van den Heetvelde, the son of John, medical Doctor and professor († April 8, 1539), and Mary Kyps (daughter of Bartholomew, and Margaret Uytterhellicht), and brother of the John, who matriculated Sept. 25, 1522 (*LibIntIII.*, 295 r), became Canon of Bruges, and in 1567 founded

scholarships in Winckel College, (d Nov. 8, 1571). Bartholomew, secretary of Louvain, had married Gertrude Walheyns, ; their son Antony was in office in Louvain from 1579 to 1597 : Mol., 564, 719-20 ; *DivRerLov.*, 92 ; *VAnd.*, 230, 300 ; *FUL*, 2232, 3267 ; *BrugSDon.*, 154.

336 M. Iacobus Velinius] *LovObsGoes*, *Cij* v : 'Iacobus Velius' ; viz., James Wellens, who had married Catherine Peeters : *LovObsLang.*, [F 4] r.

345 orationem interpellat] *LovObsGoes*, *Cij* r : 'orationem interrumpens' — although no mention is made there of the speech started by Blehen : l. 342.

351 eius uerba] *LovObsGoes*, *Cij* r, mentions that he urged the town's surrender, if not, 'extrema queque ac crudelissima ciuibus minitabantur'.

370 iudicabat] *LovObsGoes*, *Cij* v, adds : 'pertractando animo hominis, & captanda uoluntate, impedire posse existimabam, ne pluris redemptionem ciuitatis licitaretur. Alia mihi quoque manendi causa fuit, qua non mediocriter angebar. Timebam enim ne sanatus <viz., Senatui> perturbato iam & rebus diffidenti deditio placeret, cuius consilij ego particeps uel conscius esse nolebam ; desperans omnino, ut erat neruis omnibus urbs ipsa soluta & debilitata, me tali consilio resistere posse'. Goes then answers the question what his standing was with Longueval, which gave him some hope of making the foe abandon the assault of Louvain : nothing, he says, 'nisi quod, cum bona spes cum omnium rerum desperatione confligit in afflictis ac perditis rebus, fidenter infirma præsidia pro ualidis amplexamur'. From the former conversation, Longueval had learned that Goes was Portuguese ; he knew several of his countrymen in France, who were either friends or relations ; and therefore he started 'humanius loqui & multum de truculento aspectu & uiolentia sermonis remittere' : *LovObsGoes*, *Cij* v. On account of the confidence which de Longueval had inspired by his benevolence, or at least by its simulation, he had staid ; also, relying on the faith of the enemy as well as on that of the Town, in that matter of truce. Goes thus had an opportunity to emphasize that the 'Loua-

nienses, Senatusconsulto facto, communique consensu, omnia prius tentare, pati & ferre constituisse, quam in deditionem uenire'; he consequently advised Longueval for his King's and his own sake to accept the pecuniary agreement rather than attempt the attack of the town, 'cuius exitum', he added, 'non dubitare longum alium futurum quam ipse opinaretur; ... omnes armorum bellique casus incertos esse, ancipitesque dicebam'. Although neither argument nor reason moved him, Longueval solemnly promised (as stated in ll. 370-4) 'se copia militum, nec oppidum nec oppidanos grauaturn, si deditio procederet; sin minus oppugnationem iamiam futuram': *LovObsGoes*, [C₄] r.

375 Manserunt ... (381) debeatur] this passage has no equivalent in *LovObsGoes*.

375 Buijsius] this captain of a troop sent to help Louvain, was probably a friend and lieutenant of Florent of Egmont, Lord of Buren, the great army-leader in the war against Gelderland; he is accused of treason by several reports: he is said to have first advised the surrender of the town; then to have proposed the offer of wine and beer; and finally, to have sent a brewer's dray with casks and victuals, which evidently was intended to keep the gate open for the enemy. The fact that he was outside the gates when that happened, makes his treason most doubtful; indeed, events had succeeded each other so quickly that there hardly can be any possibility of a premeditated plan: cp. *supra*, pp. 627-9; *DivRerLov.*, 112; *LovObsLang.*, [F₅] r. One more detail in *DivRerLov.*, 112 b, shows the inconsistency about Buysse: he is said to have fled through Diest Gate together with Aymeries and the Lord of Sombrefte: from Goes' relation (ll. 130, sq), we learn that they had already left the town before the Louvain herald had come back from Ter Banck, when there was no question yet of the conditions.

385 dispersi uersabantur] *LovObsGoes*, [C₄] v: 'passim uagabantur'.

391 Qua ... re inopinata] *LovObsGoes*, [C₄] v: 'qua quidem re siue diuinitus, siue astu militari euenerit'.

- 393 Damiano quid animi] Goes is more explicit in *LovObsGoes*, [C₄] v : 'Ego uero & si gaudio magno exiliebam, quia urbi a regina succursum putabam, hostilemque spem delusam, tamen de me quid repente statuerem haud reperiēbam'.
- 412 dignum calamitate] there is no doubt left in *LovObsGoes*, D r : 'Atqui Louanienses clamabunt me dignum calamitate, quod non redierim cum prætore in urbem. Hunc clamorem discutiemus. Si aliquid culpæ inest, nihil deprecor, teque Augustissime Cæsar cognitorem facio, apud quem non captiosam legum interpretationem, sed æquitatem ipsam plurimum ponderis habere omnibus constat. Nec quidquam adducam in medium, quod non prius Louaniensibus exhibui'.
- 427 cataracta] *LovObsGoes*, D r, adds 'oppidi'; probably one of the locks for the many mills on Dyle or Voer : *Louvain*, 144, sq, 172, sq.
- 429 deiectæ sunt uicinæ arbores] *LovObsGoes*, D r : 'factæ sunt ruinæ'.
- 463 seruata fides] cp. note to l. 370 ; *LovObsGoes*, [C₄] r.
- 472 nullo Damiani uitio] *LovObsGoes*, Dij r : 'ut interpres bellici consilij & legatus captus sum'.
- 475 initium iaculandi] *LovObsGoes*, Dij r, adds a detail about the attack by the defenders of Louvain, suggesting that it was wild and vehement : 'Sin autem ... solem ipsum præ iaculorum multitudine & sagittarum umbra obscurare conati sunt'; cp. EOO, iv, 123, E.
- 479 Demum] in *LovObsGoes*, Dij r, is mentioned that it seems as if all the danger devised for the Town, came on his head, although a stranger, and as if his blood and sacrifice was to be the ransom of their safety.
- 482 sub terciam noctis horam] *LovObsGoes*, Dij v : 'sub tertiam ferme a solis occasu, horam'.
- 483 Non te ... (501) adipisceris] that speech is summarized in *LovObsGoes*, Dij v.
- 503 omnibus] *LovObsGoes*, Dij v, has 'omnibus supplicijs', adding 'mortem etiam, quæ naturæ debita, pro Academia esset potissimum reddenda, contemnens...'.
- 511 Quibus auditis &c.] in *LovObsGoes*, Dij r, Goes relates

- that since a man has no right to give evidence in his own cause, he requested Longueval to attest to their conversation before Brussels Gate, and to the one during the night; in reply 'Longouallius ... ipse uerum & præclarum iudiciij sui dedit mihi testimonium, & a se subsignatum, cui sigillum suum impressit... In eodem <diplomate> fatetur Longouallius auctorem me præcipuum fuisse, quo minus ipse Louanium oppugnaret, eamque solum ob causam in nouem millium coronatorum aureorum redemptionem me condemnasse'. Apparently against his will Goes had shown that diploma to the Louvain authorities, who, however, were so little moved by it that, although owing all safety and freedom to him, they were so uncivil as to refuse even the word of thanks. — Cp. *infra*, p. 681.
- 511 cogitabundus] *LovObsGoes*, *D ij r*: 'sollicitus suspicione, suspensus metu, perturbatus oratione mea': without doubt Goes had expressed his belief that the troops promised by Mary of Hungary had entered the town, and had caused that vehement and unexpected attack: cp. ll. 393, 475.
- 518 captium ducentes] *LovObsGoes*, *Dij v*, narrates how Longueval ' & quidam Jacobus Monchius, dominus Dignessan, Longouallii gener', took him to France and wanted 20.000 crowns 'criminantes auctorem me urbis conseruatæ fuisse'. Finally he was retained by them in the public prison of Laon, where he suffered great misery, and nearly died, and was only released against a ransom of 9000 crowns.
- 525 uxori eius &c.] *LovObsGoes*, *E v-Eij r*; cp. *supra*, p. 634.
- 527 transmigrationem] cp. *supra*, p. 636.
- 531 si non oppugnaretur] *LovObsGoes*, *E ij r-v*.
- 534 arx ... Conroy] about eighty country-men, who had tried to defend the castle of Corroy, near Namur, were ruthlessly murdered after the stronghold had been taken: Henne, vii, 383.
- 548 ut ij puniantur] *viz.*: 'qui uectigalibus ciuitatis præerant': *LovObsGoes*, *E v*; *supra*, p. 634.
- 553 uita functus] *LovObsGoes*, *E ij r*; *supra*, p. 634.
- 559 Iacobus de Monchy] *LovObsGoes*, *D ij v*, calls him 'Iacobus Monchius dominus Dignessan', and mentions that he

also led Goes a prisoner from Louvain into France. He was the second son of John de Monchy, Lord of Montcavrel, and Anne Picard ; he was Lord of Inquessen, Assennes and Caveron, and married Magdalen de Boussu, Nicolas's daughter : Chenaye, *Dict. de la Noblesse* : Paris, 1863-76 : XIII, 932, 934 ; *LovObsLang.*, [G₂] r.

- 560 carceris] *LovObsGoes*, *D ij v*, relates that 'ad extremum in carcere publico ab eis <viz., Longueval & Monchy> Laudunij Veromandiæ detentus, multisque ibi miserijs confectus, ac prope extremum spiritum exhalans, coactus ... nouem millia, ut a nefaria illa crudelitate & tyrannide uitam redimere<t>, polliceri'.
- 563 si Gallus ille &c.] the incident is related in *LovObsGoes*, *D ij v*-[*D*₄] r, *E v*-*E ij r* ; and *supra*, pp. 634-6.
- 574 Damiani opera] Goes showed to the University Longueval's attestation that it was on his account that the siege of Louvain was abandoned : *LovObsGoes*, *E ij r* ; *Lib-ActUnIX*, 24 r. In *LovObsGoes*, *Fij r*, v, he again relates the whole story to Charles V. in such a way that the only possible inference is, that he had saved the town whilst a captive, as he had saved it before by his preventive measures and by his influence on the students.
- 588 compensationem sublevandum] as no further mention is made of a compensation in *LovObsGoes*, to which he continually refers in this *Oratio*, it seems as if the ransom had been refunded ; cp. *infra*, p. 685.
- 594 turpissima ... ingratitudeinis nota] Goes insists on that dishonour imparted by thanklessness, mentioning the law of the Romans, imitating that of the Persians 'qua ingrati ipsi infames habebantur, & supplicijs afficiebantur', whereas honours were decreed to those who had well deserved. He also refers to Solon's law 'quæ iubeat eos qui in bello pro patria ceciderunt, laudibus illustrandos, & clarissimis monumentis exornandos, liberosque eorum publice alendos atque erudiendos esse' : *LovObsGoes*, *F r*, v. On *F ij v*-*F ij r*, he argues that it is dangerous that any ingratitude should be shown, as it keeps back people from courageous deeds, and treats generosity and self-sacrifice as if they were crimes.

Result of the Oratio.

Goes had expected a good result from his appeal : from the profound silence, from the faces and the bearing of the Deputies, he assumed that the story of his calamities had been heard with great concern. He was requested to leave the meeting to allow more freedom of discussion, and when he was admitted again, he noted a complete change : all trace of sadness had gone, and the Deputies bore themselves, he thought, as if they considered his appeal as a play, a joke, as a kind of rhetorical contest : for they told him that, since he had come to them as an *orator*, they wished to provide one also, who could return words for words ¹⁾. The University records merely mention as conclusion that the copies of his *Oratio* were to be examined and that in the next general meeting, the Deans were to report on the conclusions at which each of the Faculties would have arrived ²⁾. The matter was apparently considered of much less importance than the contemplated agreement between the town and the University about the taxes to be levied on wines, which was under discussion. Yet, at the meeting of the Deputies of November 15, Longueval's letter was read, as also the report on an inquiry made by the Town authorities, which only mentioned the mayor de Blehen. After a long discussion, the Rector concluded that it seemed fair that Goes' service and help should be acknowledged, and a small present offered to him ³⁾; that therefore, until the University was to be convened, the Deans were to impart the conclusions of the Deputies to their Faculties, and have them examined and discussed ⁴⁾. On Sunday, November 18, the Deputies assembled again to consider the same matter, but they kept to the decision taken on the Thursday before ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ *LocObsGoes*, Eij r.

²⁾ *LibActUnIX.*, 24 r, v.

³⁾ 'Rector conclusit quod videretur honestum quod officium ac beneficium per ... Dnm. Damianum jmpensum agnosceretur, et quod propter officium prestitum aliquod munusculum offerreretur': *LibActUnIX.*, 24 v.

⁴⁾ *LibActUnIX.*, 24 v.

⁵⁾ *LibActUnIX.*, 24 v.

The long delay naturally seemed most disagreeable to Goes, and caused him to importune the University; in so much that the Rector convened another meeting of the Deputies on Monday, in which he communicated that it seemed as if Damianus was becoming more excited ¹⁾, which led to the conclusion that the Deans were to consult their Faculties as soon as possible, so as to allow the general meeting to decide on the answer to be given ²⁾.

Things were finally settled on Nov. 25 : at nine the Deputies gathered to prepare the general meeting : the four superior Faculties asserted almost unanimously that they did not see any indebtedness of the University to Goes ; still on account of his services, he might be offered what had been offered to Feyten ; the Faculty of Arts went as far as to propose a negative reply ³⁾. That preamble did not allow any hope for a favourable solution by the full Academic Senate, which met immediately after, at ten a. m. : from the deliberations of the Faculties the Rector concluded that the *Domini Vniuersitatis* regretted the calamity which had befallen Goes ; they had read, and re-read, nay even masticated most minutely, his memoir, but had to answer his request negatively by word of mouth : namely, that the University was not under any obligation to him for what he asked. As to the diffamation of which he had been the object, they were ready to assist him as a notable member of the University, as far as right allowed them ⁴⁾.

That reply disappointed Goes, who concluded from it that the University, whom he bitterly calls his *Pia Mater*, refused him peremptorily every expression of gratitude, probably on account of their fear of supplying with it the substantiation of his claim. He also supposed that for the same reason they had insisted on communicating that reply by word of mouth,

¹⁾ Goes ... multum jimportune sollicitat responsionem Dominorum super dicta sua supplicatione : ... videtur quod ex mora siue dilatione responsionis efficitur animosior : *LibActUnIX.*, 25 r.

²⁾ *LibActUnIX.*, 25 r.

³⁾ *LibActUnIX.*, 25 r.

⁴⁾ *LibActUnVIII.*, 9 v-10 r : the report has : 'supplicatione diligenter lecta, relecta et exactissime masticata, respondendum negativie verbo, videlicet quod Vniuersitas non obligatur ej in petitis' ; &c.

not in writing : which once given does not suffer any denial, whilst a spoken word can be easily shaped into the most contradictory senses ¹⁾).

The Town Council were more humane : they returned thanks ‘*amplissimis uerbis*’; still they deplored that the scantiness of their means did not allow them to relieve Goes in his calamity. Happily he had several friends who protested against the callous way in which he was treated. The various chances of the war were again discussed : it became a certain fact for his numerous admirers that Longueval’s attestation about his influence on the raising of the siege was conclusive ; and that even supposing Louvain had been certain of victory in case of an assault after August 2, it was worth while giving thanks for having secured the very same result without spilling one drop of blood ²⁾). The lack of appreciation of Goes’ efforts would have seemed equivalent to an approval of his murder, had he perchance been killed, or perished during his captivity ; and for certain it would have a disastrous result on men in general, if a similar danger was to occur again ³⁾). What made matters worse, was the way in which were treated all the others who had helped to the deliverance of the town, although their services had never been darkened by any semblance of calumny. Small thanks were given to the staunch and courageous Feyten, to the noble-minded Christopher Pfflegel ⁴⁾), and especially to Peter Lopez, *Lupus*, de Haro. That Spanish Knight had gloriously learned the military profession under the triple-crowned Kings of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, and under the Master of the Military Order in Livonia ⁵⁾), and had resided about sixteen years in Louvain, which, in the hour of danger, made the Town authorities request him to take the command of the ‘*bombardarum et machinarum bellicarum*’. He accepted that charge, and spent

¹⁾ *LoꝝObsGoes*, *Elij* r-*Elij* v.

²⁾ *LoꝝObsGoes*, *Elij* r-v : Goes compares himself to the saviour of the town in the *Ecclesiastes*, paid with ingratitude : *Eccle.*, ix, 14-15.

³⁾ *LoꝝObsGoes*, [E 4] r.

⁴⁾ *LoꝝObsGoes*, [E 4] v ; cp. *supra*, pp. 637-8, 667-8.

⁵⁾ *Mol.*, 438 : ‘sub Livoniæ Equitum Cruciferorum Principe’. Cp. *ZeitaltFugg.*, i, 358, ii, 38 ; Schulte, i, 236, ii, 222 ; Goris, 399, 400, &c.

a large amount of his own **money** on it. When all danger had passed, **he** applied to the Town to have his necessary expenses reimbursed. Far from being indemnified, he was falsely accused of having caused a sedition, and instead of a reward, he would have reaped punishment if the least proof of culpability had been found ¹⁾. 'My unjust treatment' Goes sadly concluded, 'seemed to indicate an error of judgment; that of all the others — who, strange to say, were all foreigners and consequently entitled to special regard for help given freely, — shows that it is a want of soul, and not of judgment ²⁾).

One John Berzosa, evidently his admirer, celebrated Goes' return to Louvain in a poem : *In reditum e Gallia D. Damiani a Goes Equitis Lusitani, uirique eximij, Ioannis Berzosæ gratulatio* ³⁾, beginning with the words :

Ergo ades o Damiane tuis optatus amicis !

He depicts Apollo with Minerva and the Muses welcoming him effusively : but also records that *not* all the gods join in that celebration — evidently an allusion to the callous reception of Goes' request by the Town and the University :

Quid Fortuna pudet ? quid te, crudelis Enyo ?

Cur non obsequij uos quoque iura datis ?

Vtraque non mirum, cæca est, Damiane, sibique

Verba dat, & falso te superasse putat.

Haud hilares uultus, haud sannam naris aduncæ,

Casibus haud cernit te superesse tuis.

Haud quantum aduersa uirtus tua sorte probata est,

Nec quanto casu, plus ualet illa, uidet.

By their affection and happiness his friends will indemnify the noble heart for the ingratitude of others, showing, he says :

Quos tua tam lætos omnes præsentia reddit !

Principe quam læta hæc terra futura suo est.

Happily the Emperor did not fail to value his service ⁴⁾.

¹⁾ *LoqObsGoes*, [E 4] v-F r.

²⁾ 'Viderentur enim iudicio errare, quod me iniquius tractauissent. Nunc cum ad omnium merito æque sint ingrati & maligni, morbo peccant potius animi quam iudicij' : *LoqObsGoes*, [E 4] v, F v-Fij r.


³⁾ 60 verses : *GoesOp*, n ij r.

⁴⁾ Cp. *Opmeer*, i, 489-90 ; *Hoynck*, i, i, 152 ; *L & P, Henry VIII.*, xvii, 599, 838.

Goes in fact applied to Charles V., who brought remedy and relief. At the peace of Crespy, September 1544, mention was made of the hostages who had been taken during the invasion of 1542 and their return was claimed by the Emperor and by Mary of Hungary. Francis I. waived that claim, saying that they were Longueval's; the latter first asserted that they were in the King's hands ¹⁾, but finally he declared that they would only be released on the payment of their ransom. Queen Mary replied on July 24, 1545, that the agreements for each ransom had been made against her will, and without the assent of the towns; and that she refused paying more than a reasonable sum, at the utmost 20 crowns per person, even though they had to perish in their prisons ²⁾. Notwithstanding that indignant answer, the hostages were only released about the end of 1545 and against the payment of heavy sums ³⁾, which implies that attention had been given to the various cases.

Goes' Vindication.

From Goes' declarations it results that the Emperor had written to him a letter signed by his own hand in which he condemned Longueval and his son-in-law ⁴⁾. It evidently made up for much trouble, and probably allowed the calumniated man to revenge his honour by making a public statement of the case. He was not long in writing that vindication: it was printed at Lisbon in June 1546, under the title ⁵⁾:

DAMIANI / GOIS EQVITIS LVSI- / TANI. VRBIS LO- / VANIENSIS
OB- / SIDIO //  // OLISIPONE APVD / Lodouicum Rhoto- / rigium
typogra- / phum. // M. D. XLVI.




¹⁾ Henne, VIII, 257.

²⁾ *Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle*, III, 118, 163.

³⁾ Henne, VIII, 258.

⁴⁾ *LoesGoes*, Fii j r.

⁵⁾ In-4°; sign. *A⁴-F⁴*; *A* v is blank; the letter to Charles V. extends from *Aij* r to *Fii* j v, on which page follows ERRATA, SIC CORRIGE. That list, extending to [F 4] r, is followed by the colophon: *Olifipone, in ædibus Lodouici Rho- / torigijtypographi ac bibliopo- / læ regij. mense Iunio. / — / M.D.XLVI*. The last page has the printer's mark, on a stake a dragon with open wings, and the inscription SALVS VITÆ, and LVDOVICVS RODVVICI. Except for the title-page and the lines quoted here in uppercase letters, the book is entirely in italics.

On *Aij* r starts the vindication in the form of a letter to the Emperor :  DAMIANI GOIS / EQVITIS LVSITANI DE / *captiuitate sua, Et de ijs, Quæ ad Lo- / uanium à Longouallio Gallorum / duce acta sunt, ad Carolum / Quintum Augustum / Vera narratio.* /   /// *Et a est Cæsar Augufte multorum hominum natura, &c.*

In that letter Goes gives a sketch of his life and the narration of the siege of Louvain, which had not only caused the ruin of his fortune, but had estranged him from the *Pia Mater*, the University, and from the Town, where he had hoped to spend his life in study. Now calumny and ingratitude had befallen him, and it is on that account that he applies to Charles to have a public testimony of his innocence and his loyalty ¹⁾. The text of that vindication closely resembles the *Oratio* delivered to the University as edited here : several sentences are quite identical ; others have as only difference some words or turns which are synonymous or equivalent. Each of these two relations, however, has several details which are missing in the other, as seems natural in compositions with a different purpose ; for one was intended to have his outlay refunded, the other, to vindicate his injured honour. It is noteworthy that one passage of the booklet of 1546 presupposes the older *Oratio* of 1543, for its text is necessary and indispensable to explain some words in the *Narratio* reproducing only part of a passage : leaving out the antecedent makes rather enigmatic the part of the consequence that is quoted, and gives the impression that a link is missing ²⁾. It suggests that there most probably was an original composition, from which the *Oratio* to the University is as a first abstract ; a second was perhaps that destined to the Town Council ³⁾ and the *Narratio* of 1546 was a third.

As Goes does not mention any more the indemnity for his ransom, which is as the burden of the *Oratio* ⁴⁾, it appears, that, somehow or other, satisfaction had been given. On the

¹⁾ *LovObsGoes, Aij* r-*Aij* v.

²⁾ Cp. *GoesOratio*, 345 n.

³⁾ *LovObsGoes, Eij* r, *Eij* r ; that document is probably lost.

⁴⁾ *GoesOratio*, 15, 380, 417, sq, 460, 477, 519, 535, sq, 557, sq, 581, sq.

other hand, his complaints about the treatment he experienced from the University are fully related in the *Narratio*, whereas he only hints at them in his *Oratio* ¹⁾: in the *Oratio* they should have sounded as an insult to those whose help he requested; whereas, in the *Narratio*, they substantiated the supreme appeal to the Emperor's justice, which he closes with the assurance that, in all his endeavours, he is driven by love of truth and justice rather than by any wish of revenge: 'non quia Louanienses' — he concludes — 'in me impij ingratiue fuere, tua continuo, Cæsar! merita beneficiaque obscurari aut interire patiar. Vellet autem Deus Optimus Maximus, ut Louanienses, quibus tantam pietatem, quantam maximam animus meus capere potuit, præstiti, Maiestatis Tuæ edicta decretaque sequentes, cum honori suo & meo consulerent, tum res meas gestas imitatione potius & remuneratione, quam invidia & obrectatione dignas censerent' ²⁾).

Goes' vindication evidently pleased many friends, who, having heard of his trouble, wished to have the last word about it. Nannius' *Oratio de Obsidione Louaniensi*, published a few weeks before Goes returned from captivity ³⁾, was as a shy intimation of an opinion different from what was generally held: Goes sent it to his acquaintances with the promise of further information: on December 4, 1543 John James Fugger thanks him for having dispatched it to Augsburg, as well as a letter, of which he says: 'nec sine magna recreatione perlegi, quod ex uariorum & multorum diuersis sermonibus tandem ueritatem elicere potuerim, nec minori uoluptate tuæ captiuitatis libellum lecturus sum' ⁴⁾).

Even in that century of wars and trouble Goes' memoir was not completely forgotten: it was edited ⁵⁾, amongst other documents, by Simon Schardius in his *Historicum Opus in quatuor Tomos divisum in quo Tomus I Germanicæ Antiquæ Illustrationem ... continet* (Basle, 1574), under the title:

¹⁾ The texts of the *Oratio*, ll. 25 to 520 and that of *LovObsGoes*, Aij v to Diiij v are closely parallel; what follows in the *Narratio* is only summarily indicated in the *Oratio* 521-600, as is explained pp. 678-9.

²⁾ *LovObsGoes*, Fiiij r, v.

³⁾ September 1543.

⁴⁾ *GoesOp.*, *l ij v.

⁵⁾ Schardius, II, 1869. It was reprinted in 1673: *Schardius Redivivus*.

‘Damiani a Goes de captivitate sua et de iis quæ ad Lovanium a Longovallio Gallorum Duce acta sunt narratio’.

It was not lost sight of in Louvain : although more flattering reports were generally cherished, Goes’ narration remained as the expression of truth, bitter though it may have sounded. In the eighteenth century a Town secretary, Michael van Langendonck, related the story on the strength of the *Obsidio* of 1546 : for although he refers to Divæus and other authors for van Rossem’s march through Brabant, and for some details of the siege, he closely follows the narration of the Portuguese captain. It was edited anonymously under the title ¹⁾ :

DIE WAERACHTIGE / GHESCHIEDENISSE, / WELCKE /
DAMIANO à GOËS / TOEGECOMEN IS TEN TYDE / ALS DE
VIANDEN MIT / MERTEN VAN ROSSHEM / VOIR LOVEN
WAEREN, / ENDE HEM GEVANGEN NAMEN. /// *Louvain arms*
/// *TOT LOVEN*, / By de Weduwe H. VANDER HAERT, / in
den Gulden Helm / 1760.

That booklet, in its sincere and impartial appreciation, seems as a public apology in the name of the Town for the seeming neglect. May the present paper serve a similar purpose, and bring to the memory of the great Portuguese the deep-felt tribute of admiration and intense sympathy of the University, and the belated acknowledgment of the mistake in her treatment of the knightly Erudite. It may be argued that her scanty means, and, even more, the peremptory wish of Queen Mary of Hungary not to grant to the enemy one stiver of the country’s money, which she wanted herself so badly, dictated the refusal ; for there is refusal and refusal ; and judging from Goes’ generous feelings to friends and acquaintances, and, at any rate to Louvain and the University, one may take it for granted that he would have cancelled his request, if he had known the real state of the academic *ærarium*, and if he had been convinced that the offer of paying seventy thousand crowns to the besiegers within five days had been a foolhardy whim begotten by the dread of the fate

¹⁾ The copy which I have seen (in 8^o) starts with two leaves without signature ; from the third, D³, the signatures follow regularly : D⁶ E⁶ F⁴ G⁴.

of Winxle and Herent. What most afflicted him was, without doubt the disappointment at seeing that those whom he had considered as his friends could not bring out a word of thanks, though he had risked his fortune and his life for their welfare; and especially, that his *Oratio*, which bears the evident stamp of sincerity and authenticity, was scorned and despised as a vulgar swindle by the first and foremost, in his opinion, of the institutes created for the research and for the communication of truth. It was the University of Louvain who lost in the transaction : she kept in her coffers the miserable pelf which would have been refunded probably by Emperor or State. But she lost a scholar who had hoped to spend his life as one of her members, and had already made her benefit by the widespread acquaintance he had gained amongst erudites and princes. If he was neither a Virgil nor a Cicero, he was an ardent apostle of literature and learning, a driving power, whose beneficial influence on students and scholars can hardly be gauged. His suggestive reports acquainting the world with Spain and with some of the Portuguese Colonies, sound so surprisingly real and so suggestively instructive after the lame and fantastic descriptions of the past, that it seems quite natural that a Mercator or an Ortelius should have taken up geography. The vivid interest in the state of customs and religion in the various European and overseas countries, suggests that, if Goes had stayed with his friends in Louvain, instead of getting into trouble with the Inquisition, he might have worked in that direction, and have since long enriched that University and human intellectual research in general, with the scientific domains of history of civilisation and of missiology, which later centuries have proudly claimed as their own creations.

Goes' Later years.

It was not to be. The scholar shook the dust from his feet and left the town where, on his return from Switzerland and Italy, he had wished to live and work and die. He probably went to The Hague, where his wife Jane van Hargen had resorted to with her children in the autumn of 1542.

Without doubt Damião spent some time with the members of the chief families in Holland, into which, as Alard of Amsterdam had mentioned in his *Epithalamion*, 1539 ¹⁾, he had been introduced by his wife, who was the daughter of Andrew van Hargen, Lord of Oosterwyck, and of Catherine Suys ²⁾. It is recorded that he often was Cornelius Musius' guest at St. Agatha's, Delft, together with his brother-in-law, Splinter van Hargen ³⁾, with whom he knit up even more than a literary friendship ⁴⁾. For his daughter married her cousin Andrew van Hargen, Lord of Oosterwyck ⁵⁾, the son of that Splinter van Hargen, Jane's brother, and of Mechtild Oom van Wyngaerden ⁶⁾. Andrew is said to have died in an expedition against the Moors in Barbary, 1578, without leaving any offspring ⁷⁾. Damian's two sons Emmanuel and

¹⁾ *Epithalamion Damiani à Goes, Equitis Lusitani, & Joannæ ab Hargen, Hagensis, per Alardum Amstelredamum*: that poem, taking up two pages, was probably printed for the occasion; then added to his *Theophilacti Epistola* (prob. Louvain, c 1541), and his *Dissertationunculæ Tres*, 1541 (Antwerp, Ant. Dumæus): Paquot, xi, 409, 412. Arnold Mylius reprinted it in his *De Rebus Hispanicis, Lusitanicis, Aragonicis, Indicis & Aethiopicis*: Cologne, 1602: f[^{*} 8] r.

²⁾ Catherine was the seventh child of Peter Suys, Lord of Grysoort, in Zeeland, who died in 1501 at Ryswyck, and of Jane van der Burch. Her eldest brother Cornelius, Lord of Ter Burch, 'hoog-heemraad' of Delfstand, had died on Dec. 10, 1521; his son Cornelius, Lord of Ryswyck, who had studied in the *Trilingue* from Febr. 13, 1527 until April 29, 1532, became Imperial Councillor in Holland about 1535, and was President of Holland on Oct. 21, 1559 until his death Sept. 19, 1580. His brother Peter, who studied in the *Trilingue* from May 4, 1530 to 1539, was appointed Councillor of Holland about 1546: *NobPB.*, II, 1859. Catherine was, without doubt, related to the James Suys who became Lord of Grysoort; he was in the *Trilingue* from 1537 to 1541, and made himself famous as antiquarian: *ColBusPrim.*; Guicc., 217, 240.

³⁾ *OpmHistMart.*, 75; *supra*, p. 375.

⁴⁾ He evidently is the *D. Splinterus* interested in the story of the Northern nations, to whom John Store, Archbishop of Uppsala, and his brother Olaus wish to be remembered: GoesOp, *1 2 v.

⁵⁾ *LovObsLang.*, [E 2] r.

⁶⁾ She was probably related to Florent Oom van Wyngaerden, who studied and taught in Louvain, and was favoured with the close friendship of the future Pope Adrian VI.: VAnd., 178; *LibActArtV.*, 97, r, v; Allen, VI, 1668; *Cran.*, xxx, 95, e; Fruin, 453; *ColBusPrim.*

⁷⁾ It explains how an Ottiline van Hargen, who married Hubert van Malsen, Lord of Tilburg, was Lady of Oosterwyck. Their daughter Mary, who also was Lady of Oosterwyck, and of Tilburg, Meterwyck and Gierle as well (she died in 1654), was the wife of Antony Schets, Lord of Grobbendonck: *NobPB.*, II, 1745.

Ambrose matriculated on May 11, 1556 in Louvain ¹⁾, which shows that the generous father did not bear a grudge against the town or the University, and wished most likely to give to his children the chance which for him had been ruined by the fateful Siege.

Goes did not stay long in Holland. Most probably he had returned to Portugal with his family in 1546 when his *Narratio* was printed at Lisbon. He did not break entirely with our provinces ²⁾, nor even with Louvain, where his works were repeatedly printed ³⁾ and where he even published the sequel of his *Diensis Oppugnatio* ⁴⁾. For he continued working, and his interests soon centred on the study of his native country and of her influence on the nations under her domination, which he had started so successfully in the Brabant University ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ Emanuel a Goes / Ambrosius de goes / filij Damianj Nobiles : *Lib-IntIV.*, 322 r.

²⁾ Want of evidence makes it difficult to trace the history of Goes' private life in Portugal, where he is said to have had several children : the youngest of them, Melchior, is claimed as ancestor by a family that has been living for centuries in the South of Brabant : formerly at Incourt, Gheest St. Remy, Lathuy & Rouxmiroir ; at present at Nivelles.

³⁾ In 1544 Rescius published the *Opuscula*, which were probably a joint re-issue of the booklets printed at his office in 1539, 1540 and 1542 — with some additional matter. Besides, Goes seems to have been in connection with the editor of the *Compendium Rhetorices* of 1545, William Bernaerts, *Bernartius*, of Thielt, who, having been classed the fifth at the Promotion of M. A., April 9, 1538, taught in the Castle, and studied medicine. As licenciate in that science he was appointed successor to Triverius in 1554. Three years later the teaching of medicine was regulated and brought up to the actual requirements, probably on his initiative ; in conformity with one of the new stipulations, he promoted doctor within three years, in 1561. He died at the age of 52, on May 15, 1572, and was laid to rest in St. Gertrude's : *Mol.*, 568 ; *VAnd.*, 219-20, 235 ; *PromRs.*, 94 ; *SanSF.*, 70.

⁴⁾ In 1549 Servatius Sassenus published Goes' *De Bello Cambaico Ultimo Commentarii Tres* (in-4°).

⁵⁾ Goes' pamphlets were repeatedly reprinted and translated, as has been said for the *Legatio* of 1532 (*supra*, p. 613), which was edited as late as 1618 at Dordrecht, whereas in 1533 Jacopo Keymolen, of Alost, issued in Bologna *L'Ambasciaria di David Re... al... Clemente Papa VII, & ad Emanuel Re de Portugallo*. The *Diensis ... Oppugnatio*, of 1539, was translated into Italian in the same year by G. Palus, as *Avvisi de le Cose da Portuguesi nel' India* (Venice, 1539). The *Fides ... Æthiopum* (containing the report on the discovery of America : GoesOp, [A 4] r, v) with the *Deploratio* of 1540, was reproduced in Joannes Boemus'

Thus given up to historical research, he was appointed director of the Royal Records of Torre do Tombo in Lisbon, and had full opportunity there to put to work his critical sense : for some of the documents had been falsified, and it required courage to reveal truth. After he had made a beginning for that task by his *Urbis Olisiponensis descriptio* of 1554, he managed to be entrusted by Cardinal Henry of Braga, with the task of writing the history of his father King Emmanuel. That task took him nine years, and had as result the *Chronica do ... Rei D. Emanuel* ¹), which appeared in 1566-7 ; it is one of the chief historical works written in that century and shows a keen critical sense. Unfortunately that history was too near its readers ; if no difficulty was made to him on account of the *Chronica do Principe D. Joam* ²), although it treats a most ticklish part of Portuguese politics, 1438-1481, several leading men now felt injured at certain judgments and revelations ³). The Duke of Braganza and his numerous partisans even managed to have all the available copies of the first part destroyed. Far more fateful was the *Chronica do Manuel* on account of some statements about faith and religion : the old erudite was imprisoned in April 1571, and exposed for many months to all the rigors of the examination by the Inquisition ⁴). It

Mores, Leges et Ritus Omnium Gentium, Lyons, 1582, and later editions ; it was fully appreciated in G. Baratti's *Late Travels ... into the Remote Countries of the Abissins* : London, 1670 and 1676. The *Hispania* of 1542 was taken up in the *Rerum Hispanicarum Scriptores* of 1579, and in A. Schott, *Hispania Illustrata* : Frankfurt, 1603, Coimbra, 1791. The whole set of the *Opuscula* of 1544 found a place in Petrus Martyr Anglerius' *De Rebus Oceanicis et Novo Orbe* (Cologne, 1574, Frankfurt, 1579) and in A. Mylius' *De Rebus Hispanicis, Lusitanicis, Aragonicis, Indicis & Aethiopicis* (Cologne, 1602, Frankfurt, 1603).

¹) Lisbon, 1566-7 ; cp. *BibPort.*, II, 124, IX, 102-3 ; *PortHist.*, 38-46, 77-8.

²) Lisbon, 1558 ; cp. *BibPort.*, II, 125.

³) Even before the publication, parts of the *Chronica do Rei D Emanuel* had been corrected, censured and changed by Queen Catherine, wife of João III. : cp. Azevedo, *Elencho das Variantes e diferenças notáveis ... na ... Chronica d'Elrei D. Manuel ... por Damião de Goes* : Porto, 1866 ; Edgar Prestage, *Crítica Contemporânea á Chronica de D. Manuel de Damião de Goes* : Lisbon, 1914 ; *PortHist.*, 38-42, 77-8.

⁴) Goes is said to have already experienced in 1545 and 1550 some trouble on account of the *Fides ... Aethiopum* : in the absence of documents it is difficult to state exactly which difficulties he had to contend with : indeed it is puzzling how he could have been molested for that

seems that after a period of confinement, from Dec. 16, 1572, in Batalha Monastery, he was pardoned; he died on January 30, 1574, and was laid to rest in the church of 'Nossa Senhora da Varzea' in his native place Alemquer¹).

Gleanings from Goes' Correspondence.

On account of the interest offered for the knowledge of Goes' work and of his friends during his stay in Louvain, the two following letters to the great Bembo are annexed here. Their originals repose in the Vatican Library in the collection *Ad Bembum Epistolae*, noted as *Ms. Barb. Lat. 2158*, of which they occupy ff *cli-cliv*²). The first was written to be

booklet: he had dedicated it to Paul III.; it had been examined by the Dean and the Faculty of Divinity of Louvain before it was printed, and after its publication they approved of it again on July 12, 1541, and attested 'eundem ipsum librum talem esse, qui sine aliqua oppositione passim per totum orbem legi & deportari possit': GoesOp., A v; BateCP., 36; CMH, II, 415. Forty years later passages from the same book were made use of by the great apologist Nicolas Sanderus in favour of the Primacy of the Pope: *VisMonEcel.*, 584. Nor is Goes' connection with the Jesuits treated satisfactorily: it seems strange that he should have had brothers, nephews and even sons in that Company, (as several biographers assert), whereas some of their colleagues insisted on his being tried by the Inquisition, less on account of his faith than of the cruel statements he had written about their powerful protectors of the Braganza family: *PortHist.*, 39.

¹ Cp. Arnold Mylius, *De Rebus Hispanicis, Lusitanicis, Aragonicis, Indicis & Aethiopicis* (Cologne, 1602: containing a *Vita*, [* 4] v, followed by Alard's *Epithalamion* and Nannius' *Genethliacon*, and, on f** 2 r, Resende's poem to Goes *de Vita Aulica Deserenda*); A. Schottus, *Hispania Illustrata*: Frankfurt, 1603: II, 823, sq; Mol., 608; Opmeer, I, 488; Miræus, II, 43-4, 52; Diego Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, 615, sq; SaxOnom., 84, 591; de Reiffenberg, *Mémoires sur ... l'Université*, and *Relations entre la Belgique et le Portugal*: ARB, VII, 23, sq, XIV, 60-66; P.F.X. de Ram, *Rapports d'Erasmus avec Damien a Goës*: ARB, IX, II, 431-6; ULAnn., 1853: 237-244; BullBib., xv, 285; BN; NBG; J. de Vasconcellos, *Damião a Goes*: Oporto, 1897; J. de Vasconcellos, *Goësiana, as Variantes das Chronicas*: Lisbon, 1881; Guill. Henriques, *Ineditos Goesianos ... O Processo na Inquisição, documentos avulsos, notas*: Lisbon, 1898-9; BibPort., II, 85, 123-5, IX, 102-4; PortHist., 34-46, 77-8, 97-116; RE, 467; Nohac, 131-2; FG, 222-224, 272, 362-3; Ent., 167; LatCont., 384; CMH, II, 414-5; NeuLatPo., 146; DelPoGer., v, 986, sq; Bonilla, 223, 235; &c.

² That same collection also contains on ff 113 & 114 the original and a copy of Erasmus' letter to Bembo, of Aug. 16, 1534, recommending and praising Goes: Nohac, 131-2.

sent along with the *Diensis ... Urbis Oppugnatio*, a report conceived in the form of a letter to Bembo, whom Goes knew to be interested in the various expeditions of the Portuguese, especially those which have as aim the advancement of faith ¹⁾. The poem by Peter Nannius that follows it as a commendation of the book, was in fact addressed to Bembo ²⁾. The pamphlet was published in September 1539 ³⁾, and one of the early copies was sent with the first of these letters in which Goes requests a privilege for his friend Nanning : it takes up a double leaf : f *cli*, of which the obverse side has the letter, and f *clij*, of which the reverse bears the address.

The second letter was sent along with the *Fides, Religio, Moresque Æthiopum*, which Rescius printed in September 1540 ³⁾ ; it answers Bembo's epistle dated from Rome, December 31, 1539, which brought thanks for the *Diensis Oppugnatio* and encouragement for similar work ; also praise for Nannius' poem, and hearty wishes for Goes' wife and her delivery ⁴⁾. It takes up a double leaf : the text occupies both sides of f *clij*, and the top of f *cliv r* ; on f *cliv v* is the address.

The editor of the *Monumenta* had wished to add to these two letters from Goes, the reprint of one which would have illustrated his connection with the lecturers in Louvain University and with learning in general, the one namely by which, on August 8, 1544, William Bernaerts, of Thielt, professor in the 'Castle', dedicated to him the *Compendium Rhetorices*, which, it is said, had been composed for him by Erasmus and is supposed to have been printed in 1544 by Rutger Rescius. All efforts to trace a complete copy of it have been vain ; only a fragment has been found, in which the *Compendium* begins on f [A₃] r with the title :



DES. ERAS. / ROTEROD. COMPEN- / DIVM RHETORICES.

An xviiith century hand, after sticking a piece of paper over the first two lines, corrected DIVM into TABVLÆ, and added : 'ab Erasmo in gratiam Damiani a Goës, equitis Lusitani collecta'. Most probably that information was gathered from the first two leaves — title-page and dedicatory letter — which

¹⁾ GoesOp, O r.

²⁾ GoesOp, S 5 v-S 6 v.

³⁾ Cp. *supra*, p. 621.

⁴⁾ GoesOp., h 1 r, v.

have disappeared; the text of the *Compendium*, extending from [A₃] r to [B₄] r, gives no information, being merely followed by 'FINIS.', a space, and a blank page [B₄ v.].

1. GOES TO BEMBO

Louvain, September 13, 1539

S. P.

- B**ellum apud Gedrosos anno superiore gestum jñ lucem
 ob Christianorum gloriam duxi esse dandum, jdque
 tibi, Amplissime Cardinalis, quem semper jñtrinsicus
 amabo, dedico ac mitto. Tu autem ad errata nostra, uti
 5 pius es, quæ plurima erunt, fac ut conniueas. Cæterum
 sciat Tua Amplitudo, me tibi ad queuis perpetuo paratis-
 simum esse. Jd quoque vxor, mei æmulatrix, te scire
 vult: quæ fœtum quem modo confert, tibi, perinde atque
 ego Bellum, consecrat.
- 10 Petrus Nannius, huius Louaniensis Academiae Linguæ
 Latinæ, cum maxima gloria, ac studiosorum frequentia
 profesor, qui carmen quod jñ calce epistolæ nostræ
 affiximus, jñ tui laudem condidit, vir est optimus, cleri-
 cusque bonus, ac religiosus. Is cum ut studijs vberius
 15 jñcumbat, quibus profecto multa prestare possit, tum
 maxime, ut jmbicili atque languenti valetudine jñseruiat,
 qua sumopere, me teste, caret: cupit ab juguo horula-
 rum, quas singulis diebus ob veterum jñstitutum cogitur

Textual Notes. — S. P. Bellum &c.] the letter, written entirely by Goes, takes up a double leaf marked *cli* and *clij*; on *cli* r a second number, 163, refers to an anterior collection. Ff *cli* v and *clij* r are blank 3. jñtrinsicus] *ms* 12. profesor] *ms* 16. jmbicili] *ms* 17. sumopere] *ms* 17. juguo] *ms*

1. Bellum &c.] the volume of *Commentarii* was printed by Rescius, in September 1539 (*supra*, p. 621); it was conceived in the form of a letter to Bembo, with protestations of gratitude and affection: GoesOp, O r, sq. — 'Gedrosos', prob. 'el Mellran'; cp. RE, 467-8.

7. vxor] *supra*, pp. 620, 689.

10. Nannius] *supra*, p. 622; *Cran.*, 283, 6; a study of his life and his works is being prepared for the collection of *Humanistica Lovaniensia* by Dr Amedee Polet.

12. carmen] evidently the one printed in GoesOp, S 5 v, sq.

obmurmurare, disoluere; jd quidem si per te obtinere
 20 poterit, nobis rem gratam facies. Possum coram Deo ac
 sanctissimorum Cardinalium Collegio testare, si aliquis
 mortalium est qui hoc priuilegio indigeat, Nannium
 vnum, cæteris omnibus eo magis indigere. Vale, Amplis-
 sime Cardinalis, et de tua valetudine, et de nostris præci-
 25 bus non graueris ad nos scribere.

Louanij, Jdibus Septembris anno a Christo nato 1539.

Tuus Damianus. A. Goes

Jllustris. Petro Bembo Roma-

30 næ Ecclesiæ Cardinali.

2. GOES TO BEMBO

Louvain, October 14, 1540

S. P.

Jure posset silentium meum repræhendi, Amplissime
 Cardinalis, nisi quidquid iaculorum mereretur mea
 negligentia, id liber iste de Moribus et Fide Æthiopum,
 suo intercessu, quasi hyperaspistes aliquis, a corpore
 5 nostro depelleret Hic enim mea tempora omnia occupata
 habuit, maxime autem cum tuæ literæ aduenere : tum

19. disoluere] *ms*; *prob r* dissolui 23. omnibus] *corr from* hom-
 29. Jllustris. &c.] *on f clij v*.

Ep. 2. — S. P. Jure &c.] the letter is written by the amanuensis
 who copied out the *Oratio*, p. 646, *sq* : a few corrections, the
 signature and the address are in Goes' hand; it takes up two folio
 leaves *clij* and *cliv*, extending from *clij r* to the first third of *cliv r*,
 with the signature nearly at foot; *cliv v* has the address. In a
 former collection these leaves were separated, for the first is
 marked 391, the second 415. In the margin, next to ll. 3 to 10, was
 traced — possibly by Bembo — a big R, apparently '*Respondi*'.
 1. Amplissime] *ms*

25. ad nos scribere] Bembo replied on December 31, 1539, thank-
 ing Goes for the *historiolam* and the expression of his affection; he
 advises him to continue writing on all the great feats of his
 countrymen, and wishes his wife a son similar to his father. He
 also thanks Nanning for the laudatory verses; still he does not
 mention the privilege wanted : either the reply to that request was
 treated in a concomitant note, or the part of the letter referring to
 it was left out when Goes published it : GoesOp, h r, v.

Ep. 2. — 3. liber] printed by Rescius, Sept. 1540 : *supra*, p. 621.

6. tuæ literæ] Bembo's letter of December 31, 1539 apparently
 remained unanswered.

enim in partu eram, nec placebat ad tua elegantissima scripta respondere nisi ædito hoc fœtu, quem comitem meis ad te literis coniungere uolebam, quo diuturna taciturnitas, quæ iam reciderat in speciem acidiaë, in eo uel excusatorem, uel deprecatorem culpæ haberet. Quem librum, quoniam de fide et religione nostra non uulgariter tractat, Paulo Pontifici, ut ei, qui in cathedram Petri successit, dedicaui. Id sane, non quod ab eo, ut ferme
 15 omnis scriptorum uulgas facere consuevit, aliquid lucelli aut munusculi ambiam; sed ut illi me deuotum, et incrementis illius Maiestatis et Christianæ fidei, ex animo studere declararem, simulque ut teruntij mei usum, a Christo donatum, non inertem, et sine ullius usuræ fecunditate sterilem sinerem. Attamen, ne plane muneris aliquo nostri labores careant, id impetratum per te apud Sanctitatem ipsius optarem, ut librum, in quo solummodo de eius pastoralis officio agitur, et ex dogmatibus barbarorum Africanorum et Asiaticorum hominum non uulgariter de eadem re disceptatur, dignetur in corona prudentium uirorum recitandum dare, ut intelligat quid in hac re sibi faciendum pro ipsius officio, in hoc sæculo, ac in alio ad Christi tribunal respondendum sit.

Librum autem ad te per manus Oratoris Regis Lusitaniæ
 30 mitto, quem pro Christi fide, ac etiam amicitia nostra te oro, ei nostro nomine vna cum epistola quoque nostra præbeas: non ægre id ferentem quod baiulo nostrarum lucubrationum te utamur, cum hæc maxime ad fidem, et Christianam religionem spectent, cuius tu cardo superi
 35 et inferi liminis es.

Quod me mones ad gesta nostrorum Lusitanorum

7. elegantissima] *might be -mæ* 8. quem] *before it is er et*
 23. et ex] *added over the line by Goes* 25. in corona &c.] *on f cliij v*
 26. recitandum] *corr from reiterandum by aman.*

13. Paulo Pontifici] *the Epistola Nuncupatoria takes up four pages in GoesOp, Aij r-A 3 v.*

13. in cathedram Petri] *cp. GoesOp, A 2 r.*

31. ei] *evid. Paul III.*

36. mones] *GoesOp, h v.*

scribenda, non frustra mones, cum id mihi multo tempore
in animo sit. Si Deus nobis uitam longiorem concedere
dignabitur, tentabimus ostendere facta nostratium nec
40 Græcorum nec Rhomanorum rebus gestis inferiora esse;
ac plus discriminis esse inter ingenia scribentium, quam
magnitudinis in ipsis rebus actis.

Doleo Petrum Nanium obtinere non potuisse id quod
maxime cupiebat. Sed postquam talia nulli homini
45 simili de causa, ut scribis, conceduntur, contenti esse
debemus hac repulsa. Nec is est, qui sua causa uellet
leges Rhomanorum Pontificum infringi. Pro tuo officio
tibi gratias magnas ago. Agit quoque Nannius, qui tuam
uoluntatem promptissimam in se, gratissimam habet. Id
50 autem obiter de eo indico, eum pauperem, doctum, et
sanctitate uitæ uirum probatum esse. Cui si aliquod
beneficium, quo possit se alere, ab Pontifice in his regio-
nibus impetraueris, rem piam, et Christiana charitate
plenam feceris.

55 Vxor, quam in tuis literis amantissime salutas, te pari
modo iam mater masculæ prolis effecta resalutat. Vale,

43. Nanium] *ms* 51. si aliquod &c.] on f *cliv* r

39. facta nostratium] *cp. supra*, p. 621. In the preface to *De Bello Cambaico* (Louvain, 1549) he declares that 'si denuo aliquis Homerus exurgeret, posset ... ex Rebus Lusitanicis et Iliados et Odiseæ argumentum non fabulose, sed ex vero componere'. Such suggestions may have roused up a Camoëz to sing his '*Lusiadas*'.

43. Nanium] *cp. Goes'* first letter to Bembo, ll. 10-23.

50. pauperem] as Latin professor in the Trilingue he was paid less than his Greek and Hebrew colleagues : *Cran.*, 62, a.

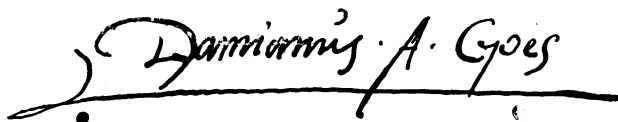
55. salutas] *GoesOp*, h v, i 2 r.

56. masculæ prolis] Emmanuel : *cp. supra*, pp. 620, 689. It is most surprising to find that, a few weeks after this letter was written, on November 19, 1540, 'd Emanuel a Goes Clericus Tornacensis Nobilis' matriculated : *LibInt* IV., 140 r. There appears to be no necessity to suppose the existence of a brother or a relative of Damianus', since a contemporary hand noted in the margin next to the entry : 'jurat pater', *viz.*, the father took the oath of obedience to the University in the name of the *minorennis*. Although a child might be looked upon as a 'clericus in spe', as a budding scholar, yet it seems as far-fetched calling a baby in long-clothes '*Clericus Tornacensis*', as styling it *d<ominus>* and *Nobilis*. It should be kept in mind, though, that matriculating at

Amplissime Cardinalis, et tuum Damianum eo amore,
quo semper fecisti, proseguere.

Louanij, pridie Idus Octobris, anno millesimo quingen-
tesimo quadragesimo.

Tuæ Amplitudini Deditissimus



Petro Bembo, Sacrosanctæ
Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinali Romæ

61. Tuæ &c.] in Goes' hand 63. Petro &c.] the address, in Goes' writing, is on *f cliv* v. Another hand, possibly Bembo's, added on the right edge ' <D>amiano A. Goes / <15> Octobr. r^{la} alli / > iij. Jd. Januar. 1541 ' : cp. note to l. 58.

that time did not imply actual learning, as even illiterate servants matriculated, but independence from all authorities except the Rector's. To Damianus a Goes it moreover meant an expression of his great affection to the *Alma Mater*, and his pride in belonging to her with his kith and kin. When he himself matriculated, on June 4, 1539, he was not content with the ordinary offering of gold and silver in coins, as was the rule with noblemen; whereas that gift generally varied between 18 and 22 stivers, he spent the uncommon amount of 44 1/2, 'xliiijz [t]'. His son's birth brought another opportunity of proclaiming that deep sympathy: the child matriculated as a nobleman, offering 22 stivers — whereas e. g., on June 26, 1542, the 'Gallus nobilis' 'Johannes a ripa tolosanus', against whom Goes was to be exchanged (*supra*, p. 634; *LibInt* IV., 156 v), only gave what was worth between 12 and 13 stivers. When on May 11, 1556, Emmanuel entered the University again, along with his brother Ambrose, each of them, as 'nobilis', spent 'xxj ft.' : *Liber I* and *Liber II Computuum Receptorum Universitatis* : FUL, 273 : 240 r, 283 r, 339 v; *id*, 274 : 362 v.

58. proseguere] Bembo replied on January 11, 1541, congratulating for the *Fides ... Æthiopum*, which had given great pleasure to Paul III., praising history as an object of study than which 'nihil fere sit aut ad nominis memoriam stabilius, aut ad posterorum cognitionem aptius, aut ad omnium delectationem iucundius'; he also sent his wishes for his wife and her son : GoesOp, i v-i 2 r.

THE END

LIST OF CORRIGENDA & ADDENDA

Pages

- 123, l. 13, read Bommel instead of Kampen (cp. p. 461)
- 141, note 8 : the same correction of the date has been afterwards accepted by Allen, III, 967, 72.
- 172, note 1 : read Burer instead of Bürer
- 174, l. 1 : & note 1 : read Longicampianus instead of -campanus
- 197, note 7 : read 952 instead of 752
- 244, note 4 : read 29 instead of 27 (cp. p. 385)
- 284, l. 3 : read 1522 instead of 1526 (cp. p. 464)
- 403, l. 31 : read possibly instead of possibly,
- 405, l. 28 : read affection, upon instead of affection upon,
- 461, note 2 (l. 2) : read 123 instead of 121
- 486, l. 20 & note 7 : von is perhaps more likely than van
- 487, note 1 : cp. *ColBusPrim.* for information about William de Hor-
rion's son Michael, who studied in the *Trilingue* from 1530
to 1532, and was John van Campen's domestic disciple :
Cran., 95, e.
- 576, note to l. 36, l. 12 : read Jules III. instead of Jules II.
- 588, note 3 : read 184-186 instead of 77
- 631, note 1 : add : The narration of the Siege in Willem Boonen's
Geschiedenis van Leuven geschreven in de jaren 1593 en
1594 (ed. by Ed. van Even) : Louvain, 1880 : 81-82, is evi-
dently based on tradition, and hardly reliable for the
explanation of the liberation. In his *Obituarium Ecclesiae*
Sti Quintini, the Rector of that parish from 1536 to 1565,
Henry Damen, of Mierlo, noted on August 2 : ' Hoc die
aº 1542 venit martinus Rossemius nomine Regis Francie,
ex Julia et gelria per brabantiam ante Louanium ex latere
montis Caluarie, sed captis interlocutoribus nostris pretore
cum D. Damiano goes, gratia Dei, altera die ab obsidione
liberatum est quasi miraculose '. The two last words of this
apparently authentic report are written in red ink : they
show Damen's opinion, which corroborates Goes' statement
about his share in that deliverance (cp. pp. 660, sq, 678,
682) : Archives of St Quentin's, Louvain.
- 679, note to l. 573 : add : Cp. *infra*, p. 698
- 682, note 4 : add : The account of the *Receptor Universitatis* for June-
December 1542 has an item, stating that he paid to the
newly appointed Promotor, Joh. Simonis, ' viij Rf. ix ft ' on
the Rector's order ' pro vino propinato mgro. seuerino &
christophoro ' : FUL, 273 : 348 v
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LISTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

used for the Introductions and the Notes

The Roman numerals in ordinary type added to any of the abbreviations of the following list, refer to the volumes and parts of the volumes; the Roman numerals in *italics*, and the figures indicate the pages — unless stated otherwise.

- AccHoevII.* = Account of the 'Collegium Trilingue' by Jud. van der Hoeven for the period Dec. 1, 1533 to Dec. 1, 1534 = FUL, 1451, ff. 286-329.
- AccMeerb.* = Primus Computus Collegij Bushidianj D. Joannis van Meerbeeck de anno 1520 = FUL, 1450, ff. 1-86.
- ActAcLov.* = Acta Academiae Lovaniensis contra Lutherum <1520> : cp. pp. 235-6, and *CalBusPrim.*
- Acuña* = Constantin von HÖFLER, Don Antonio de Acuña, genannt der Luther Spaniens : Vienna, 1882.
- Adag.* = Adagia, Id est; Proverbiorum, Paroemiarum et Parabolarum omnium, quæ apud Græcos, Latinos, Hebræos, Arabes, &c. in usu fuerunt Collectio absolutissima : Frankfurt, 1670.
- ADB* = Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (56 vols.) : Leipzig, 1875-1912.
- Adelmann* = Franz Xaver THURNHOFER, Bernhard Adelmann von Adelmannsfelden, Humanist und Luthers Freund, 1457-1523 : Freiburg i. B., 1900.
- AFAExc.* = Excerpta ex Actis Facultatis Artium Universitatis Lovaniensis, 1427-1797 : *Louvain collection of extracts and notes by different hands at various times from the original volumes of the Acta Fac. Artium, some of which have disappeared.*
- AFAInd.* = Librorum VI ad XIV Actorum Facultatis Artium <in Univ. Lovan.> Index (1511-1676) = FUL, 729.
- AgeEr.* = P. S. ALLEN, The Age of Erasmus : Oxford, 1914.
- AgrE* = Henricus Cornelius AGRIPPA ab Nettesheim, Epistolæ ad Familiares, & eorum ad ipsum (in Opera Omnia : Lyons, c 1600 : vol. II).
- Agricola* = Rodolphi AGRICOLÆ Lucubrationes (ed. Alard of Amsterdam : 2 vols.) : Cologne, 1539.
- AleaE* = J. PAQUIER, Lettres Familières de Jérôme Aléandre, 1510-1540 : Paris, 1909.
- AléaJo.* = Henri OMONT, Journal Autobiographique du Cardinal Jérôme Aléandre, 1480-1530, publié d'après les manuscrits de Paris et Udine : Paris, 1895.
- AléaLiège* = J. PAQUIER, Jérôme Aléandre et la Principauté de Liège, 1514-1540 : Paris, 1896.
- Aléandre* = J. PAQUIER, Jérôme Aléandre, de sa Naissance à la fin de son Séjour à Brindes, 1480-1529 : Paris, 1900.
- AlgRijksArch.* = Documents belonging to the *Algemeen RijksArchief* of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, The Hague.
- Allen* = P. S. ALLEN & H. M. ALLEN, Opvs Epistolarvm Des. Erasmi Roterodami, denvo recognitvm et avctvm : Oxford, from 1906. —
The figures refer to the letters and the lines.

- Almeloveen = Th. J. ab ALMELOVEEN, *Amoenitates Theologico-philologicæ* : Amsterdam, 1694.
- Altamira = Rafael ALTAMIRA y CREVEA, *Historia de España y de la Civilización Española (4 vols.)* : Barcelona, 1900-1911.
- Altmeyer = J. J. ALTMAYER, *Les Précurseurs de la Réforme aux Pays-Bas (2 vols.)* : Bruxelles, 1886.
- AmerE = Th. BURCKHARDT-BIEDERMANN, *Bonifacius Amerbach und die Reformation* : Basle, 1894.
- AmerMs. = Bonifacius Amerbach's Manuscript Collection about Erasmus' fortune and his foundation, — in Basle University Library : press mark C. vi^a. 71 (formerly C. viii. 19).
- AmHerb. = Jos. AMES & Will. HERBERT, *Typographical Antiquities ; or an Historical Account of the Origin and Progress of Printing in Great Britain and Ireland (3 vols.)* : London, 1785-1790.
- Analectes = *Analectes pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique de la Belgique* : Louvain, from 1864.
- AnEl. = Sir John HAYWARD, *Annals of the First Four Years of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (edited by John Bruce)* : London, 1840.
- AnEmBr. = *Annales de la Société d'Emulation pour l'Etude de l'Histoire et des Antiquités de la Flandre, à Bruges* : Bruges, from 1839.
- Anima = Joseph SCHMIDLIN, *Geschichte der Deutschen Nationalkirche in Rom, S. Maria dell' Anima* : Freiburg i. B., 1906.
- AntvEpisc. = <J. Fr. FOPPENS,> *Historia Episcopatus Antverpiensis* : Brussels, 1717.
- AntvAnn. = Daniel PAPEBROCHIIUS, *Annales Antverpienses, ab urbe condita ad annum M. DCC. (edit. F. H. Mertens & E. Buschmann : 5 vols.)* : Antwerp, 1845-8.
- ARB = Académie Royale de Belgique *publications* : Brussels, from 1820.
- ArchAsPuLouv. = Archives de l'Assistance Publique de Louvain (inventoried by M. Bourguignon : Tongres, 1933), *ArchRoy*.
- ArchEcclBrab. = Archives Ecclésiastiques du Brabant (inventoried by Alfred d'Hoop : Brussels, 1905-32 : 6 vols.), *ArchRoy*.
- ArchCapWarm. = Archivium Capituli Warmiense (cathedral of Ermland, Frauenburg).
- ArchEpWarm. = Archivium Episcopale Warmiense (diocese of Ermland, Frauenburg).
- ArchLouv. = *preserved at the Archives of Louvain Town*.
- ArchRoy. = *preserved at the General Archives of the Realm, Brussels*.
- Armstrong = Edw. ARMSTRONG, *The Emperor Charles V. (2 vols.)* : London, 1902.
- Audin = *Histoire de Thomas More... par Th. STAPLETON, traduite du latin par Alex. MARTIN, avec une Introduction, des Notes et Commentaires par M. AUDIN* : Liège, 1849.
- AugO = Sancti Aurelii AUGUSTINI *Opera Omnia (ed. Migne : 12 vols.)* : Paris, 1841-9.
- Bahlmann, I = P. BAHLMANN, *Die Erneuerer des Antiken Dramas und ihre ersten Dramatischen Versuche, 1314-1478* : Münster, 1896.
- Bahlmann, II = P. BAHLMANN, *Die Lateinischen Dramen von Wimpfeling's Stypho bis zur Mitte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, 1480-1550* : Münster, 1893.
- BalanH = P. BALAN, *Monumenta Saeculi XVI. Historiam Illustrantia* : Innsbruck, 1885.

- BalanR = P. BALAN, *Monumenta Reformationis Lutheranae, 1521-1525* : Ratisbon, 1884.
- Bale = John BALE, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum, quos ex variis bibliothecis non parvo labore collegit Ioannes Balæus, cum aliis. — Index of British and other Writers* (ed. Reg. Lane Poole & Mary Bateson) : Oxford, 1902.
- Barclay = <T. H. JAMIESON,> *The Ship of Fools translated by Alexander BARCLAY* (2 vols.) : Edinburgh, 1874.
- BarlHist. = *Historica Hadriani BARLANDI Rhetoris Lovaniensis. Nunc primum collecta, simulque edita* : Colognè, 1603.
- BatDial. = Marcel BATAILLON, Juan de Valdés. *Diálogo de Doctrina Cristiana...* Edition d'Alcalá de Henares, 1529, avec une Introduction et des Notes : Coimbra, 1925.
- BatECP = Marcel BATAILLON, Erasme et la Cour de Portugal (*in* *Arquivo de História e Bibliografia*, 11) : Coimbra, 1927.
- BatGouv. = Marcel BATAILLON, Sur André de Gouvea, Principal du Collège de Guyenne (*in* *O Instituto*, vol. 78, n° 1) : Coimbra, 1929.
- BatIll. = Petrus SCRIVERIUS, *Batavia Illustrata, seu, de Batavorum Insula* : Leiden, 1609.
- BatSacr. = <Hug. Franc. van HEUSSEN,> *Batavia Sacra, sive Res Gestæ Apostolicorum Virorum qui Fidem Bataviæ primi intulerunt. Auctore T. S. F. H. L. H. S. T. L. P. V. T.* (2nd vol.) : Brussels, 1714.
- Baumgartner = Alexander BAUMGARTNER, *Die Lateinische und Griechische Literatur der Christlichen Völker* : Freiburg i. B., 1925.
- BaxF = J. L. BAX, *Fasti Academici Studii Generalis Lovaniensis* (5 vols.) : manuscript in the Royal Library, Brussels, n° 22173.
- BaxH = J. L. BAX, *Historia Universitatis Lovaniensis* (11 vols.) : manuscript in the Royal Library, Brussels, n° 22172.
- BB = *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie Générale des Pays-Bas* (published by Ferd. van der HAEGHEN and R. van den BERGHE, with the collaboration of V. van der HAEGHEN and A. ROERSCH) : Ghent, from 1880.
- BbKorn. = z Biblioteka Kornickiej, *in* Poznan.
- BbCzart. = z Biblioteka Pulauskiej XX. Czartoryskich, *in* Krakow.
- BbOssol. = z Biblioteka Ossolinskich, *in* Lwów.
- BbUpps. = *Bibliotheca Regia Upsalensis*, *in* Uppsala.
- Beatis = Antonio de BEATIS, *Die Reise des Kardinals Luigi d'Aragona durch Deutschland, die Niederlande, Frankreich und Oberitalien, 1517-1518* (edited by Ludwig Pastor) : Freiburg i. B., 1905.
- BelgHer. = Ch. POPLIMONT, *La Belgique Héraldique* (11 vols.) : Brussels, 1863-67.
- BelgMon. = U. BERLIÈRE, *Monasticon Belge* (2 vols.) : Bruges, 1890-1929.
- BelgSChron. = J. B. L. de CASTILLION, *Sacra Belgii Chronologia* : Ghent, 1719.
- Bémont = Ch. BÉMONT, *Le Premier Divorce de Henri VIII. et le Schisme d'Angleterre* : Paris, 1917.
- Bergh = L. Ph. C. van den BERGH, *Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, Gouvernante des Pays-Bas, avec ses Amis : 1506-1528* : (2 vols.) : Leiden, 1845-1847.
- Berlière = Ursmer BERLIÈRE, *Les Evêques Auxiliaires de Cambrai et de Tournai* : Bruges, 1905.
- Bianco = F. J. von BIANCO, *Die Alte Universität Köln* (2 vols.) : Cologne, 1856.

- BibBelg.* = Valerius ANDREAS Desselius, *Bibliotheca Belgica : de Belgis Vita Scriptisque Claris* (2nd edit.) : Louvain, 1643. (The letter *T* before a number indicates the *Topographia Belgica*, which has a different pagination).
- BibBelgMan.* = Antonius SANDERUS, *Bibliotheca Belgica Manuscripta, sive, Elenchvs Vniversalis Codicvm MSS. in celebrioribvs Belgii Cœnobijs, Ecclesijs, Vrbivm ac Priuatorum Hominum Bibliothecis adhuc latentium* (2 vols.) : Lille, 1641-1644.
- BibEr.* = [Ferd. van der HAEGHEN,] *Bibliotheca Erasmiana. Répertoire des Œuvres d'Erasmus* (3 vols.) : Ghent, 1893.
- BibPort.* = Innocencio Francisco da SILVA, *Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez* (21 vols.) : Lisbon, 1858-1914.
- BibRefNe.* = *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica : Geschriften uit den tijd der Hervorming in de Nederlanden* (ed. S. Cramer & F. Pijper) : The Hague, from 1903.
- Bludau = Aug. BLUDAU, *Die beiden ersten Erasmus-Ausgaben des Neuen Testaments und ihre Gegner* (in *Biblische Studien*, vii, 5) : Freiburg i. B., 1902.
- Blunt = J. H. BLUNT, *The Reformation of the Church of England : its History, Principles and Results* (2 vols.) : London, 1896, 1897.
- BN = *Biographie Nationale* (published by the Académie Royale de Belgique) : Brussels, from 1866.
- Bonilla = Ad. BONILLA Y SAN MARTIN, *Luis Vives y la Filosofía del Renacimiento* : Madrid, 1903.
- BrabChorSa.* = Antonius SANDERUS, *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae, sive Celebrium aliquot in ea Provincia Ecclesiarum & Cœnobiorum Descriptio* (3 vols.) : The Hague, 1726.
- Bradford = William BRADFORD, *Correspondence of the Emperor Charles V. and his Ambassadors at the Courts of England and France, from the original letters in the Imperial Family Archives at Vienna* : London, 1850.
- Brants = Victor BRANTS, *La Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Louvain à travers cinq siècles* (2nd ed.) : Brussels, <1917>.
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LIST OF PERSONAGES

The following list only records personages of the xvi^e century, or those who are especially connected with it; also some living bodies as abbeys, schools and universities. The figures refer to the pages; if they are printed in **heavier types**, they indicate biographical information of some importance, or documents edited for the first time: the names of those by whom these were written, or to whom they were addressed are set in CAPITALS.

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Unless the contrary is stated the texts are letters.

Those reproduced from very scarce prints are set in small type.

Those printed here for the first time from the manuscripts,
are in ordinary type ¹⁾.

1509,	March 28,	Louvain :	M. van Dorp to John de Spouter.	<i>Pages</i> 355-356
1511,	May 7,	Bergues :	John de Spouter to M. van Dorp and James Pape.	357-358
<1511,>	Dec. 12,	Antwerp :	Peter Gilles to M. van Dorp.	358-360
<1512,>	Nov. 22,	Louvain :	M. van Dorp to John Leupe, James Pape and John de Spouter.	361-364
1515,	March 24,	Louvain :	M. van Dorp's dedication of <i>Hadriani Florentii Quaestiones Quotlibeticæ</i> to Man.	116-120
1520,	March 19,	Basle :	Boniface Amerbach to M. van Dorp.	376-381
1520,	June 20,	Schlettstadt :	Paul Volz to M. van Dorp.	381-384
<1521,	last weeks,>	<Louvain :>	M. van Dorp's Apology to Meinard Man.	75-93
<1522,>	Dec. 29,	Louvain :	M. van Dorp to Herman Lethmaat.	385-390
1524,	Dec. 19,	Oxford :	John Helyar to J. L. Vives.	14-16
<1525,>	March 10,	Oxford :	J. L. Vives to <Cl. Can- tiuncula.>	56-57

¹⁾ This class includes the reprint of two letters of Vives (March 10, 1525 & Sept. 1533), which up to now were considered as one single epistle; as well as the reproduction of Dorp's letter to Lethmaat (Dec. 29, 1522) from the original manuscript, which is most inaccurately rendered in Almelooven's edition.

1526, June 30,	Louvain :	G. Morinck to Thierry Persyn.	258-261
1526, June 30,	Louvain :	<i>Dorpii Vita, auctore Ger. Moringo.</i>	261-281
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1527, July 13,	Bruges :	J. L. Vives to Henry VIII.	24-26
<1528, first weeks,>	London :	Vives' evidence in the Divorce Case.	29-32
1531, May 11,	Louvain :	Nic. Clenardus to John Dantiscus.	422-423
<1533, September,	Bruges :>	J. L. Vives to Gilbert Cousin.	49-51
1533, December 9,	Paris :	Rodrigo Manrique to J. L. Vives.	434-441
<1537,> March 18,	Louvain :	John Helyar to J. L. Vives.	592-594
<1537, Summer,>	St. Trudo's :	Ger. Morinck to Thierry Hezius.	516-531
1537, December 8,	St. Trudo's :	Ger. Morinck to Martin Lips.	541-556
1539, Sept. 13,	Louvain :	D. de Goes to Cardinal Bembo.	694-695
1540, October 14,	Louvain :	D. de Goes to Cardinal Bembo.	595-698
<1543, October,>	Louvain :	<i>Damiani a Goes, postliminio reversi, ad Universitatem Oratio.</i>	646-663
1545, April 12,	St. Trudo's :	Ger. Morinck to Nicolas van Winghe.	564-572
1547, <Summer,>	St. Trudo's :	Ger. Morinck to Nicolas van Winghe.	573-584

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E. DAXHELET, Adrien Barlandus (1486-1538).
A. POLET, Petrus Nannius (1500-1557 : with unpublished matter).
Cornelius Valerius (1512-1578: with unpublished letters and poems;
his will and its execution; &c.).

and of other humanists :

L. DE KÉYSER, Cornelius Grapheus (1482-1558).
J. THEYS, John Louis Vives' Pedagogy and Psychology.
L. BROUWERS, Carolus Scribani (1561-1629).
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J. FABRI, André Schott (1552-1626).
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